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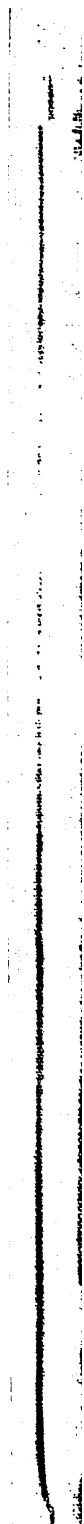
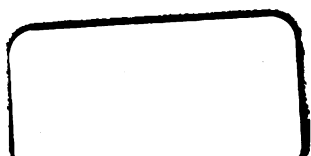
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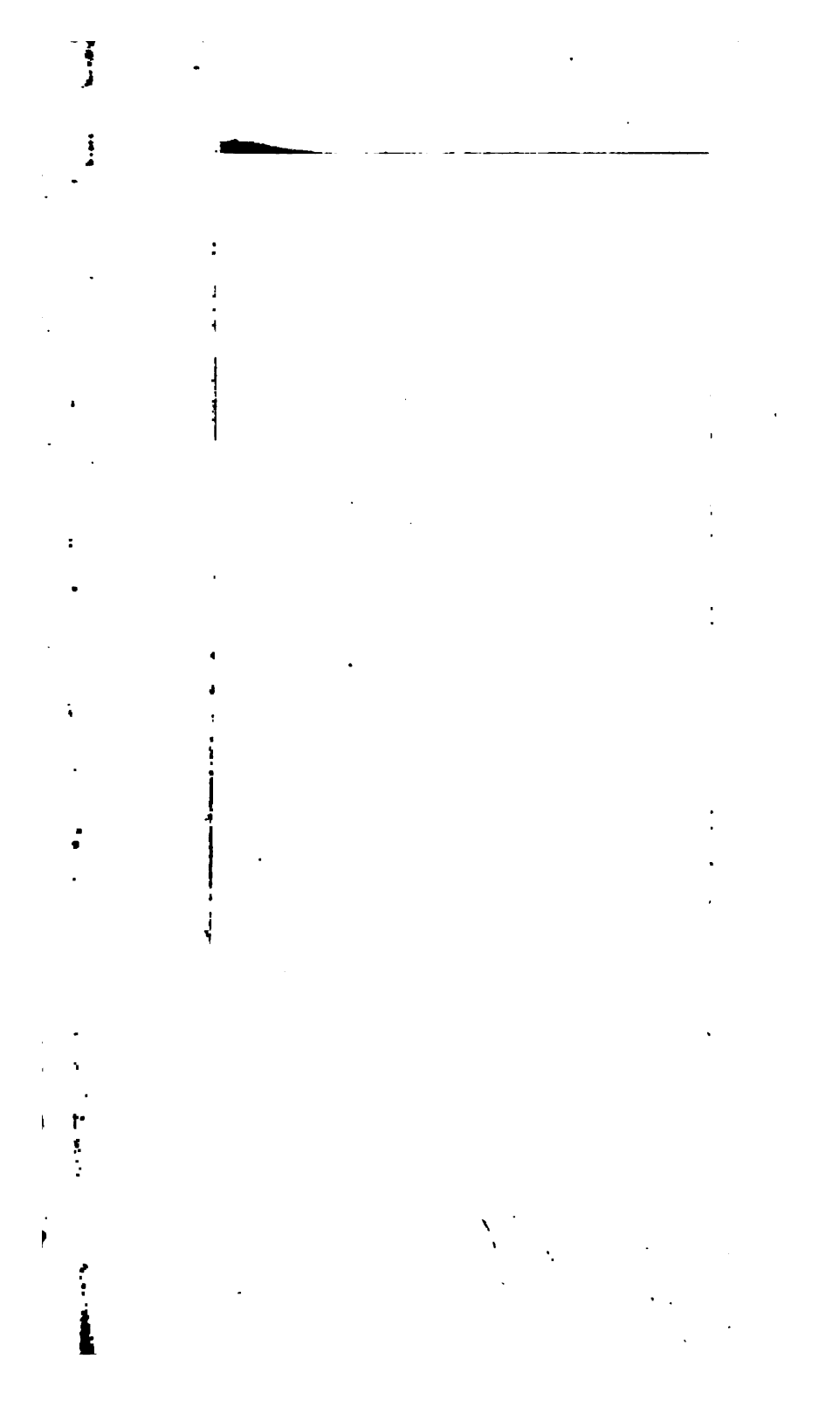
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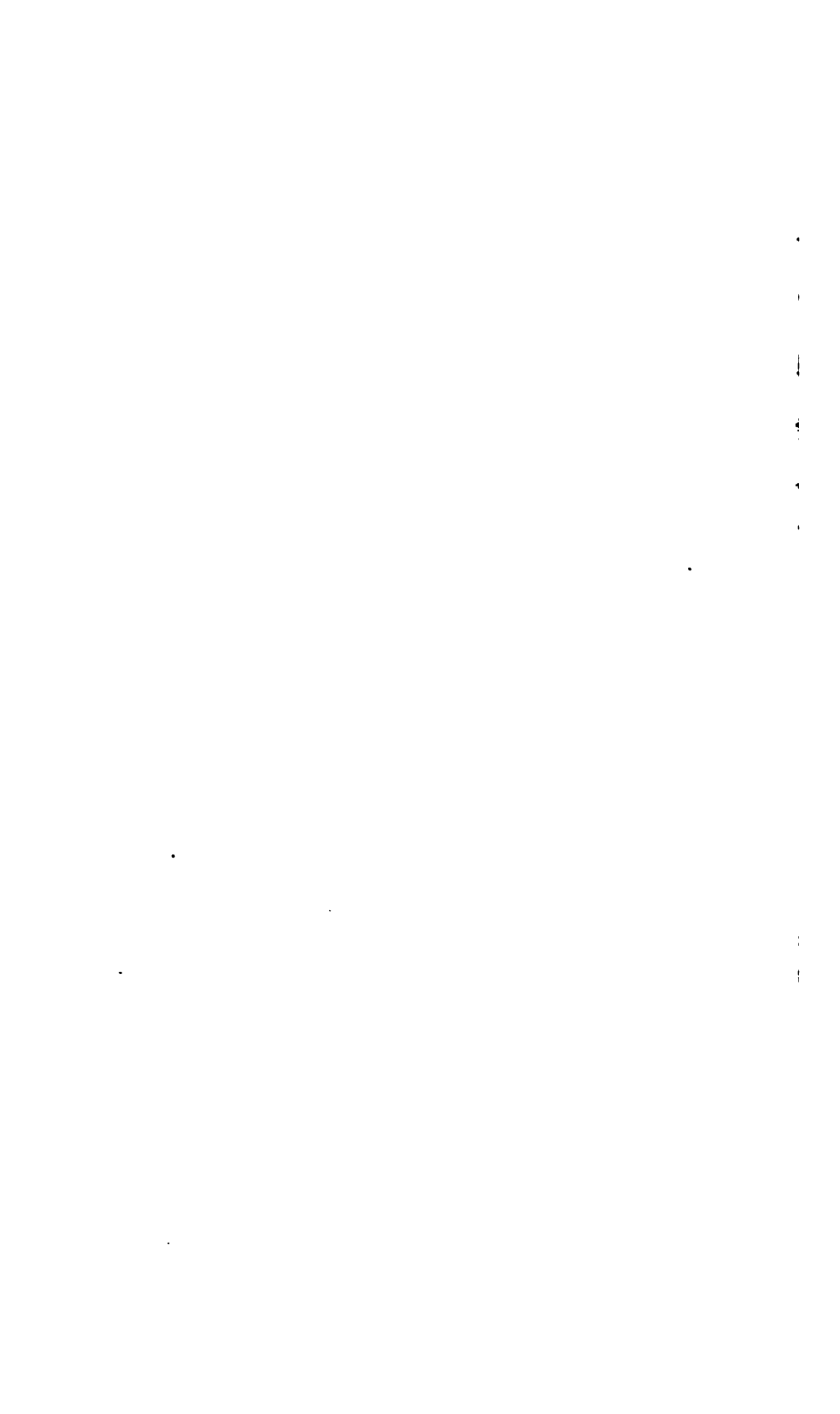
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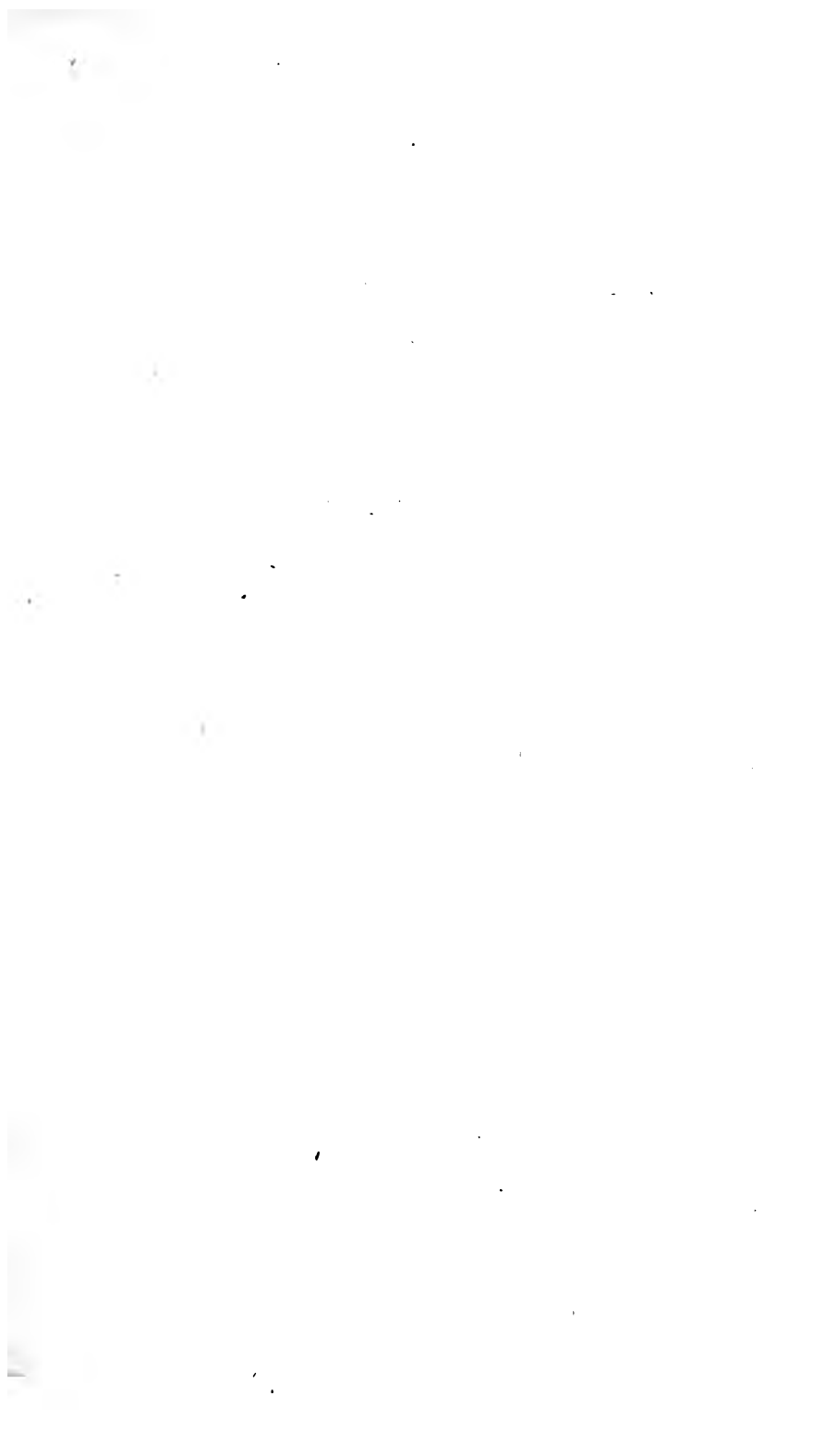






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VOL. XIX.

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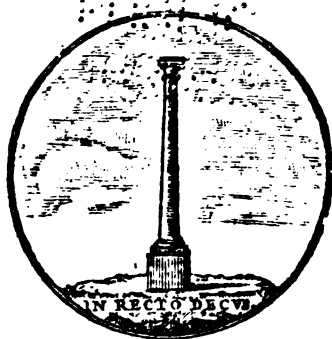
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Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XIX.



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M.DCC.LX.

NOT VAM
ALBA
VASEL

Modern History :

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK XVIII.

CHAP. VII.

SECT. I.

The History of the Island, and of the Order of the Knights, of Malta.

THIS little island, known to the *Romans* by the Maltese name of *Melita*^a, and famed chiefly for the hospitable reception which its inhabitants gave to the *apostle* of the *Gentiles*, and to the rest of his shipwrecked companions^b, lies in the *Mediterranean* sea, between the coasts of *Tripoly* and those of *Sicily*; and tho' distant only 18 leagues south from the latter, and about 50 north of the former, is nevertheless reckoned among the *African* islands by *Ptolemy*, and rightly enough, seeing the *Punic*^c corrupt *Arabic*, which was formerly spoken by the inhabitants, shews them plainly enough to have had their origin from thence. It is situate under the 36th degree of

^a Ant. Hist. vol. xii. p. 175. 234.
& seq.

^c See Ant. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 298.

^b Acts, xxviii. 1,

Extent
and site.

north latitude, and between the 15th and 16th of east longitude, having the southern coasts of *Sicily* on the north, those of *Tripoly* on the south, the *Morea* and island of *Candia* on the east, and, on the west, the islands of *Pantabarea* *Linosfa* and *Lampadofa*. Its south coast consists of little else but rocks and shelves, without one port or creek to sail into; but on the eastern side it hath some commodious havens, particularly those called *Gala di S. Marco* and *Gala di S. Paulo*; but the two most considerable ones in the island are those on the south east side, the one called *Marza Muzet*, and the other only *Marza*, which signifies a port, and is the larger of the two, and lies on the right hand of port *Muzet*. These two are divided only by an oblong peninsula, on which is built a stout fort or castle called *St. Elmo*, which defends the entrance into both. Within that of *Muzet* lies a small island, near which the ships suspected of infection are obliged to perform quarantine^d. Those of *St. Nikolao*, *Scath*, and *Siroco*, have little or nothing worth notice, and more need not be said of them (A).

This isle is commonly computed to be about 19 or 20 leagues in length, 9 or 10 in breadth, and 60 in circumference, little less or more^e. But though it had been antiently in the possession of the *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, and other

^d DE LISLE, BAUDRAND, VERTOT, & al. plac. auct. sup. citat.

^e Conf.

(A) According to this situation, which the generality of modern geographers (1) unanimously give it, it is plain, that it is different from another island of the same name, *Melita*, but now *Meloda*, on the coasts of *Dalmatia*, near the city of *Ragusa*. *Malta* is supposed by *Cluverius* (2), from its situation, and other particulars, to be the antient *Hiperia* mentioned by *Homer* (3); whence the *Phœnices* were afterwards driven by the *Phœnicians*, and retired into *Scheria* and the island of *Carfu*, which is the more probable, as

the antient poet places the mountain *Melita* in that island.

It hath likewise brought some very probable arguments to prove, that *Melita* or *Malta* is the antient *Ogygia*, in which the famed nymph *Calypso*, daughter of the *Ocean* and *Thetis*, received the shipwrecked *Ulysses*, and detained him seven years at bed and board (4); but these being out of the limits of our modern history, we shall content ourselves with the bare mention of it here, as no notice had been taken of it in the antient.

(1) See Ptolem. l. 4. al. recentior. sup. citat.

(2) *Odyss.* l. vi.

Thucyd. p. 5, & seq.

Strabo, *Mela*, *Pliny*, &c. *Thucyd.* p. 5, & seq. & alib.

(4) *Cluver.* ubi sup. *Kid.* & *Deuty*, *Dappery*, & al.

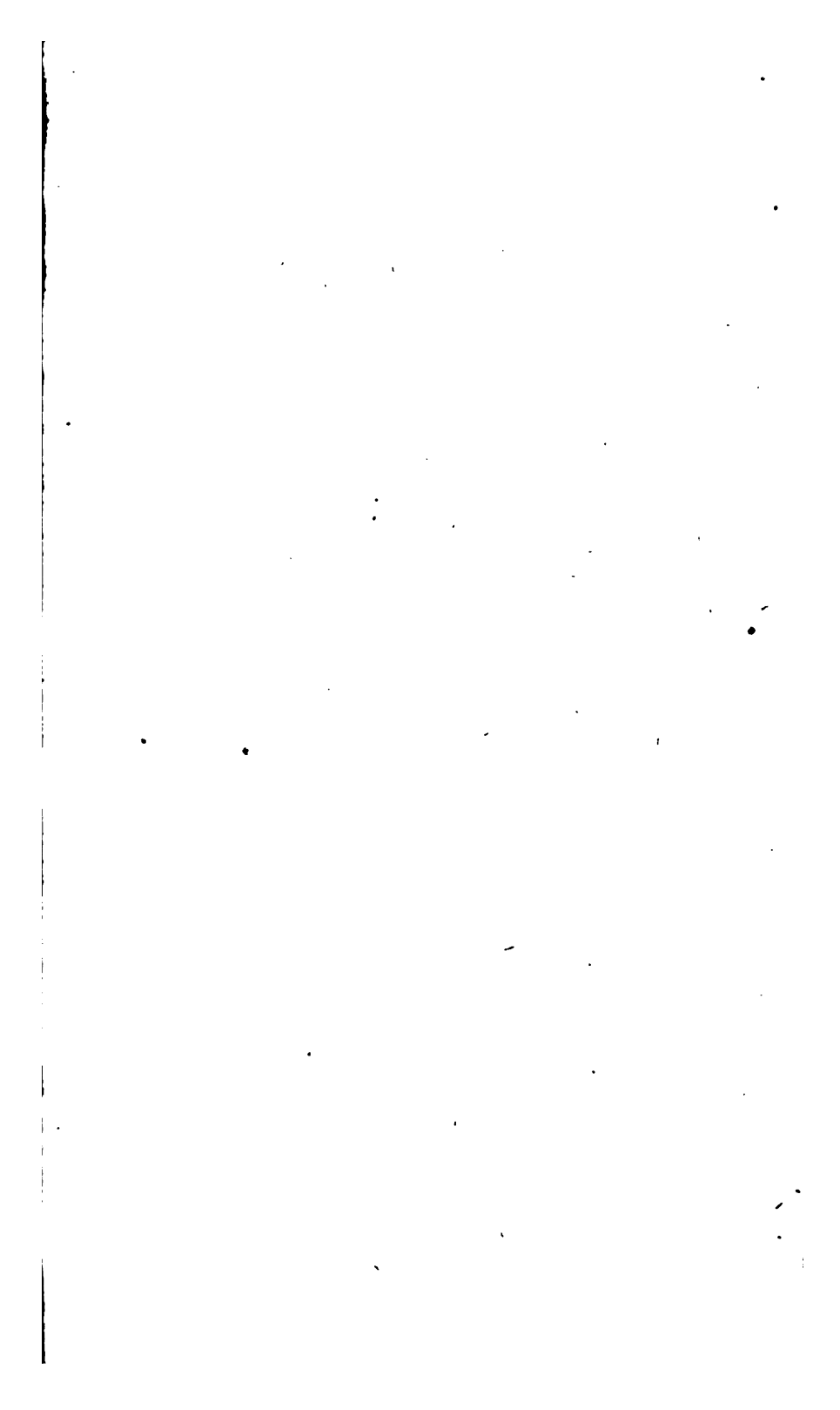
polite nations, yet it seems to have been little better than a *Barren*-
barren place, partly sandy, partly rocky, the latter having *ness*.
hardly any depth of earth, and that so stony, as to be scarcely
capable of producing corn, or any other grain, except cum-
min, and some other such-like seeds; its chief produce be- *Product*.
ing figs, melons, honey, cotton, and some few other commo-
dities and fruits, which the inhabitants exchanged for corn;
and in this barren state it seems to have continued, till it came
into the possession of the *Maltese* knights. It laboured like- *Few towns*
wise under great scarcity of water and fuel: upon all which *and vil-*
accounts it was till that time but thinly inhabited, there being *lages*.
only about 30 or 40 boroughs, or other villages, scattered
about in poor hamlets, and no city except the capital of its
name, and the town and fort of *St. Angelo*, which defended
the port, of which we shall give an account in the sequel;
so that the whole number of its inhabitants scarcely amounted
to 12,000, women and children included, and the greatest
part of them very indigent^f. In a word, it was so barren,
poor, and uninviting, that when the emperor *Charles V.* of-
fired it to the knights of *Rhodes*, after their being driven
out of that island, their commissaries, who were sent to take
an exact view of it, brought back such a discouraging ac-
count of it, that it was not without great difficulty that they
were prevailed upon to accept of it^g. How it hath been im-
proved since their settlement in it, we are now going to
show.

THE island of *Maltha* hath now four considerable towns, *Greatly*
surrounded with stout walls, and other fortifications; viz. *improved*-
Citta Valetta, *Citta Vecchia*, or old city, or ancient *Maltha*, *by the*
the town of *St. Angelo*, called also *Citta Vittoriosa*, or the *knights*.
victorious city, and *St. Michael*, all of them well inhabited,
and in a thriving condition. Besides, these poor hamlets have *Strength*.
grown into stout and populous villages, the old ones into con-
siderable boroughs or towns well built and inhabited, and the
ground every-where so well cultivated, as to be able to sup-
ply the inhabitants with plenty of all necessaries. The ports
and havens on the coast have likewise received their respec-
tive improvements; as the whole island every-where is so
strongly fortified, that it hath been enabled to resist and
baffle all the power and efforts of the *Ottoman* emperor to
this very day. It is true, indeed, that the strength and suc- *Valour of*
cess of this place, and its having proved such an eternal *the knights*.
bulwark to Christianity, hath been chiefly owing to the fin-

^f Vid. auct. sup. citat.
Lix. tom. iii. p. 451, & seq.

^g VERTOT Hist of Maltha,







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The patients
served in
plate by the
knights.

They are
now be-
come re-
mist.

are all served in silver; not a plate, dish, cup, spoon, &c. but is of that metal; and in these utensils are brought their victuals to their bed-side by those knights, as likewise the medicines and other things that are ordered to them by the physicians; of which there are commonly four kept in pay, who regularly visit them every morning and eveningⁿ. But we must here observe, that the *Maltese* knights have greatly degenerated from the rules, and, within this last century, from the observance of those of their first institution, and have given themselves more to luxury, gallantry, and other modish vices, than to the observance of the primitive practice of the canons of their order, or the imitation of their predecessors, whose extraordinary valour and undaunted bravery abroad, when fighting against the enemies of Christianity, joined to the most zealous observance of their religious discipline, had justly gained them the universal admiration and esteem of all Christendom^o. However, with respect to the hospital we are now speaking of, though they have quite relaxed from that antient humility and condescension in performing the lowest offices to those patients, yet they still take care that they shall be attended with the same care and diligence by persons of a lower rank.

NEAR this place, and the grand master's palace, is a large market-place, where all manner of provisions are brought and sold by the country-people, in great abundance; such as corn and other grain, fruits and greens of all sorts, wild and tame fowl, hogs, goats, oxen, sheep, and other necessaries of life. Most of the dead commodities are brought upon asses, which the natives of those mountainous parts are forced to use instead of horses. This market is kept every day, and, in summer, when the heat is excessive, begins several hours before sun-rise. But the greater part of the corn and other provisions is brought thither from *Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, &c.* besides what is got by the prizes they make upon the *Turks* and other enemies at sea.

Other
public
edifices.

THERE is likewise another spacious square before the ban-jert, or prison, where their slaves are kept; which last is a very large building, suitable to the vast number of those slaves they are continually bringing in from the coasts of *Barbary*, and the *Turkish* and other dominions; and this piazza is the place where they are exposed to sale. We have no room to describe their other public buildings; such as the bishop's palace, the custom-house, treasury, chancery, foun-

ⁿ DAPPER, DAVITY, VERTOT, & al,
VERTOT,

^o De his vide

dery, vast magazines for corn, wine, and other provisions, and many others of the like nature. But we cannot omit here a short account of their arsenal, which is not only a sumptuous edifice without, but is perhaps one of the best-furnished with the greatest quantity of arms, and other warlike weapons, machines, engines, &c. of all sorts, and kept in the most elegant regularity and order of any in *Europe*; it being always under the inspection of one of the order, and adjoining to the palace of the grand master.

THIS huge pile consists of a spacious hall, in the middle of which stand five wooden machines, of a square figure; on all the four sides are hung, with great symmetry and neatness, all sorts of armour; such as helmets, shields, breast-plates, coats of mail, swords, halberds, pikes, half-pikes, daggers, muskets, pistols, and others of the like nature, of various shapes and sizes. The walls and beams across the cieling, are likewise covered with long and cross-bows, and other such warlike weapons, as were in use in former times, and which were brought hither from the isle of *Rhodes*; the whole containing as great a quantity of arms as would completely equip an army of 30,000 men. Adjoining to and a cross that hall is another, which is likewise filled with all kinds of arms, which were for the most part brought thither from *Holland* by the then grand master *Lascaris*, who made a present of them to the order. Besides these, every knight hath his own armoury for himself and his retinue, within his own house; and so hath every burgher and peasant throughout the island.

AT the entrance into the bay, one meets with two large rocks, which advance into the sea over-against *Citta Vattella*, like the two fingers of a hand; on the point of one of which, near the mouth of the bay, stands the town and castle of *St. Angelo*, and on the other that called *Citta Vittoriosa*, both built on the rock, and strongly fortified. The former of these had formerly some strong outworks, arsenals, magazines, a palace, and apartments for the knights, and an hospital for sailors; but was almost totally ruined by the *Turks*, anno 1565. Since which it is inhabited but by a handful of people, mostly belonging to the dock where the galleys are built, and where the commander of them hath a house not far from the water-side.

THE other, which stands further in, and called *Citta Vittoriosa*, from the siege it maintained against the *Turks*, was built by one of the grand masters, named *Philip de Vi-*

liers Isle Adam, soon after the order had taken possession of the island; and is still very well fortified. It is about a mile and a half in compass, and contains about 1,200 houses, which are mostly inhabited by *Maltese* natives, and mariners. It hath five or six small churches, one of them belonging to the *Greeks*, and a palace, which serves for a court to the officers of the inquisition. The town and harbour of *St. Michael*, commonly called the *Sangle Island*, from one of the grand masters of the order, who caused it to be built, anno 1560, is only parted from the land by a deep ditch. It is about a league in compass, and well fortified after the modern manner; and is chiefly inhabited by the corsairs of the order, who are sent to cruise against the *Turks*. Between this port and that of *St. Angelo* is another, to which all the corsairs and galleys come to anchor with their prizes and plunder, whether taken from *Turks* or Christians. This port may be shut up by the means of a strong chain, to prevent the *Turks*, or any other enemies, entering into it; and here the standard of the city and castle are displayed, when any galley or other vessel is sailing in. Behind that of *St. Michael* is the place where the *Dutch* vessels usually come to anchor. And thus much may suffice with respect to the most considerable sea-port towns.

The port of
the cor-
sairs, and
Dutch.

Villages
divided
into pa-
rishes;
about 60
in number.

THE villages, or *adhamets*, as they are called by the natives, or *casales* by the *Italians*, though, as we have elsewhere hinted, they were reckoned by authors of older date to amount to no more than between thirty and forty^a, yet they have so far increased in number, as well as bulk, since the settlement of the order in the island, as to amount to above sixty; some of which are likewise become very considerable^b. These were divided soon after into parishes, as the whole island is, for the better regulation of their several districts; whilst the directions and encouragement they have given those mountaineers, and the example they have set before them, how to improve their lands to the best advantage, and the training them up under their martial discipline, in order to defend themselves against invasions, have at once enabled them to live more happily and safely under their new masters, than they did before their coming, under their former government.

Natural
rarities
scarce.

THIS island never was noted for any natural rarities worth notice; if we except the cave or grotto where *St. Paul* and

^a VERTOT, & al. *supra* citat.
ALEXANDR. *siège* of Maltha, & al.
& al.

^b BOSIO, *ubi* *sup.* HIERON.
^c DAVITY, VERTOT,

his company took shelter from the rains, when the viper fastened to his arm; on the roof, sides, and floor of which, we are told, are found in the solid stone, which is of a soft nature, the eyes, tongues, heads, and other parts, of that reptile kind, in great abundance, and so lively represented, that no art can exceed them. The like of which we are also told are to be found in many other parts of the island; and all of them are said to be, and are used accordingly, as an efficacious antidote against the bite of poisonous creatures, and even against all kinds of poison. And this, the tradition adds, is a quality which was given to them by the miraculous blessing and prayers of that apostle, inasmuch that no venomous creature could live in that island ever since that time (C). Near that place is a well of excellent water, which they likewise pretend was at first miraculously brought out by the same apostle's smiting the rock, to quench the thirst of his companions after their shipwreck; and some other virtues are likewise ascribed to the water by the superstitious inhabitants, not worth repeating; only it may not be improper to observe, in general, that the island is almost every way, but more particularly on the south coast, surrounded with such a quantity of rocks, the greatest part of which scarcely rise above the surface of the water, that we need be the less surpris'd at any of the circumstances related by St. Luke concerning the apostle's shipwreck there *. But

* Acts xxvii. 41. & seq. Vide aut. supra citat.

(C) We are farther told, that the converts whom St. Paul made during his abode in that island, built a little church on that spot of ground, which, by reason of its being exposed to the winds and waves, was often blown down and rebuilt. That which is now to be seen upon it was built by the famed *Alex de Vignacourt*, grand master of the order, anno 1606, and is a very handsome, tho' small, structure. On the altar-piece

is a curious piece of painting, representing the apostle's shaking off the viper, without receiving any hurt from it, and surrounded with men, women, and children, all drawn to the life, and in attitudes of admiration and surprise, and in the old Maltese garb; and the whole very well executed.

On the top of the painting is the following Latin inscription:

*Vipera ignis acta calore frustra Pauli
Manum invadit; in insula benedicens
Anguibus & herbis admittit omne virus.*

M. DC. V. (8).

(8) Davy, Depper, Perot, & al.

the most singular rarity we read of in this island, is a spot at some small distance from the village and church of *St. Matthew*, where there stood formerly a little church, which suddenly disappeared, whether blown up or sunk in the ground by some small earthquake; in whose place there is now to be seen only a large hollow or precipice, between forty and fifty fathom deep, and about five hundred yards in circumference: but what the most surprising of all is, that the bottom of it is flat, and like an orchard, having fundry fruit-trees, and other plants and vegetables, growing in it.

Artificial rarities.

Heads of Zenobia and Penthesilea.

St. Agatha's statue.

Dreadful grotto.

AMONG the few artificial rarities, excepting the noble buildings and gardens above described, which are to be met with in this island, we may reckon the two marble heads in half-relief, much larger than the life, which were discovered in it anno 276, and are now seen fixed into the hinder wall of the grand master's palace; the one inscribed to *Zenobia Orientalis Domina*, and the other to *Penthesilea*. In the church dedicated to *St. Agatha* is a most noble statue of that female saint in white marble, placed upon the high altar, and exquisitely wrought. When the *Turks* laid siege to the city, the superstitious inhabitants fetched it out of the church, and placed it upon the ramparts, where the saint was exposed to the continual firing of the besiegers; and whilst she was wholly employed in protecting her votaries, and unmindful of her own safety, a random shot came and carried off the little finger of her right hand, which obliged her afterwards to keep so good a look-out, that she received no further harm. This image is held in great veneration by all the *Maltese*, as the protectress of the city and island. But the greatest curiosity is the grotto of that saint under the church, and runs a great way under ground. The place hath three apertures, at which the curious are let down by ropes, furnished with flambeaux and other conveniencies. But they find it, upon their coming down into it, so full of turnings and windings, so intersected with other meanders, that they have not the courage to penetrate far into it, for fear of being bewildered and lost. What is still worse is, that the fear and terror they are in all the time hinders them from being able to make any observations, or giving any tolerable account of it; which proves such a discouragement, that few people have the curiosity or heart to go into it. They shew in their great armoury, among other curiosities, the armour, shield, &c. of some of their most famed war-

riors and grand masters; a cannon made of bars of iron, fastened together by a strong wire, with a very thin case of wood, and the whole covered with a thick leather, well sewed, and so curiously painted, that it looks like a real brass gun. These were at first invented for the convenience of carrying them over high rocks and mountains; but being apt to burst, or become unfit for service, have been set aside since *y.*

WE have already taken notice of the conduit that furnishes the city of *Vatella* with such plenty of water; in memory of whose founder, *Alaf de Vignacourt*, a handsome pillar is erected, about 15 feet high, with his coat of arms upon it. But the most curious of all is the fountain in the great square, and made by the grand master *Lascaris*. It is of stone, cut in the form of a basket, which stands on a pedestal, about three feet from the ground. In the midst of it is a spire, or obelisk, about four feet high, adorned with flowers and festoons, hanging from the four angles, from the top to the bottom; and on the top of the obelisk is another basket, smaller and more neatly wrought. The water rising at the four angles of the obelisk in the first basket falls into the small one above; which being pierced through, sends it back to the lower in a great variety of streams, from which it again falls into a large stone trough, where the horses come to drink, and thence into a lower one, where dogs and other like creatures come also to quench their thirst². This piece, and the conduit that furnishes it with water, are by *Vertot* stiled a work worthy of an antient *Roman* †.

WE hinted a little higher, that the soil of the island is *Soil now* either stony or sandy, dry, and mostly barren, naturally; *well cultivated.* yet it hath this good quality, even where the least pains have been taken to cultivate and enrich it, that what grows upon it is exquisite to a high degree, either for taste or flavour. The flowers and aromatic herbs yield a most odoriferous and reviving smell; the fruits a most delicate flavour and relish. *Excellent fruits,* Their cotton, which doth not grow here upon tall trees, as *herbs, &c.* in *Egypt* and other parts of *Asia*, but upon shrubs, not above half a yard or two feet high, is reckoned the finest in the world. It must be sown every year, because it dies after it hath yielded its seed. The pods, which contain the cotton, are of the bigness of a filbert, which, when ripe, splits itself into three or four pointed leaves, whence comes out this fine soft wool; in the midst of which is found a kind of oily seed,

¹ THEVENOT, part i. c. 7. & al. supra citat.

² Id. ibid.

† Lib. xiv. sub ann. 1616.

parish they belong to almost as soon as they open their mouths to speak. The greatest part of the country natives hardly understand any other; but those that live in cities and towns speak the *French* and *Italian* tolerably well. But that which is most in use, both in the city of *Valetta* and among the knights and persons of rank, is the *Italian*.*

Marriages.

We do not find that they have any writing amongst them; their very contracts of marriage are made by an exchange of a handkerchief, or some such trifle, between the bride and bridegroom, before witnesses; which done, they may, and usually do, cohabit together some small time, during which the man leads his bride about the streets or lanes of the village, either to shew his complaisance for her, or to convince her that he is free from jealousy. All this is allowed even before the marriage ceremony, which is usually performed at church. And indeed their poverty is such as doth not admit of any

Burials.

greater formality or ceremonial. In their burials they have borrowed from the *Greeks* the old unnatural custom of hiring women-mourners, or rather howlers, who accompany the corpse with most hideous and dismal outcries, gestures, and actions, tearing their hair, and scratching their faces, in a most dreadful manner, all the way they go. The near relations likewise shave their hair, and throw themselves upon the dead corpse, and send forth the most doleful lamentations over it. The procession is preceded by a number of persons in black, and masked (D), followed by another retinue of monks and priests, one carrying the cross before them, and the rest holding torches in their hands. These have their bodies covered with a kind of upper garment, of black serge or freeze, which reaches from head to foot, and drags a long tail behind them, or is held up by some underling. The rat

* Auct. supra citat.

(D) These, we suppose, belong to some of those fraternities called penitents, which are very common in all the popish countries, and appear at their funeral and other processions in a long linen habit, which covers their usual dress, and is girt about with a string or sash. Over their heads they wear a piece of the same cloth, sown in the shape of what we call an *Hippocrates's sleeve*, thro' which

there are two holes, cut out for them to see their way thro'. This dress is common to all those fraternities, they differing only in the colour of it, some being white, others blue or red, but most generally of the black hue. All these commonly assist at the funeral of a brother or a sister, that is, of one of the fraternity; in their respective dress, and are buried in it when they die.

of the funeral ceremony is performed much after the rites of the *Greek* church, and needs no further description.

THE forces of the island, abstracted from the knights, and *Forces.* those that belong more directly to their order, consist in the

number of the inhabitants, among which they reckoned above 25,000 men, about the middle of the last century, all able to bear arms, robust, and well disciplined, and who are obliged, at the firing of the signal cannon three times, to appear under their proper standards, in all their martial accoutrements, in less than two hours. They commonly wore

Weapons.

long swords and daggers, bows and arrows, lances, pikes both long and short, which they used with great dexterity^c; but since they have been under the discipline of the *Maltese* knights, they are become no less expert in the use of all fire-

Horse.

arms, and other modern weapons. They are likewise for the most part good horsemen, though they make no farther use of horses than for the army, and these are bred to run with most prodigious speed, to leap over hedges and ditches with surprising ease and readiness. Of these they used to keep about 400, but probably they have much increased the number. These are reviewed at least once in six months by the grand master, or some deputy; and, the better to train both horses and riders to the martial discipline,

they have races yearly in or near the city, where considerable prizes are allowed to the winners, besides their being exercised at proper seasons. But, besides which, every knight that hath four *scudi* or crowns *per* day is obliged to maintain one for his own use, and at his own charge^d. The number

Number of galleys.

of galleys which the order, or, as they affect to stile it, the religion (because they are chiefly designed for its defence, and are esteemed the bulwark of it against the *Turks* and *Barbary* pirates) furnish, is more or less, according to the exigence they are in. The number of them used to be five, till, *Anno* 1627, the grand master *Paul* ordered a sixth, and, *Anno* 1652, *Lascaris* a seventh, to be built. These are very well and strongly built, well manned and commanded, having usually each 100 mariners and 25 knights on board; and that which is called the *Capitania*, and carries the standard of the order, hath most commonly 30 knights. Besides these, they have a number of galleons, and other inferior vessels, the crews of all which consist chiefly of slaves,

Slaves.

of which they have seldom less than 2 or 3,000, whereof

^c Bosio, & al. sup. citat.

^d Ibid. ibid.

- those who do not serve on ship-board are employed in the most laborious and lowest offices at land ; and these are so constantly bought and sold every market-day, that there is no stating the number of them *. Upon the whole, whether we consider the many fortifications which have been erected from time to time, as occasion required, or the vast quantity of artillery, and other warlike ammunition, with which every one is furnished, the experience and bravery of the commanders, the good discipline and constant watch that is kept among them, joined to the advantageousness of its situation, we shall be obliged to own, that it was not without good reason that this island hath been long since distinguished by the title of *Fior del Mondo*, or Flower of the world. But as it is in continual danger of being surpris'd either by the *Turks* or *Barbary* pirates, so every place of consequence, especially along the coasts, hath its governor and proper garrison, which keeps a constant guard, and a strict patrol every night both on foot and on horseback ; and, upon the least appearance, give the immediate alarm by beacons set on fire on the high grounds, from which they are answered by the firing of the city guns ; so that the alarm is spread through the whole island, and every person who bears arms is got in readiness for defence, in about an hour or two, from the most considerable sea-port to the meanest and remotest village †.
- Commerce.** THE traffick of the island is inconsiderable, consisting chiefly in wine and a few silks ; but there is a great quantity of corn imported from *Sicily*, *Alicant*, and other places ; and, when that proves insufficient, their ships sail out in quest of it, and oblige as many vessels as they meet with, which are laden with it, to part with it at the price that they would have sold it for at the port to which they were bound. As for the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs which fall into their hands, they are sure to be made prizes of, and the whole cargo seized, whether laden with corn or any other merchandise, and all the people in the ship are made slaves ; and, as they are seldom without having many such vessels cruising on that sea, so we may look upon these captures to be one of the most profitable branches of their commerce ; for it is by this means that they are able to furnish *Sicily*, and other parts of the *Levant*, with spices, sugar, and other the like commodities, in return for which they bring back grain, pulse, flesh both fresh and salted, wood, oil, silks, and other necessaries. But the chief profit of these goes to the order,
- Strength.**
- Constant watch,**
- and patrol.**
- The alarm**
being given.
- Corsairs.**
- Cruising.**

* Bosm, & al. ubi sup.

† Ibid. ibid.

the native inhabitants having no other share of it than by the exchange they make of them, with the produce of their own lands and industry; insomuch that, excepting some few of them, not above ten or twelve in *Bosio's* time were worth above 200 or 600 crowns by the traffick they carried on of their cotton and cummin seed; the rest, as we have already *The people* hinted, were very poor, and it is scarcely to be supposed *very poor.* have been suffered to grow richer since that time¹.

THE money coined here is inconsiderable, it being with *Money* some difficulty that the emperor *Charles V.* allowed them *coined* that privilege. It chiefly consists of silver and copper pieces *here.* of low value. The smallest of the latter metal are called *Piccioli*, six of which make a *grano*, or grain, ten of these make a *Carlino*, two of which make a *Tarino*. The *Tarini* are either of copper or silver, and amount to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* *French* money. They have some pieces of brass worth four *Tarini* each, but pass no-where but in the island, and are cast merely to preserve the silver coin for foreign traffick. The *Scudi*, or *Maltese* crowns, are reckoned worth about 54 pence of *French* money. They coin likewise sequins, which are worth about 16 *Tarini*; but, besides these, they have variety of foreign coin, such as *Venetian* and *Turkish* sequins, which are worth 18 *Tarini*; the *Spanish* pistole, which is worth sometimes 33 and sometimes 34, as their value alters in other countries. They make use likewise of the *Spanish Foreign* dollars, *Talers*, which pass commonly for 10 *Tarini*, but *coin cur-* these must pass through the master of the *mint's* hands, and *rent.* have his mark stamped upon them².

THE grand master, who is always chosen with great cau- *Govern-* tion and ceremony by the chapter of order, as we shall see *ment.* in its proper place, hath the whole revenue of the island, as *Grand* well as of the small and inconsiderable one of *Gosa* adjoining *masters.* to it, of which more hereafter, over both which, at his election, he is invested with the sovereign power during his life, by the grant which the emperor *Charles V.* the then proprietor of it, gave to the first of them at his investiture of those islands; so that they have held ever since the title of sove- *Their rank* reign princes, and are next in rank to the imperial and regal *and dig-* dignity, and take place of all other sovereign princes, and *nity.* even of the *Romish* cardinals, and send and receive ambassadors like all other crowned heads³. To these the popes added some other privileges, besides confirming the foregoing; so that when one of them comes to *Rome*, he is intitled

¹ BOSIO, DAVITY, & al.
319, & al. ubi sup.

² *Ibid.* ubi sup. & al.

³ BOSIO, & al. ubi sup.

to the nearest place to his holiness, whether in the church, chapel, or other place, and, in a cavalcade, to ride immediately before him, and alone^k (E); for, long before their being possessed of this island, a grand master of the order was looked upon as the most powerful of all the Christian princes of the east^l.

Revenues. His revenues, arising not only from a certain tax upon the island; and that of *Gofa*, including with it the duties on salt goods imported and exported, and such like imposts, were computed by *Bosio* to amount to about 10,000 crowns, one year with another: and he says, that the emperor *Charles V.* hardly received more from thence than 47 ducats *per Ann.* But, besides these, the order allows him the like sum for the entertainment of his table, the right of admiralty upon all prizes, at the rate of 10 *per Cent.* as well upon merchandizes as slaves, gain arising from the vacant commanderies and priories, formerly common to the order, but since appro-

* *VERTOT*, ubi sup. lib. ix. sub an. 1524.
an. 1414.

^l *Id.* sub

(E) We have, upon this point, the judgment of the great lawyer *Chassane*, who, in his treatise *De Gloria Mundi*, speaking concerning ecclesiastical dignities, expresses himself, with great respect to the grand master, in these words:

“*Crederem quod iste magnus
“magister Rhodi, post papam,
“deberet præcedere omnes patri-
“archas, cardinales, & alios
“pontifices ecclesiasticos, & cum
“videatur tantæ esse dignitatis
“cujus est patriarcha, quod post
“imperatorem & alios principes
“bates jura imperii, ut sunt
“reges Franciæ & Hispaniæ,
“quod præcedet et omnes principes
“recognoscentes superiorem, puta
“principes subditos imperio, et
“quoscumque duces; habet enim
“sub se magnos principes, & est
“maximè honoratus”* (9).

Accordingly, when he was,

among other Christian princes, invited to the council of *Trent*, and had sent thither two of his order as his ambassadors to that grand assembly, one of whom, by reason of his extreme old age and infirmities, could not reach it, the other, named *Royas*, coming to challenge his rank according to that of his principal, was at first strenuously opposed by the whole body of bishops, who thought it a lessening to their dignity to give place to a simple monastic, sent thither as deputy from a mere fraternity of his brethren, for so they termed him. They were however obliged to submit to it, and he was allowed to sit among the other ambassadors according to the rank formerly assigned and settled by the pope (10).

(9) *Ap. Vertot*, lib. xii. sub an. 1559. vol. iv. p. 349.
p. 422.

(10) *Id. ibid.*

priated to him, together with some other perquisites annexed to the dignity, of which we shall speak more particularly in the sequel, were computed, in the whole, at about 40,000 more; in all, *communibus annis*, about 60,000 crowns^m. With all this great income, and pre-eminent rank, he assumed no higher title in all his letters, &c. than that of *Humble* *The humble servant of the sacred house of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and of the military order of the knights of the sepulchre of our Lord, and defender of the poor Christians* (F). Nevertheless he is addressed by all with that of grand master of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem, prince of Maltha and Goza, &c.* But they soon after became fond enough of the latter to prefer it to the former; and we find *exchanged for bigger* one of them accordingly, named *Paul Lascaris*, assuming it at the beginning of his letter to the states general, for the restitution of those lands which they had alienated from the orderⁿ.

His state is still greater than his title, he sitting always under a canopy, whether in the church, general assembly, or even at his table, at which last none are permitted to sit with him but the knights of the highest rank, or of the great cross, and these only upon stools or chairs without backs, and where his meat is served in by twelve pages of noble families. He hath likewise his high steward, and carver to taste his meat, and his cup-bearer to do the same by his drink^o. He can never be deposed from his dignity without the pope's consent, nor can any one else decide any dispute or controversy between him and his knights but by his holiness. Other things relating to his power, dignity, election, &c. will be best seen when we come to speak of the order in general in the next section. At present we have only considered him as sovereign prince of *Maltha and Goza*, of which last island we shall now give a short description before we proceed farther.

THIS small island, called by the inhabitants *Gaudisb* (G), *The island* and by the *Italians Gozo*, is parted from that of *Maltha* by a narrow *described*.

• BOSIO, & al.

• DAPPER Africa.

• BOSIO, & al.

(F) Thus the deed granted by the grand master *Foulkes de Villaret*, dated from *Rhodes*, October 17, 1312, ran in these terms, *Brother Foulkes de Villaret, by the grace of God, and of the holy apostolical see, humble master of the house and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and guardian of the poor belonging to Jesus Christ* (11).

(G) This island, from its old

(11) *Vertot, ubi sup. tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 152.*

Its inhabitants.

narrow chanel of about a league and a half, or two leagues, on the north-west side of it. Its length is about three leagues, and breadth one and a half, and compass about eight, and is surrounded with steep rocks and shelves, and of difficult access on all sides. It hath neither towns nor village, but only a few scattered hamlets, in which there might be about 5000 souls, men, women, and children, who, to secure their possessions from the swarming corsairs, had made a shift to erect a small fort upon a high rock, but which the *Maltese* commissaries, who were sent to take a view of the island, found to be so ill built, that it hardly deserved that name.

Produce.

THE ground is mountainous and rugged, yet fertile, and so well cultivated, that it not only supplies its own inhabitants with plenty of corn, fruits, and other products, but sends some quantities of them to those of *Maltha*^p. The chief villages, or hamlets rather, are called *Scilendi Dwerre*, and *Muggiari*, and these breed great numbers of sheep and goats. The island breeds likewise abundance of hares, rabbits, bees, and fowl. Near it, towards the *Barbary* coasts, stands a high steep rock, on which they catch some of the best falcons, a small number of which are sent to the king of *Spain* every year by the grand master, as a kind of homage or acknowledgement they are obliged to pay to that monarch, in consequence of the grant made to them of these two islands by the emperor *Charles V.* The grand masters afterwards much improved its fortifications, especially after it had been treacherously betrayed to the *Turkish* admiral by its governor, and retaken by the *Maltese*. The former, upon their seizing and plundering it, found in it above seven thousand souls, which shews how much it had improved under the latter. And the grand master *Vignacourt*, knowing of what consequence it was to prevent the *Turks* ever

Strength.

^p De hac, vid. BOS. ubi sup. THEVENOT, p. i. c. 8. DAVITY, DAPPER, VERTOT, lib. ii. tom. iv. p. 259.

name, situation, and other characteristics, is rightly enough supposed to be the same with the *Gauls* of *Pliny* and *Mela*, the *Gaudes* of *Strabo*, the *Glaucon* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Fulacron* of the *Latin Itinerarium Mari-*

num (12). The name of *Gauls* is of *Arabic* extract, and we still find it named *Gaudes*^b by some *Arabic* authors, which was in all likelihood given to it by that nation when they had it in their possession (13).

(12) *Cluver. Antig. Sicil.* l. ii. *Dapper, & al. sup. citat.*

(13) *Crus. Tarc. l. viii. Dechy.*

becoming

becoming masters of it, put it into such a condition of defence, that all the attempts that have been made since upon it have proved ineffectual. The castle, which, by reason of its high situation, commands the whole island, was surrounded with a stout bastion, and some other works, and well provided with artillery, and all kinds of warlike ammunition and provisions, and the garrison sufficiently reinforced.

The governor, who is sent thither every three years from *Maltha*, commonly resides in the fort, and there has been since a small town built at the foot of the hill on which it stands. The inhabitants of the island speak the same *Arabeſh*, and follow the same customs, with those of *Maltha*. They are stout and long-lived, the air being very clear and *Healthy* healthy, and the fresh springs and fountains in great number, *air and fine* and yielding excellent water. They are all of the church *ſpringſ.* of *Rome* here as well as at *Maltha* ².

BETWEEN the islands of *Maltha* and *Gofa* lie the small ones *Comin* of *Comin* and *Cominot*, the former of which is supposed to ~~be~~ ^{and Co.} be the *Hepheſtia* or *isle of Vulcan* of the antients ¹, and is *minot.* likewise under the government and protection of the grand master. They were formerly uninhabited; but, by the care of the famed *Vignacourt*, a fort having been built upon each of them for their safety, they are now pretty well inhabited; and that of *Comin*, which is about four or five miles in circuit, breeds a large quantity of cattle, and other animals of all sorts ². That of *Lampethoſa*, called by *Ptolemy* *Lipathuſa*, *Lampe-* lies about 25 or 30 leagues west-south-west of *Maltha*, in *doſa*, a latitude 34°, about 70 or 80 from the continent. It is *deſert* ^{island.} ~~uninhabited~~, but hath the ruins ^{its ruins.} of a castle, towers, houses, &c. The reason of its being abandoned is absurdly attributed by some to spectres and phantoms that haunt it, by others to its unwholesome air, which causes frightful dreams and visions ³.

HOWEVER, it is certain, that there is a church or chapel *Famous* in it dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and divided into two *church.* parts, the one frequented by Christians, and the other by *Mohammedans*, both of whom, from a zeal of religion, come to pay their devotions and free-will offerings, which they leave behind in their respective partitions, no part of which is ever touched, much less carried off, by any of those votaries, there being a notion or tradition, that whosoever attempts it can never sit out of the place; so that the knights

¹ Vid. *ant.* *ſupra* citat.

² Vid. *CLUYER*, *Antiq. Sicil.*

Lii. c. 16.

³ *DARTER*, *DAVITY*, & al.

⁴ *CRUS.*

Terc. l. viii. *FERRUZ* *Voyag.* *MS.* ap. *Davity.*

Maltha, who lay claim to the place, come in their gallies at certain times, and carry away the offerings made by the Christians, and apply them to the support of the hospital of *Trapani* in *Sicily*, called *Nunicata*, for the benefit of the sick poor, or convey it to their own island^u. How that which is offered by the *Turks* is disposed of, we are not told; but we may safely believe they are no less charitable in the use of it than the *Maltese* knights. This island, to which Mr. *Baudrand* gives about 16 miles of circumference, became more known since the dreadful shipwreck of the fleet of the emperor *Charles V.* on its coasts; *Anno* 1552.

^u DAVITY, DAPPER, BAUDRAND, & al. ubi sup.

S E C T. II.

The History of Maltha, since it came into the Possession of the Knights of its Name, together with an Account of the Origin, Institution, Laws, Discipline, &c. of that Order.

*Antient
State of
Maltha.*

WE have already hinted in the last section, that this island was given to this order of knights by the emperor *Charles V.* in lieu of that of *Rhodes*, out of which they had been driven by the *Turks*. But that nothing may be omitted in this modern, which had been overlooked in the antient history, it will not be amiss to say something of its antient state, before they became masters of it. According to an antient tradition, it had been under the dominion of an *African* prince named *Battus*, an enemy to queen *Dido*, from which it passed under that of the *Carthaginians*, as we may rightly infer from sundry *Punic* inscriptions to be seen on stone pillars, and other monuments, still standing. From these it passed to the *Romans*, who made themselves masters of it at the same time that they subdued the island of *Sicily*. These were driven out of it by the *Arabs* in the year 828; who were driven out of it in their turn by Roger the Norman, earl of *Sicily*, who took possession of it the earl of *Anno* 1190; from which time it continued under the dominion of the kings of *Sicily*^a, and thence fell into that of

*Taken by
the earl of
Sicily.*

^a Vide FAZEL de reb. Sicul. l. i. BOSIO Hist. di Malta, l. iii. c. 5. DAVITY, DAPPER, VERTOT, & al.

the emperor *Charles V.* above-mentioned, by his conquest of *Naples* and *Sicily*, as has been formerly shewn in the histories of those several kingdoms.

In the mean time, as the knights (to whom it was granted by that wife and politic monarch, as much with a view to preserve his *Italian* dominions by this means, as for the defence of the Christian church against the overgrown power of the *Turkish* monarchs) had already signalized themselves during several centuries against those sworn enemies of Christianity, and, like a second race of warlike and zealous *Maccabees*, were become no less famous for their singular piety and zeal, than for their surprising bravery and success, under the different names of knights hospitallers, knights of *St. John*, of *Rhodes*, &c. it will be very proper to trace their original up to the fountain's head, in order to give our reader a clearer idea of the design, origin, institution, progress, and excellency, of that so justly famed order; and of that invincible courage which they displayed during so many centuries, in defence of Christianity.

We have shewn, in the antient history, to what a dreadful and distressed condition the city of *Jerusalem* had been reduced under the tyrannical government of the implacable *Saracens*^d, after it had undergone so many disasters under the *Isaurians* and *Persians*^e. In that last, however, the Christians had been treated with more tenderness than the rest by the Khalif *Aaron*, on account of the good understanding which subsisted between the emperor *Charles* the Great and him. But, after the death of that Khalif, they underwent a much severer treatment than before, occasioned by the discords which arose between the *Mohammedan* princes of *Persia* and *Egypt*, under whose respective dominions the country of *Palestine*, commonly called *Holy Land*, had often been shifted. The latter at length remaining masters of that province, the Christians again were treated with humanity and gentleness, till the reign of Khalif *Equen*, who, though born of a Christian mother, made it his study to persecute them with more uncommon cruelty, as he thought thereby to take off all suspicion of his being in the least degree inclined to their religion. Amongst other marks of his hatred, he caused the church of *St. Sepulchre* to be demolished, which, as we have already shewn, continued 37 years in a ruinous

*Origin of
the knights
hospitallers
at Jeru-
salem.*

*Christians
cruelly per-
secuted.*

^c De his vid. MEGISSER BESCHRECA de Insul. Malta. FAZEL, Bozio, & al. sup. citat.

^d Vol. xvii. p. 25, & seq.

^e Ibid. vol. xvi. p. 493. xvii. p. 18, & seq.

The church of St. Sepulchre rebuilt. state, till rebuilt by the emperor *Monomachus*, at his own charges, Anno 1048, and with the consent of the then *Khalif Bomenfar*.

Pilgrims resort to it. ABOUT the same time, some *Italian* gentlemen and merchants, who had been witnesses of the ill treatment of the Christian pilgrims, not only from the *Mohammedans*, but likewise from the *Greeks*, who were by this time no less distressed to them, undertook to procure them a sure asylum in the city of *Jerusalem*, where they should be wholly free from the insults of both. These *Italians*, who were native of *Amalphy*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*, but still subject to the *Greek* emperors of *Constantinople*, sailed frequently to the sea-ports of *Syria* and *Egypt*, whither they brought among other merchandizes of value, some curious pieces of work from *Europe*, which were greatly admired, and quickly bought; by which means they easily introduced themselves into the *Khalif Monstaxer Billah's* court; from whom, by dint of presents, they obtained a permission to build a house, or hospital, at *Jerusalem*, near the holy sepulchre, for the entertainment and safety of such Christian pilgrims, together with a church, where they might have divine service performed after the rites of their own church; the holy sepulchre then building being of the *Greek* rite. The governor of the city, according to his orders, immediately assigned them a spot of ground, and a chapel was soon built, which they called *Sancta Maria* of the *Latin*, to distinguish it from those of the *Greek* church; and adjoining to it an hospital, or convent, for the reception of all *Latin* pilgrims of either sex, whether healthy or sick, according to their first design.

Three hospitals at Jerusalem. In conformity to which, the two others, that were afterwards erected for the same use, had likewise each its proper chapel, the one dedicated to *St. John the Almoner*, or *hospitable*, and the other to *Mary Magdalen*^a.

Latin pilgrims received in them. THE first of these had not been long built, before there came a good number of zealous persons from *Europe*, who dedicated themselves wholly to that charitable work, while the monks of the order of *St. Bennet* officiated in the chapel, and both they and the pilgrims were supported by the alms which were collected for that end in *Italy* and other parts of *Europe*, and were constantly remitted thither every year; and from this house arose the order of *St. John*, we are going to speak of, which proved in time the bulwark of Christianity. In this hospitable place, the Christians of the *Latin* church were received and maintained, without distinc-

^a Vid. auct. sup. citat. VERTOT, lib. i. p. 20.

of nation or condition. Those who had been stripped by robbers, were supplied with new cloaths, and the sick, lame, and all that laboured under any affliction or misery, were sure to meet with a suitable relief from this new kind of charity, till the city was surprised, and almost totally destroyed, by the *Turks*, or *Turcomans*, of whom we have formerly given an account, and the whole garison of the Egyptian Khalif cut in pieces by them. This disaster, which happened in less than seventeen years after the building of this hospital, put a stop to all future pilgrimages for a time, on account of the dreadful havock which those greedy barbarians made among them, besides their having plundered the hospital of every thing valuable; and probably would have done the same by the great church of the Sepulchre, had not the fear of losing the yearly income, which they raised on the western pilgrims, deterred them from it. In this dreadful condition were the affairs of the *Holy Land*, till the complaints which came continually from thence, heightened by the shrill sound of *Peter the Hermit's* trumpet, stirred up the zeal of all the Christian princes to attempt the rescue of those sacred places out of the hands of those merciless infidels; and gave birth to the crusade, of which an ample account hath been given elsewhere¹, and to which our readers are referred, to avoid repetitions.

The Turks
seize Je-
rusalem.

Driven
out by the
crusaders.

To return, therefore, to our forlorn hospital of *St. John*: the Khalif of *Egypt*, who had taken the advantage of the defeats which the *Turks* had received from the Christian crusaders, and retaken the city of *Jerusalem* from them, being justly afraid of, as well as threatened by, the Christians, whom his breach of promise had greatly exasperated, of being driven out from it, had taken care to send about 40,000 regular troops into it, besides the 20,000 *Mohammedans* that were already in it, whom he had obliged to take up arms against all adventurers, whilst the governor was ordered to imprison by degrees all the Christians he was suspicious of.

Among these was the celebrated *Gerard*, a *Frenchman* of *Gerard Provence*², who, from the time that he came to visit the fountains the places of that city, had dedicated himself to the service of monks hospitalers the hospital of *St. John*, and, for his singular piety, and tenderness to the pilgrims, had the care and management of that house committed to him, under the title of administrator.

¹ See Ant. History, vol. ii. p. 128. xvii. 120. xx. 6, & seq.

² BOUCH. Hist. de Provence, p. i. p. 32.

*Numbers
of sexes
come into
the order.*

1113.

*Gerard
dies ;*

tor. At the same time a *Roman* lady, named *Agnes*, a person of no less merit, took care of those of her own sex, and these two extended their charity not only to all pilgrims but even to the infidels who came thither for any relief, but much more so after the city was taken by the Christians by whom he was set at liberty, and had the singular pleasure to see it enriched by the greatest donatives, and endowed with lands to a very great value ; and the number of male and female hospitallers greatly augmented ; and then was that he formed the design, in conjunction with a lady *Agnes*, to persuade all, or as many of those devoted brothers and sisters as were willing, to renounce the world and enter into a monastic life ; and framed the rules of the order, which he soon after got to be approved and confirmed by pope *Pascal II.* who took them under his protection, granted them sundry great privileges, and appointed him rector of the hospital during his life ; with an injunction that, after his death, the brotherhood should proceed to the election of a new governor, under the same title of rector. Hence it is that some authors have reckoned him the first master of the order^o, though he was only the founder of it, and that title is given by all the knights only to his successor *Raymond*, according to the tradition which hath been generally received among them. However that be, the good old *Gerard* lived to a great age, highly revered by all Christians, and no less regretted at his death. The principal rules, dress, and other particularities, of this new order the reader will find in the margin (H), as they were afterwards confirmed and improved by his worthy successor *.

RAYMOND

^o GRAMAY, BOSIO, MEGISSER, DAPPER, DAVITY, VERTON, & al. plur. * BOSIO, & al. sup. citat.

(H) The good old *Gerard*, in the first institution of this order of hospitallers, had contented himself, it seems, with leaving them some few rules, or injunctions, such as, with the help of his good example, might inspire the fraternity with the deepest sentiments of charity and humility towards all, not only the Christian pilgrims, sick persons, and others more immediately under their care, but likewise towards all others, *Turks* and infidels not excepted. The dress he prescribed to them was black and plain, distinguished only with a white cross upon the breast. The lady *Agnes*, being appointed prioress over the sisterhood, admitted the same dress among them ; and both were, with the approbation of the pope, and patri-

arch

RAYMOND DUPUY, by the *Latins* called *De Pofo*, a na- and suc-
 ceeded by
 ce of *Dauphiny*, a person of a very antient and noble fa-
 ty, was unanimously chosen to succeed him, under the Raymond
 ce of *Master*; and is accordingly placed by most historians Dupuy.
 the head of the grand masters of the order^p. This ex-

^p Vid. J. B. RONDINEL Regal. Hospital. BOSIO, MEGERER,
 ERROT, & al.

ch of *Jerusalem*, installed in-
 the order of *St. Augustins*,
 bound themselves under the
 me vows (14); and these were
 the rules that founder gave
 them.

But his successor was no soon-
 chosen in his place, than he
 perceived the necessity of adding
 me particular statutes, such as
 might not only render them
 useful to religion by the chari-
 table entertainment of the Chris-
 tian pilgrims, but likewise by
 securing the roads from the ban-
 ditti which infested them, and
 from the insults of the infidels,
 had to oblige them to take up
 arms upon all occasions they
 should thenceforth be called to
 by their superiors, against the
 enemies of Christianity; by
 which they might become as it
 were a perpetual crusade, and a
 military corps to fight in defence
 of it, under the direction and
 standards of the kings of *Jeru-
 salem*, without however exempt-
 ing them from their religious
 vows, and the other duties of
 hospitality (15.)

There was the greater neces-
 sity for such a military order at
 this time, as the roads through
 that small new kingdom, which
 consisted only of the capital city
 and three or four more, were
 so infested both by *Turks* and

Saracens, that there was no tra-
 velling from one place to an-
 other without the greatest dan-
 ger of being massacred by those
 implacable enemies. The bo-
 roughs and villages were still
 more exposed to their cruelty,
 and wanted such brave intrepid
 men to scour and rid the coun-
 try of them. And, if what
 some authors say can be de-
 pended upon (16), those monk-
 ish and other Christians that at-
 tended the three hospitals during
 the siege of that city, had found
 means to keep a correspondence
 with the besiegers; by which
 means, and the extraordinary
 conduct and bravery which they
 shewed on that occasion, they
 greatly contributed to the sur-
 render of it; upon which ac-
 count it was that *Godfrey* the
 new-made king bestowed such
 large revenues and privileges to
 those hospitals; and it is not at
 all improbable, that *Raymond*,
 who had been an eye-witness of
 their singular behaviour, and in
 all likelihood bore himself a
 part of it, might take the first
 hint of joining the military to
 the religious discipline, and of
 fashioning this new order with
 that twofold view, and render-
 ing them thereby equally useful
 to two such valuable and neces-
 sary ends.

(14) *Vitri Hist. c. 50. Fr. Menenius, Equestr. Order. Gramay Afric. Illustr.*
ib. i c. 4. Davity, Vertot, & al. sup. citat. (15) Ibid. ibid. (16) Vid.
al. Megerer, Beschreib. des Inf. Mals.

cellent man, tho' he saw himself at the head of such a numerous fraternity, could not forbear being sensibly touch'd with the distress and variety of dangers and miseries which the Christians of *Palestine* labour'd under. Vast numbers of them groaning under a rigorous slavery under the *Turks* & *Saracens* of *Egypt*, their few cities in continual danger of being retaken from them, and made to feel the most dreadful effects of war; the towns and villages expos'd to the continual incursions of their implacable enemies, their wives & daughters carried off and sacrificed to their brutish lusts; many of their men forced to apostatize, to avoid death, & worse slavery than death, the roads so infested by insidious ditti, as rendered all commerce and communication extremely hazardous: these and other considerations of the like encouraging nature, and hinted at in the last note, wholly gross'd his thoughts and cares from the very moment that was rais'd to his new dignity. He set them forth at last in the most pathetic terms before the whole chapter; at which he propos'd to them the project he had form'd of constituting them into a military order, and obliging them to give themselves equally to the exercise of arms, as they were to the duties of hospitality and religion, as the most effectual means of supporting it with honour and safety against the insults and attempts of their surrounding enemies, especially as they were by that time become rich enough to hire secular troops to their assistance, and to fight under their command; a thing no less worthy of their high rank at birth than their present engagement and zeal for the defence of the Christian faith. The reputation he bore among them made them all look upon this proposal as a fresh mark of his care and concern for the common faith, and for their honour and safety; but, on second thoughts, they began to doubt whether such a profession could be compatible with their old one. At length their zeal for the defence of the *Holy Land* easily over-ruled all these difficulties; and as the greatest part of them had fought under their new king, they were easily prevail'd upon to resume their martial employment; for which the patriarch of *Jerusalem* granted them dispensation, upon condition, however, that they should never bear arms against any but infidels.

Who
makes new
rules for
rendering
the order
military.

The order
divided in-
to three
classes.

FROM this time, we are told, the order began to be divided into three classes; in the first of which were admitted those who, either by the nobility of their birth, or the rank

1 Aust. sup. citat. Vide & FAZEL de reb. Sicul. MENSUR. ord. BYSSAC hist. de Malth. lib. i. p. 69, & seq.

they had formerly held in the army, were best qualified and entitled to fight in defence of religion, and of the *Holy Land*. The second class consisted of such who had exercised the sacerdotal function, either as parish priests, chaplains, &c. These, besides their usual attendance at church, or upon the sick, were obliged to take their turns to attend the army as almoners and chaplains. The third class consisted of such only as were neither of noble descent nor in holy orders, who were therefore stiled *serving brethren*, and appointed either to attend the sick and wounded, or in such other inferior offices as the knights of the first class should think proper to employ them in. These last were, in process of time, distinguished by a coat of arms different from the knights of the first and second class. Some authors tell us, that *Raymond*, and not *Gerard*, was the first who gave the order the black gown or mantle, with the white linen cross, with eight points, and appointed the form and ceremonial of receiving the knights into it, and the oath they were to take at their admission; all which the reader will find in the margin (I). However that be, he got his rule confirmed by pope

Calistus

1120.

(I) The candidate for the order is to appear before the high altar, with a lighted wax-candle in his hand, in a long gown, ungirt, in token of his being free, and, kneeling down, begs to be admitted; upon which a gilt sword is put into his hands, with the words, *In the name of the Father, Son, &c.* in token that he is to defend the church, subdue her enemies, and hazard his life for the Christian faith.

A girdle is put about his loins, in token of his being from thenceforth bound to keep the vows of the order. He waves the gilt sword over his head, in defiance of the enemies of the Christian faith, sheaths it up, after having first passed it under his arm to wipe it clean, in token that he will keep himself clean from all vice: upon which the person, who admits him, puts his hand

upon his shoulder, and forewarns him not to indulge, or be lulled asleep in, vice, and exhorts him to be watchful against it, to be careful of his honour, and ready to perform all good works and good offices.

This done, they put a pair of gilt spurs on his ancles, in token that he shall be emulous of all laudable actions, and trample gold and all worldly wealth under his feet, and not suffer himself to be corrupted by them.

He then takes up the lighted candle in his hand, and holds it all the time that mass is said or sung, and a sermon is preached suitable to the occasion; in which all works of piety, charity, and hospitality, particularly the redemption of Christian slaves, are earnestly recommended to him, together with the other duties of the order;

der;

Calistus II. and some of his successors, and ordered the white cross upon a red field to be displayed upon the standard of the

der; such as obedience to his superiors, diligence in the functions of his profession, &c.

Sermon being ended, he is asked whether he is loaded with any considerable debts, married, or under a promise of marriage, or any-ways engaged to live under any other order or profession, or is sincerely desirous to be received into the order of *St. John*; and when he hath answered satisfactorily to all these questions, he is immediately received and admitted into the fraternity.

He is then led to the high altar, holding the missal, or mass-book, in his hand, and there makes his solemn vows upon it; after which he becomes intitled to all the privileges granted to that order by the see of *Rome*. He is then reminded, that he must repeat every day fifty *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Mary's*, the office of our lady, that for the dead, together with another number of *Pater Nosters* for the souls of the deceased knights; and is shewn the habit which the knights are obliged to wear.

Whilst they are dressing him in it, a certain suitable memento is given to him, such as, in putting on the sleeves, that he is now bound to obedience; the white cross on the left side is to remind him, that he ought to be ready, on all occasions, to shed his blood for Christ, who shed his own for him; and the eight points of the cross, of the eight beatitudes, that will be the reward of his obedience.

The black cloak, which is sharp-pointed behind, and hath a kind of sharp cowl or cape, is to remind him of the camels hair-coat which their patron *John the Baptist* wore; and the strings by which it is tied about the neck, and fastened under the shoulders, of the passion of our blessed Lord, and the singular patience and meekness with which he underwent it.— But this cloak is only worn on solemn days, or when sentence is pronounced upon a criminal of the order, or at the interment of a brother.

They likewise wear another cross upon their breasts, and hanging by a black and white silk string, that goes about the neck, and the ends reach down to the feet: for that which is called the *great cross*, and distinguishes the wearers of it by the title of *Knights of the great cross*, is only allowed to those who have lived ten years in the island of *Malta*, and have performed four caravans or expeditions at sea, in the galleys of the order; and those, who are thus intitled, are obliged to petition for it, and make up their title to it, before the great council of the order, before it can be granted to them. And thus much may serve with respect to their particular dress: to which we shall only add, that those knights, who go to war, are allowed what they call a *supravest*, or upper coat, of a red colour, with a white cross, but plain, and without the eight points.

The

the order, with the approbation of pope *Innocent* about ten years after; from which time the order was distinguished into the three classes above-mentioned, of *Knights, Chaplains, and Serving Brethren, of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*. He and his knights highly signalized themselves at the sieges of *Acra, Ptolemais, Barut, Tyre, and Sidon*, and last of all at that of *Ascalon*; in consideration of which signal service, pope *Anastafius IV.* granted the order an exemption from the jurisdiction of any eastern prelates ^r.

By this time the order had gained such esteem and reputation, and was so highly honoured and encouraged by all the princes and great men through all christendom, that many of the young nobility of *Europe* were emulous to come and serve under its banner. This obliged the master of it to make a farther division of it, answerable to the principal nations that were admitted into it, which were eight in number, as they were, and are still, stiled *tongues*; and were those that follow:

1. THE first is that of *Provence*, which probably had the precedence out of regard to *Gerard*, the pious founder; and to which is annexed the dignities of the grand commander, the grand prior of *St. Giles*, the grand prior of *Toulouse*, and bailiff of *Monosque*. The priory of *Toulouse* hath thirty-five, and that of *St. Giles* fifty-four, commanderies belonging to them. ^{That of Provence,}

^r Auct. supra citat.

The public profession they make at the altar, at their admission, is to this purpose: "I *A. B.* do here vow and promise to almighty God, to the blessed virgin *Mary*, and to *St. John the Baptist*, and with the blessing and help of God, to pay true and sincere obedience to the superior he shall appoint over me, and who shall be duly chosen by our religion, to renounce all pro-perty, and to live in constant chastity." After which, as he withdraws his hand from

the book, the person who officiates at his admittance, says to him, "We receive and own you as a servant of messieurs the poor and the sick, and consecrated to the defence of the catholic church." To which he replies, "I acknowledge myself as such." As for their form of prayers, their devotional offices, and other particularities, which we have not time to dwell upon, the curious may see them in the authors quoted in the margin (17).

(17) *Besio bist. de Malte*, p. 1. c. 2, & 3. *Meißner Beschreibung de ins. Malte*, Job. Baptist. Rondinel. reg. hosp. S. Job. Bapt. Fazel de reb. Sic. decad. i. l. 1. *Manuel aques. ord. Byssat bist. de Malte*, Davity, Dapper, Vaxtor, tom. vi. p. 16, & seq.

Au-
vergne.

2. THE second is that of *Auvergne*, to which is annexed the dignity of grand marshal of the order, the grand prior of *Auvergne*, under which are four commanderies of knights and eight of serving brethren, and the bailiff of *Curent*, now the bailiff of *Lyon*.

France.

3. THAT of *France*, which hath the dignities of the grand hospitaller, the grand prior of *France*, with 45 commanderies under him, the prior of *Aquitain*, with 65, the prior of *Champagne*, with 25, besides the bailiff of *Morea*, and the grand treasurer.

Italy.

4. THAT of *Italy*, to which is annexed the office of grand admiral of the order of *Rome*, whose jurisdiction extends itself over nineteen commanderies; that of prior of *Lombardy*, which hath 45; the prior of *Venice*, with those of *Barletta* and *Capua*, who have 25 between them; that of *Pisa*, which hath 26; and that of *Messina*, which hath 12 more; besides the bailiff of *St. Euphemia*, of *St. Stephen de Monopoli*, of the *Holy Trinity* at *Venice*, and of *St. John* at *Naples*.

Arragon.

5. THAT of *Arragon*, including that of *Arragon* and those of *Catalonia* and *Navarre*, to which belong the dignity of grand protector of the order, that of grand prior of *Arragon*, alias castellan of the imposts, who presides over 19 commanderies, that of *Navarre* over 17, and that of *Catalonia* over 17, together with the bailiff of *Majorca*. It had formerly the bailiwick of *Caps*, or *Capez*, in *Barbary*, whilst the Christians were masters of *Tripoli*; but is now abolished.

England,
since abo-
lished.

6. THE sixth was that of *England*, to which belonged the dignity of turcopelier (K), or colonel-general of the infantry, together with the priories of *England* and *Ireland*, with 32 commanderies under them, together with the baili-

(K) This title hath its origin from the *Turcomans*, who commonly called their light-horse *Turcoples*; that being a name given in general to all the children that were born of a *Turkish* father and a *Greek* mother, but more particularly to such of them as were designed for the war (18).

It became afterwards a military dignity in the kingdom of *Cyprus* (19), from whence it

passed into the order of *Maltha*. But these gave that title only to the colonel general of their infantry. After the reformation, that dignity was joined to the grand master of the order by pope *Gregory XIII.* and given to *Hugh de Loubenx de Verdatte*, upon his confirming his election to that sovereign station, *A. D.* 1582 (20).

(18) *Will. Tyr.* l. i. c. 7, 19, 24.
(19) *Acq.* l. 15. c. 3.

(19) *Lusignan Hist. de Cypre.* *Albert Acq.* l. 15. c. 3.
(20) *Verrot, ubi sup.* l. ii. p. 266, & *alibi pass.*

wick of the *Eagle*; all which have been abolished since the reformation, and their revenues turned into another chancel.

7. THE seventh is that of *Germany*, where the grand bai- Ger-
liff and prior of *Germany* reside; the latter of whom is a many.
prince of the empire, and hath under him, in *High* and *Low*
Germany, 67 commanderies; but those that are situated
within the *United Provinces* have been long since likewise dis-
membered from the order.

8. THE eighth and last is that of *Castille*, including the *Castille*,
kingdoms of *Leon* and *Portugal*. To this is affixed the dig-
nity of grand chancellor of the order, with the priories of
Castille and *Leon*, which have 27 commanderies, and that of
Portugal 31, together with the bailiwick of *Bovedo*. As
for that of *Negropont*, it is in common between the tongues
of *Castille* and *Arragon*.

THIS division is still subsisting in the same form, except- *How far*
ing only that this last tongue of *Castille* and *Arragon*, were *this divi-*
substituted to that of *England*; and that those commande- *tion still*
ries, priories, and bailiwicks, were at first affixed to the *subjs.*
whole order in general, but have been since appropriated to
the several tongues in the number and manner above-men-
tioned (L).

Br

' De his vide RONDIN. regul. hospital. & al. supra citat.
' VERTOT, l. i. p. 74, & seq.

(L) It will not be amiss to explain the import and meaning of those three dignities.

We have already hinted, that the order chiefly subsisted upon the funds and donatives which were bestowed upon it by crowned heads and other great persons, and by wills and testaments of pious men, in most parts of *Europe*. This made it necessary for them to appoint proper officers from among themselves to reside near those parts, to take care of those revenues, and to convey them to the hospital of *St. John*, where they were appropriated by the grand master and chapter of the order to their proper use; viz.

first, for the maintenance of the hospital, that is, the knights, chaplains, and serving brethren, the pilgrims that come to visit the holy places, the poor, sick, wounded, maimed, and to defray all other charges of the hospital, the church of *St. Sepulchre*, &c.

2. To procure arms, ammunition, and other warlike necessities, for the guarding of the roads and country against the incursions of the *Mohammedans*, escorting the pilgrims to and from *Jerusalem*, and other services of religion.

And, 3dly, to buy, arm, and man, galleys, to scour the seas of pirates, in order to secure the

By this time the whole order was grown so very numerous, powerful, and wealthy, and brought under such excellent regulations and discipline (M), that when the grand master

Raymond

the commerce and pilgrimages to and from the *Holy Land*.

Those knights, therefore, that were appointed in the several parts of christendom, to take care of the revenues, were called commanders, from the tenor of their commission from the grand chapter, in the terms following: *Commendamus, &c.* We commit to your care such and such lands, &c. in such kingdom, province, &c. from which these kind of administrations or commissions took the name of *Commendatarie*, and the houses or communities, where those administrators resided, were called commanderies, and the principals of them commanders; which last were not so during life, but *durante bene placito*, or *quamdiu se bene gesserint* (21).

But as these commanderies were found too often guilty of injustice, in appropriating too great a share of the revenue to their own use, by which the lesser quantity could be spared by them for the maintenance of the order, they were afterwards put under the care and visitation of superior officers, appointed by the chapter, and styled *priors*, who were to visit and inspect a certain number of those commanderies committed to their care, and to become answerable for the right application of the revenue; from which their commissions took the name of *responsiones*, and they of *responsors*, who were

thereby engaged to transmit to *Jerusalem*, either in money, arms, &c. the just and true quotas of each commandery, in conformity to the decrees and ordinances of the general chapter.

The 'bailiff and bailiwicks were only inferior sorts of commanders, who farmed the lands from the commanders, and were answerable to them for the rent and income of them. Of those bailiffs some were called *conventuals*; that is, resided in some of the convents belonging to the commandery, and had the care of a certain quantity of lands, and paid the income thereof to the commander, and had a stipend assigned to them of 60 crowns *per annum* for their maintenance, by the grand master *Lafic* (22). We say nothing here of the grand bailiff of *Germany*, which was a dignity of another and much higher nature; of which we may have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

(M) We may guess at the excellency of their discipline by one of their statutes, which passed in his time, with the approbation of the general chapter, as well as that of the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, his spiritual superior; by which every knight, who forsook his rank, gave way, or ran away, in flight, was to be *ipso facto* deprived of his cross, gown, and knighthood; which was such

(21) *Vide Pantaleon hist. l. iii. p. 82. & aut. sup. citat. Vide & Vertot, lib. iii. vol. i. p. 520, & seq.*

(22) *Vertot, vol. vi. p. 162, & al. sup. citat.*

Raymond Dupuy, who had now nothing more at heart than *Raymond* to render it more and more useful to religion, came to *Jeru-* offers his *salem*, to offer his and their services to young *Baudouin Du* service to *Bourg*, now king of *Jerusalem*, who was then in the ex- Baldwin. tremest want of it, and had obtained the patriarch's approbation and blessing upon his generous design; he was looked upon by all as a person sent from heaven to their assistance, and his military corps as an invincible bulwark against the enemies of Christianity. They were not deceived; and the services which he and his knights did to the young king, both at *Jerusalem* and in other parts of the *Holy Land*, were so great and signal, that pope *Innocent II.* in the bull of immunity which he granted to that order, makes special mention of them: and that all *Europe* rang of them: which shews, by-the-by, that they began to signalize themselves in that religious war much earlier than our historians have taken notice of; since the bull, as we hinted a little higher, bears date 1130; that is, twelve years after *Raymond's* installation, and the creation of this new military order. But as all these transactions have been already related in our account of that holy war, we shall refer our readers to it *.

In the mean time, *Raymond Dupuy*, who assisted at most of them, and was quite worn out with age, fatigues, and wounds, thought fit to retire to his own hospital of *St. John*, where he might be more at leisure to employ the short remainder of his life in preparing himself for a better; and, having governed that order near 42 years, expired in the midst of his brethren, in the 80th year of his age, greatly lamented by them, and by all Christendom †, and with the just character of the most pious and greatest commander of that age. Raymond retires, and dies. 1169.

He was succeeded by *Auger de Balben*, by the unanimous choice of the chapter. He was of the same country of *Dauphine* with his noble predecessor, and had been his constant companion in his military exploits, as well as one of his most intimate counsellors. Soon after his election, he was summoned to the synod held at the city of *Nazareth*, on account of the schism which had broke out in the church between 2. Auger de Balben.

* Anc. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 147. citat.

† Bosio, & al. supra

a terror to them, that they all sought with the utmost and unexampled intrepidity to the last moment, both at sea and land; of which we shall give the most pregnant instances in the sequel of their history.

pope *Alexander III.* and the antipope *Victor III.* and their partisans; and, by his extraordinary wisdom and address, greatly contributed to persuade the king, patriarch, and bishops, to declare for the former as the most duly elected, and to excommunicate the latter. He was no less successful in putting an end to the famous quarrel which happened in the year after, about the succession to the crown of *Jerusalem*, after the untimely death of *Baldwin III.* by representing to the contending parties the inevitable danger of their untimely discord. He survived but a few months the coronation of the new king, at which he assisted, being quite worn out with age, and died in the third year of his government².

3. Ar-
nauld de
Comps.

He was succeeded by *Arnauld de Comps*, a gentleman like-wise of a very ancient and noble family in *Dauphiny*, and much advanced in years, who, nevertheless, was no sooner chosen to that dignity than he saw himself obliged to march, at the head of his knights, towards the frontiers of the kingdom, and suppress the incursions of sultan *Adbed*, who, scorning to continue the tribute which his predecessor had engaged to pay to *Baldwin III.* was now ravaging all the frontiers of *Judea*, at the head of a numerous army of his *Saracens*. He gained a great deal of glory in this expedition, by his quick and singular success. He died in the 4th year of his government; and was succeeded by

4. Gilbert
D'Assalit.

1167.

GILBERT D'ASSALIT, or, as others stile him, *De Lailly*, an *Englishman*, as he is supposed by most authors, though with no very sure proofs; but, in other respects a gentleman of singular courage and valour. Though it was his misfortune to be too easily prevailed upon by the king of *Jerusalem*, whether by bribes or his own ambition, is variously reported, to assist him with all his forces, in his war against the *Saracens* in *Egypt*, and, to that end, borrowed the sum of 100,000 crowns from the *Florentines*, upon the credit of the order. He was so fortunate as to take the city of *Balbeis*, the ancient *Pelusium*; but, as we have formerly seen in the account of that war, his success neither answering his sanguine hopes, nor the vast debt he had charged his order with, he resigned his dignity, and embarked for *France* at *Joppa*, and arrived safe in *Provence*, and thence went to *Rouen*, where, notwithstanding his late misfortunes and disgrace, he met with a kind reception from *Henry II.* king of *England*; but, embarking again at *Dieppe* for *England*, was unfortunately drowned, with several people that were in the ship, after he had governed the order about two years; being justly blamed for his

² Bosio, & al. ubi supra.

ambition in engaging in that foreign war, contrary to the institutes of his order, and for his prodigality of its treasure, which he consumed in that short space c.

His successor, *Casto*, or *Castus*, dying within less than a 5. *Castus*. year after his election, we do not read of any remarkable thing that happened either to him or to the order; and it is very likely, that the ill success and disgrace which his predecessor met with in that war, deterred him from assisting the king of *Jerusalem*, tho' he was then carrying it on still, and was besieging *Damietta* with his land and naval forces, where he met with a stout repulse.

He was succeeded by *Jobertus*, a man of singular piety 6. *Jobert*. and charity to the poor, but of what nation is unknown. By this time the affairs of the kingdom of *Jerusalem* were be- *The sad* come so desperate, through the imprudence of the king, and *state of the* the valour and success of the great *Saladin*, that both the *kingdom*. knights templars and those of *St. John* were continually up in arms against the powerful enemies of Christianity. Their forces, now exhausted, required fresh and considerable supplies from *Europe*; to obtain which he sent two ambassadors thither, whilst he himself went to implore the assistance of the emperor at *Constantinople*, leaving the care of the kingdom to the grand master of those two orders; whilst *Melior*, a renegado templar, who had joined forces with *Saladin*, was putting all to fire and sword in *Syria* and *Palestine*. *Jobert*, with the assistance of his knights, and in conjunction with the templars, marched against the renegado, and forced him to betake himself to the high mountains and defiles, and obliged the *Turcomans* to raise the siege of *Arach*, or *Krach*, and retire, just as the king arrived from *Constantinople*, but without having obtained the desired relief, either of troops or money, or any thing but fair promises from the emperor. Soon after this, another of the knights templars, named *Menil*, having been guilty of an open violation of the law of nations, by the murder of an ambassador of the chief of the *Assassins* to the king of *Jerusalem*, that prince caused him to be seized, and clapt into irons, with a design to have him sent bound to the prince of the *Assassins*, but died before he *The king* could accomplish it; for tho' the templar's life was saved by *of Jerusa-* it, yet this deed he had committed greatly impaired the repu- *lem dies*. tion of his order, whilst those of the hospitallers greatly increased.

AMATRI left the kingdom of *Jerusalem* to his eldest son *Baldwin IV.* then a minor, and a prince of a most sickly con-

*Assists
young
Baldwin
in Syria.*

stitution, under whom the affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* declined from bad to worse. The grand master *Jobert* proved a constant friend and support to him, both there and in *Syria*, and obliged the successful *Saladin* to retire with great loss and precipitation into his own dominions. But *Baldwin* having undertaken to build a citadel in one of his territories, on the other side of the *Jordan*, occasioned a fresh and fierce engagement; his army being closely hemmed in, quickly dispersed themselves, and the knights hospitallers and templars, who were the only troops that stood their ground, were mostly cut in pieces. *Jobert*, tho' covered all over with wounds, found means to save himself by swimming over that river, and *Otho*, or *Oden*, grand master of the templars, was taken prisoner^f.

*The sad
condition
of the
kingdom.*

*Council of
Lateran.*

*Reciprocal
complaints
of the
knights
and eccle-
siastics.*

ONE may easily imagine the distress of the Christians in those parts at this time; the king now relapsed into his leprosy, and incapable of governing, the two grand masters, his chief supporters, the one confined a prisoner of war by *Saladin*, and the other to his bed, on account of his many and dangerous wounds. Pope *Alexander III.* being informed of it, convened the third famed council of *Lateran* at *Rome*, at which many eastern patriarchs and prelates assisted, in which fundry complaints were exhibited by them against the too great privileges and encroachments of the knights hospitallers and templars (N), and some new regulations were made upon that subject; and by these, on the other hand, against the harshness of the eastern ecclesiastics towards the laity, in allow-

^f GUIL. TYR. BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERT. & al. sup. citat.

(N) This complaint, as it is couched in the acts of that council, runs in these terms: *Fratrum autem & de episcoporum nostrorum vehementi conquestione compertimus, quod fratres templi & hospitalis, alique professionis religiosæ indulta sibi ab apostolica sede excedentes privilegia. contra episcopalem dignitatem multa præsumunt, &c. (24).*

That of the knights against those bishops and ecclesiastics is in these words: *Ecclesiastici quidam quæ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu*

Christi quærentes leprosis, qui cum sanis habitare non possunt, & ad ecclesiam cum aliis convenire, ecclesias & cæmeteria non permittunt habere, nec proprio juvare ministerio sacerdotis, quod quia procul à pietate Christiana alienum dignoscitur, de benignitate apostolica constituvimus, ut ubicunque tot simul sub communivita congregati fuerint, quod ecclesiam sibi cum cæmeterio, & proprio valeant gaudere prestytero, sine contradictione aliqua permittantur habere (25).

(24) Concil. Later. act. c. 9.
tom. i. p. 229, 231. sub. not. Vide & Baudoin, Roudinel, & al. sup. citat.

(25) Ibid. cap. 25. Vide Vertot. lib. ii.

ing those that were infected with the leprosy, and lived in communities, the privilege either of entering into the public churches, and not to have any particular ones of their own; which was condemned by that council, and those unfortunate people permitted to have, in each of their communities, a church and church-yard, or burying-place. But the greatest complaint of those prelates was, that all the disasters and losses in *Palestine* were owing to the ambition and avarice of the military orders, whose chief aim was to heap up vast treasures, instead of following the examples of the late king *Amauri*, and of the late grand master *Affalit*, in endeavouring to secure the kingdom from the incursions of the *Egyptian* infidels, by the conquest of that province, and the reduction of *Damietta*, upon which all the rest depended; which shews, that the enterprize of those two great men was far from being so ill-judged, as was at first given out, tho' the ill success of it occasioned its being set aside, and so generally cried down &c.

HOWEVER that be, this reciprocal animosity of the clergy *Margatha* and laity did not hinder *Reginald*, lord of the strong castle of *Margath*, on the confines of *Judea*, from making a present, *knights*. or rather an exchange, of that important fortress to the order of *St. John*, who immediately caused new fortifications to be added to the old, besides its eminent situation on a high, steep, and almost inaccessible rock (O). Yet did not this valuable acquisition compensate the much greater loss of the grand master,

§ *Auct. sup. citat.*

(O) This important fortress is situated in *Phœnicia*, near the frontiers of *Judea*, upon the river *Valania*, and about a mile from the city of the same name. It stands on a high and rugged rock, and is very strong by art and nature (26). Some authors have pretended, that *Saladin* was so exasperated at its being ceded to the knights of *Jerusalem*, that he went immediately, and so closely besieged it, that they were forced to surrender it to him after a long and desperate defence; that the grand master *Jobert* was taken prisoner, and cast into a dungeon, where he was starved to death, in revenge for his having made so long and vigorous a defence, by killing so many of his forces; and as for the small remainder of the garison, they were all cut in pieces by his order. Thus far those writers, who are contradicted by a much greater number of others, who take no notice of its ever having been taken by *Saladin*, or any others, from the knights, who kept it

(26) See *Vertot*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 233.

master *Jobert*, who, according to the generality of writers, died of grief, from the melancholy situation and daily decay of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

7. Roger
des Mou-
lins.

JOBERT was succeeded by *Roger des Moulins*, or *de Molins*, a person of singular valour and prudence, who applied himself immediately after his election in carrying on the war against *Saladin*, and in reconciling some differences between the patriarch and the prince of *Antioch*, about some temporals he obtained from pope *Lucius III.* and a fresh confirmation of the rules and statutes of the order, to which were tacked several considerable privileges. He was scarcely returned from *Antioch* before he received the doleful news of the dreadful massacre of the knights of the order that were settled at *Constantinople*, and had been all murdered there by the *Latins*, except a few who escaped by sea, and brought the dreadful tidings^b. The distressed condition the kingdom was then in, the incapacity of the king's either acting or marrying by reason of his leprosy, and the cabals which resulted from it, having made it necessary to send an embassy to the pope, in order to obtain a new crusade, the grand master *Des Moulins*, together with that of the templars, were chosen to accompany the patriarch of *Jerusalem* to *Rome*; from thence they went to *France* and *England*, the ill success of which expedition we have elsewhere shewn. At his return he continued still to be at the head of his knights in all their engagements with *Saladin*; and it was in one of them that he ended his government by a most glorious death, having his horse killed under him by the treacherous count of *Tripoly*, who had gone over to the *Saracens*, and was then fighting in disguise. Upon his fall, he was quickly surrounded by those barbarians, who dispatched him with a multitude of wounds, whilst a great number of his knights came and lost their own lives in striving to save him; so that when the fight was over, and the knights came to the field of battle to look for the body of their grand master, they found it, after much seeking and toil, quite covered with heaps of *Turcomans* and *Saracens*, whom his sword had sent before him into the other world. His remains were immediately conveyed to *Acra*, where he was

Slain by
the Sara-
cens.

^b Vide Auct. supra citat.

till they were driven out of *Syria*; and, on that account, the grand master above-mentioned broke his heart at the dismal prospect of the Christian affairs in these parts (27).

(27) *Vertot, ubi sup. Basso, Haudoin, & al. supra citat.*

buried

buried with all the pomp and grief which were due to so great a captain and champion for the Christian faith ; but though the knights lost so valuable a grand master, they had the comfort of seeing above 15,000 of the enemy lying dead on the field of battle, which was fought on the 27th of May^k.

THE enemy being still in the heart of the kingdom, and 8. Garner ready to engage them in a short time, the chapter thought fit to elect the brave *Garner of Neapoli in Syria*, in the room of their deceased grand master, who signalized himself in that desperate battle, which was fought on the 11th of July following, wherein *Guy de Lufignan*, king of *Jerusalem*, was defeated, and made prisoner, the holy cross taken by the enemy, and most of the knights either slain on the spot, or afterwards in cold blood by *Saladin*. *Garner*, after having fought till he was covered over with wounds, happily escaped his fury, by flying to *Ascalon*, where, in a few days, he died of them, after he had enjoyed his dignity two months and ten days. *Dies of his wounds.*

THE small remainder of the knights chose, in his room, 9. *Ermengard*, or *Emengard D'Aps*, who was with great difficulty prevailed upon, at that unhappy conjuncture, to accept of the dignity. And no wonder ; for he entered upon it on the 20th of July, and the victorious *Saladin* took possession of the city of *Jerusalem* on the 19th of October following, who drove all the knights hospitallers out of that metropolis, and soon after all the *Latins* out of *Palestine*, together with all the other military orders that had been instituted for the preservation of the holy city, with an express prohibition ever to return into it. The grand master, seeing himself and order stripped of their ancient habitation, transported himself and them to the great fortress of *Margath*, lately mentioned, after having, at their own charges, redeemed about 1000 Christian captives out of the hands of the conqueror. Thither likewise was quickly removed the bishoprick of *Vallania*, to be in greater safety from the insults of the enemy. Here the order continued only till the taking of *Acra* by the Christians four years after, in which they had their share of the glory, and removed presently after thither, and made it the place of their residence ; from which they came to be stiled knights of *St. John D'Acra*. On the following year, *Ermengard*, the last grand master of the knights hospitallers, *Jerusalem taken by Saladin.*
1191.
The order removes to Acra.

^k GUILLELM. TYR. cont. lib. i. c. 5. BOSIO, ubi sup. BAV-
BOIM hist. lib. ii. c. 1. & al. ubi sup.

ended his days, after he had the pleasure of seeing the grand enemy of the Christians, *Saladin*, defeated by them¹.

10. Godfrey de Duiffon. HE was succeeded by *Godfrey de Duiffon*, or, as others call him, *De Donjon*, a native of *France*; who had the good fortune, during the time that the truce lasted between the Christians and *Saladin*, to see many noblemen and gentlemen of several nations, who had acquired great estates in those parts, bequeath them to his order, before their return into *Europe*; by which means they and the templars became administrators, and masters of that part of the kingdom, which still remained in the hands of the Christians: upon which they chose *Amatri de Lusignan*, then king of *Cyprus*, king of *Jerusalem*; but as *Duiffon* well knew of how little consequence this would be to the Christians, unless they could recover that metropolis, he tried all possible means to prevail upon them to attempt the reduction of it out of hand. But by that time their interests were so divided, that his advice could have no effect; and he died very soon after the celebration and rejoicings occasioned by the marriage of *Isabella* with the king of *Cyprus*. He obtained, during his grand

*Advise
the taking
of Jerusa-
lem.*

1194. mastership, several considerable privileges from pope *Celestin III.* and some of his successors, particularly a bull from pope *Gregory VIII.* enjoining the Christian prelates to excommunicate all those who should attempt to deprive or wrong, in any-wise, the knights hospitallers of any of their lands, or to extort any tythes or other dues whatsoever, in contempt of the privileges granted to them by several of his predecessors^m.

11. Alphonso de Portugal. HE was succeeded by *Alphonso de Portugal*, descended from the royal family of that kingdom; but from what branch of it, we are not told. This gentleman convened a general chapter at the old castle of *Margath*, soon after his election, where several wise and wholesome statutes were agreed to for the better reformation of the order, now become very remiss, beginning it upon himself, his household, and equipage; and for the better reducing the order under a kind of an aristocratical government; some of which still subsist; but others being disliked by the knights, as too severe and rigorous, and he become odious to them for his too proud and stiff behaviour, he divested himself of his dignity in less than a year after, and sailed for *Portugal*, in hopes to be crowned king there; instead of which he was poisoned by his brother,

*Becomes
odious, re-
figns, and
is poisoned.*

¹ Auct. supra citat.
Godfrey, p. 28.

^m Vide NABERAT de privileg. sub

and died on the 1st of *March* 1207^a, or, as others pretend, in a civil war against his rival. Before he abdicated, he had obtained sundry considerable privileges and immunities to his order, which might have procured him more regard, if his intended reformation had not reduced it into a kind of anarchy and rebellion, in which the major part publicly refused to obey him any longer, and, by their living in open defiance to his statutes, obliged him at once to abandon both his project and dignity.

GODFREY, alias *Geofrey Le Rat*, a Frenchman, and then 12. Geofrey Le grand prior of *France*, was chosen in his room; in whose time died the great *Saladin* at *Damascus*, which gave a new Rat. life both to the order and to all the Christian princes in the east, the truce still subsisting under his successor *Safadin*, by which they had a very agreeable respite. But that was soon after interrupted by the dreadful quarrel which happened between his order and that of the templars, which was like to have proved fatal to both. The latter, it seems, had driven out by main force a vassal of the hospitallers from a castle he held of them near that of *Margath*; of which injury he had no sooner complained to them, than they, without any farther ceremony, dispatched a number of their knights, who went and scaladed the place with sword in hand, and drove them away. This quickly inflamed both orders to such a desperate degree, as came little short of a civil war, in which the friends of both interested themselves, and made two considerable parties, equally inflamed against each other. There being then no sovereign to curb their resentment, the patriarch and some of the bishops at length found means to persuade them to a suspension of arms, and to refer the controversy to the determination of the holy see. *A great quarrel between him and the templars.*
Brought before the pope.

POPE *Innocent* III. sat then on the chair, when the deputies of both orders came to lay the matter before him; who, by a preliminary sentence, ordered the hospitallers to resign the castle to the templars for one month; after which the owner of it should be permitted to prefer a complaint against them, and have the cause tried before proper magistrates, or decided by such judicious and impartial arbitrators as the chiefs of both orders should mutually agree upon. The pontiff, moreover, wrote letters to the grand masters, exhorting them to set aside all their jealousies and feuds, so dangerous to Christendom, and so acceptable to the *Turks*, and others of their enemies, and to abide by the decision of the judges, under pain of excommunication, and of his highest resent-

^a Vide NABERAT, ubi sup. VERTOT, tom. i. p. 329, & seq. ment;

ment; and, in that to *Godfrey Le Rat*, he highly blames the violent method they took in favour of their vassal, tells him that he had chosen to have the matter decided by arbitration, rather than to have it brought before him, to avoid being obliged to pronounce such a sentence against the delinquents, as must have covered them with confusion, and exposed them to the world.

How decided.

THE dispute was at length decided in favour of the hospitallers, and the pretensions of the templars declared to be unjust. The castle was restored to the right owners, matters were at least outwardly compromised to the satisfaction of both sides, and a good harmony restored between them. The pope wrote to both, recommending the interest of the king of *Cyprus* to them, and concludes with threatening those that proved refractory with his highest indignation †. But there was very little likelihood that things should continue in that amicable situation, if what an author * tells us be true, that the knights templars had then no less than 19,000 manors, besides other revenues and privileges, belonging to them; whereas the hospitallers had no more than 9,000; and we shall find accordingly by the sequel, that this fire of jealousy and envy was only kept under for a time, in order to blaze more fiercely upon every fresh occasion, till they were totally suppressed. But to return:

Vast number of manors belonging to both orders.

ABOUT six or seven years after this accommodation died *Amalric de Lusignan*, without having any children by his last wife *Isabella*; so that the kingdom of *Cyprus* devolved to his son *Hughes* by his former wife; upon which account, and the many feuds which then universally reigned in that island, he bequeathed the government of it to the knights of *St.*

Made king of Cyprus.

John D'Acra. Soon after this, his wife *Isabella*, queen of *Jerusalem*, dying, left her daughter *Mary*, whom she had by her former husband, under their guardianship, in conjunction with the knights templars. *Godfrey Le Rat* obtained, during his government, sundry fresh privileges from the popes *Celestine III.* and *Innocent III.* and more particularly from our king *John P.*

Obtains sundry immunities from the pope.

THE ambassadors which had been sent into *Europe*, to obtain fresh succours, being returned, fraught with the promises of a speedy and warlike armament by sea and land, under the command of the famed *John de Brienne*, the grand master, who justly doubted whether any such vast reinforcement

† BOSIO, ubi sup. MEGISTER, BISSAT, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.

* M. PARIS, ad ann. 1244. in *Henr. 3.* VERTOT, t. i. 13. p. 338.

P NABERAT, ib. p. 31.

could

could be really sent from thence, was yet of opinion to take the advantage of the fear which this report had thrown the infidels in, for renewing the truce with them. His counsel met with general approbation, except the master of the templars, who opposed it, it seems, for no other reason than because it was proposed by him; and had interest enough to cause it to be set aside¹. The grand master died soon after, and was succeeded by

GUERIN DE MOUNTAGU, a Frenchman, of the province 13. Gue- of Auvergne, who, soon after his election, greatly assisted the Greeks in Lesser Armenia against the Turcomans and Saracens. In recompence of which signal services, the king bestowed the city of Sales, together with the castles of Camard and Newcastle, upon him and his order. During his mastership, Andreas king of Hungary, coming to Acra, or Ptolemais, and beholding the decent order and charitable economy of the knights hospitallers, bestowed several lands, castles, and other donatives, upon their hospital, besides an income of 500 marks *per annum*, to be paid out of the salt-works of Saloch. He likewise took the habit and cross of the order, into which he was admitted by the same grand master. Pope Honorius confirmed all those donatives to the hospital, and bestowed several other privileges upon it; as did some of his predecessors and successors. The same was done by the French kings Lewis VIII. and IX. who likewise confirmed all the donatives which had been granted to the order by Richard I. king of England. Pope Gregory IX. likewise confirmed all the privileges and immunities which had been granted by his predecessors, and added some new ones to them. It was likewise during his government, that Damietta was taken by the knights, after a long and stout defence.

GUERIN enjoyed his dignity somewhat above 23 years; and, upon his demise, was succeeded by

BERTRAND DE TEXI, who, following his predecessors 14. Ber- steps, was no less attentive to the interests of Christendom than to those of his order (P). There never was indeed

more

¹ SANUT, c. iii. p. 206. VERTOT, &c.

(P) This grand master is omitted by Rondinel, and some other authors, who place, immediately after Guerin de Mountagu above-mentioned, the other

Guerin, without a surname, and reckon him the 15th grand master of the order, from Gerard, as the first who bore that title (29). But Basso, and the

(29) Rondinel *statut, tabul. 4. Davity, &c.*

generality

more need of vigilance than now; when, by the abdication of *John de Brienne*, the kingdom was like a ship without a pilot, and by the recalling of the *Teutonic* knights, to suppress the dreadful devastations of the pagans in *Prussia*, the state had lost a considerable prop; so that it had hardly any other supporters left than the knights hospitallers and templars. The emperor *Frederick*, as then king of *Jerusalem*, had indeed promised them, at his departure thence, to send them his son and successor *Conrad* with a very powerful reinforcement; but, having occasion for all his forces elsewhere, he quickly forgot his engagements to those two orders, which obliged them to muster up all their prudence and strength to defend it against such powerful enemies as it had on all sides. *Texi*, accompanied by *Bertrand de Barras*, knight of the order and grand prior of *St. Giles*, went on an embassy to the emperor, to remind him of his promises. But all he could obtain from him was a confirmation of the privileges and immunities granted to the order by his predecessors, with the addition of some new ones. The grant is dated from *Verona*; and pope *Gregory*, following his example, complimented the order with a new bull, some months after, charging all patriarchs and prelates in Christendom to excommunicate, as he doth in that bull, all those who shall vex, molest, or in any way injure, that order, either in their persons, revenues, &c. It is dated *November 24*, of the same year ^u. *Bertrand de Texi* died on the next year at *Ptolemais*, ^{the arrival} some say of grief at the stinging reproaches which the court of *Rome* had loaded him and his knights with, for the particular esteem which they had shewn for the great *Vataces*, then emperor of *Nice*. However that be, he had the satisfaction, a little before his death, of hearing of the arrival of *Richard* duke of *Cornwall*, brother of king *Henry III.* of *England*, in *Palestine*, with an army of 40,000 men ^w.

15. *Guerin*. HE was succeeded by *Guerin*, or *Gerin*, whose surname and country is not mentioned by any author, and who is omitted out of the list by *Megister*, tho' so particularly recorded by the rest, for his and the Christian army's total de-

▪ *NABARAT*, ubi sup. p. 34:

▪ *Bosio*, & al. sup. citat.

generality of other authors, *de Texi* as the 14th in the list leaving *Gerard* out, and beginning from *Raymond de Polio*, or first *Guerin*, anno 1230, and *Dupuy*, mention this *Bertrand* died in 1240 (30).

' (30) *Bosio*, *Megister*, *Besreib des insul. Malt.* *Famel*, *Davity*, *Dopfer*, *Baudoin*, *Vertot*, & al. plur.

feat

feat in the battle they fought against the *Chorasmians*, who were ten to one superior in number, and in which such slaughter was made of the two orders in particular, that only twenty-six, some say sixteen, of the hospitallers, and thirty-three templars, escaped with their lives. The two grand masters were killed at the head of their troops, according to some authors (Q); but, according to others, only that of the templars, whilst *Guerin* had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, and to be sent in chains to the sultan of *Egypt*, with other prisoners of note; so that it is not known whether he was ever redeemed, or died in slavery. This disaster happened to him about three years after his election to the dignity; and he was succeeded by

BERTRAND DE COMPS, an old experienced officer, and a native of *Dauphine*; who, tho' he saw his order so much thinned by the late dreadful slaughter of its knights, yet being applied to for help by the prince of *Antioch*, who was then invaded on all sides by swarms of *Turcomans*, made no demur to put himself at the head of his remaining forces, and to march to his assistance. The master of the templars did the same with his; and a long and furious engagement ensued between them and those infidels, in which both sides behaved with great intrepidity. *Bertrand*, enraged at an opposition he had not been accustomed to, rushed in foremost at the head of his knights, into the enemy's ranks, forced his way through them, and put them to flight; but, in this last effort, he received so many wounds, that he died of them soon after, in the fourth year after his election.

During the four years of his government, he obtained four different bulls from pope *Innocent IV.*; the one condemning and excommunicating all those who, in contempt of the privileges granted by his predecessors, had invaded any of them;

* BOSIO, MEGISSER, & al. supra citat.

(Q) *Vartot* quotes a letter written by *William de Chateaufort*, knight of the order, who was himself at the bloody engagement, and was some years after chosen grand master of the order, to the lord *de Merlay*; in which he ascribes this incursion of the *Chorasmians* to the league which the Christians had made with the sultan of *Damascus* against them of *Egypt*. The account which he gives of the fight is, that the two grand masters were slain in it, and only himself, and fifteen more of the knights of his order, had escaped from the slaughter (31).

(31) *Hist. de Malt. tom. i. lib. iii. p. 432.*

the other three were much of the same stamp; being as little regarded by the rest of the world as those of his predecessors.

17. Peter de Villebride.

THE chapter chose in his room *Peter de Villebride*, a gentleman no less esteemed for his piety than for his singular valour; in the beginning of whose government, *Lewis IX.* once known by the title of *St. Lewis*, arrived at the head of a powerful crusade, to which pope *Innocent IV.* had invited, by a special bull, all the Christian princes of his church. *Lewis* came and received the cross and habit from the grand master, and engaged to accompany him in all his expeditions, at the head of his order. The better to acquit himself of his promise, he caused all the novices of the order that were in *Europe*, and all the cash of the priories, &c. belonging to it, to be conveyed into *Palestine*, in order to march with this reinforcement to join the king at the siege of *Damietta*. He likewise made very strong efforts to prevail upon the sultan of *Egypt* to treat with him about the redemption of Christian slaves, which were by that time become very numerous; and, if he could have succeeded in it, it would have proved very serviceable; but the sultan, who was privately in league with the emperor, who hated them no less than he, absolutely refused it, and dismissed the commissioners with very severe, though just, reproaches, of their former perfidy. The ill success of the siege we have already seen; and need only observe here, that, upon his being taken prisoner with the king, the chapter caused him to be redeemed at a great price; but he did not long survive his return to *Ptolemais*, where he died in the third year of his government (R); and was succeeded by

Taken prisoner, redeemed, and died.

7 NABERAT, ubi supra, p. 36, & seq.

(R) Among other fresh privileges and immunities granted to this grand master, during his short government, by four successive bulls, the last of them, dated *March 24, 1250*, exempts his order, and the servants of it, from being summoned or sued before any ecclesiastical court whatsoever: and the archbishops and bishops of *France* are thereby enjoined to forbid their deans, archdeacons, vi-

cars, and other officers, to summon or sue any of them, or their domestics, upon any account whatsoever. The same prohibition is likewise directed to all counts, viscounts, barons, provosts, bailiffs, and other officers of secular justice; as likewise against laying violent hands upon either their persons &c. and all under pain of excommunication (32).

(32) *Naberat*, ubi supra, p. 38.

WILLIAM DE CASTELNAU, alias *Chateaufneuf*, a French gentleman, of the *Auvernian* tongue, an ancient knight, and is strict an observer of their religious discipline, that, if we may believe the French writer of *St. Lewis's* life^a; he condemned the knights to eat upon their cloaks, spread upon the ground in their hall or refectory, for having had a squabble with some of the *Frenchmen* of that king's retinue, as they were hunting an antelope near *Ptolemais*. In his time, that monarch having caused the fortifications of *Ptolemais*, *Joppa*, *Cesarea*, and some other places, to be repaired, and greatly improved, returned into *France*, and left the care of that country to the new grand master, about three years after his election; who accordingly fortified the monastery of *Mount Fortified Tabor*, now abandoned, in the form of a strong citadel; as ~~several~~ he did likewise the castle of *Bethany*, which was granted to him by pope *Alexander IV.* with all its revenues, and some others, and put a sufficient number of forces and ammunition into each of them, particularly into that of *Caraa*, in the country of *Tripoli*, which belonged to the order, and that of *Affur*, bordering on the conquests of the *Saracens* in the *Holy Land*; in which last he put 100 of his knights, with a good number of hired troops, to suppress the inroads of those infidels.

POPE *Alexander IV.* not content with confirming and augmenting the immunities and privileges of the order, besides *M. favoured Tabor* and the castle of *Bethany* above-mentioned, with all the revenues belonging to them, added several other grants, in order to keep all their fortified places and garisons in the best repair; which he accordingly did: but all these pleasing prospects were forced to give way to a more gloomy and discouraging one, which forced itself upon him; viz. that of seeing all the fair promises made to him of a speedy and considerable succour from *Europe*, come to nothing; the grief of which, in all probability, shortened his days^b. He died in the ninth year of his mastership; and was succeeded by

HUGH REVEL, a native of *Dauphine*, and of an ancient and noble family, who, by his wife and extraordinary conduct, greatly contributed to raise the lustre of his order, and his new dignity, at least with respect to the temporal state of it. He summoned a general chapter of the whole order at *Cesarea*, where the abuses, which had crept into its several commanderies, were examined, and priors set over them to visit and inspect them, and transmit the revenues of them

^a JOINVILLE, apud Vertot, tom. i. p. 515, & seq. ^b BOSIO, MEGISSER, BAUDOUIN, DAVITY, DAPPER, VERTOT, & al.

duly over into the public treasury. The same chapter passed a law, forbidding the knights to make wills, or leave legacies, or even any gratuities, to their domestics, without the leave of the grand master, as being inconsistent with their vow of poverty ^c.

THESE few wholesome regulations were the more necessary at this time, not only to reform those several abuses, which were grown to a monstrous height, but likewise to enable the order to procure, at their own charge, those succours which they had long expected in vain from the *European* princes; the want of which had occasioned the affairs of religion to go from bad to worse. By these means, and other wise precautions of the grand master, we shall find them still acting, upon all occasions, with their accustomed bravery and zeal, under all the difficulties occasioned by the remissness and indolence of those crowned heads whose duty and interest it was to have supported them.

The knights cut in pieces at Assur, &c. REVEL was hardly entered into the third year of his dignity, before *Bendocdar*, the bitterest enemy that the Christians in *Palestine*, especially those of his order, ever had, was raised by the *Mamluks* to be sultan of *Egypt*, and threatened the two orders with expulsion from that country. He accordingly began with the castle of *Assur*, or *Asbur*, one of their strongest fortresses, which the late grand master had fortified and garrisoned with 100 of his knights, besides some other troops, who all maintained their ground with the most intrepid bravery, until they were all cut in pieces; insomuch that the sultan could not enter the place but by going over the dead bodies, with which all the avenues to it were covered. Next year the sea-port of *Gassu*, or *Joppa*, the castles of *Beaufort* and *Carac*, underwent the same fate, and the garisons were all massacred without mercy to the last man. *Antioch* was surrendered by treachery, and nothing was left but the dismal prospect of the total loss of the *Holy Land*; when *Revel*, in conjunction with the master of the templars, now honoured with the additional title of *grand*, like his noble colleague, by pope *Clement IV.* found means to induce the sultan to make a truce, in hopes that, in a short time, they might obtain some succours from *Europe*. They agreed to pass over together to *Italy*, in order to promote, by their interest, *Tibald* archdeacon of *Liege*, then in *Palestine*, to the papal chair, which had been vacant near three years; not doubting but, as he had been an eye-witness of the dismal condition of Christianity, his piety and zeal would stir him up to employ all

Make a truce with the sultan.

Revel goes into Europe.

^c BOSIO, FAZEL, MEGISSER, BAUDOIN, VERTOT, & al.

his

his interest and authority to procure some considerable reinforcement to these two orders, who were now the only supporters left of that tottering state.

HE did so; and, with a readiness suitable to their hopes, *Assist* at invited them both to assist at the general council of Lyons, *the council* which he convened soon after his exaltation; and, as that of Lyons. could not meet till three years after, he employed that time in writing circular letters, to exhort the Christian princes, by a timely supply, to prevent the total loss of the *Holy Land*. We shall not repeat here the result of that august assembly, nor sundry other cross events that happened in *Palestine* during that time, which the sultan would not have failed of turning to his advantage, had he not been prevented by death before the truce was expired^f. But in the mean time the grand master *Revel*, quite worn out with age, fatigues, and, which is still worse, with cares and grief, departed this life in the 18th year of his government, and on the year after the death of *Bendocdar*.

HE was succeeded by *Nicholas de Lorgue*, a gentleman of 20. Ni- a sweet and insinuating disposition, whose first care, after his election, was to restore the harmony which had been long *cholas* interrupted between his order and that of the templars, and *Lorgue.* to appease the feuds and animosities which reigned among the various nations that were settled in the city. In which he not only had the mortification to find all his endeavours eluded, but likewise to see the truce all on a sudden broke by *Sais Melech*, the successor of *Bendocdar*, before it was expired, and the important fortrefs of *Margath* assaulted, *The sultan* and surrendered to that treacherous prince, who caused it to *takes* be taken and razed to the ground, to deprive them of all *Margath.* hopes of their ever recovering it. His grief for the loss of so considerable a place, as well as for the success of the infidels in those parts, so sensibly affected him, that he took the advantage of a second truce with them to repass into *Europe*, to solicit for some fresh succours; but all he could obtain was about 1500 men, most of them either banditti, or of the lees of the people, without either courage or discipline. Even the then pope *Nicholas IV.* refused to assist him with money towards their pay; and with this poor reinforcement he was forced to return to *Ptolemais*, the sight of *Lorgue* which rather contributed to increase than allay the discontents and despairs of the fraternity. As for *De Lorgue*, the cold reception he met with in *Europe*, joined to the deplorable condition they were reduced to, so effectually touched

^f Vide auct. sup. citat.

His death. his heart, that it quickly brought him to his grave, in the 10th year of his government, and prevented his surviving the loss of that important place, and of the *Holy Land*, which he clearly foresaw to be near at hand.

21. John de Villiers. HE was succeeded by *John de Villiers*, a *Frenchman*, during whose whole government the affairs of religion went still worse and worse, by the loss of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Baruth*, and, last of all, of *Ptolemais*. With regard to this last, it may be observed, that the breach of the second truce was owing chiefly to the garison of it, or rather to that reinforcement which was thrown into it by the late grand master *De Lorgue*. We have already hinted what a wretched crew of scoundrels they were, ill disciplined, and worse paid; so that they made no scruple to fall out as occasion offered, and to live on the plunder of Christians as well as *Saracens*, without distinction. The sultan in vain sent to demand satisfaction for these depredations; the jealousy and divisions which reigned in the place, which was then without a proper governor, and inhabited by a mixed multitude of all nations and conditions, most of them independent of each other, and living in a kind of anarchy, gave no room to expect any redress or remedy; and even the patriarch, the pope's legate, and chiefs of the clergy, had withdrawn themselves into a separate quarter of the town. Thus whilst discord, envy, rapine, murder, and every destructive irregularity, were suffered to reign in the place, that vast multitude, which, united, might have withstood all the efforts of the enemy, became a sacrifice to their implacable fury, and brought on the loss and dreadful catastrophe of that unhappy city^a, as well as the total expulsion of the Christians, and particularly of this order, out of *Palestine*.

The knights sail to Cyprus, and settle at Limisso. THE grand master, and those few knights that survived this irreparable loss, embarked with all possible speed, as well as the templars and those of the *Teutonic* order, and dispersed themselves by several routes. Their example was followed by those who were left in the few castles that remained untaken, but which they found they were unable to maintain themselves in. The hospitallers, however, being still in hopes that some fresh crusade might enable them once more to settle in the *Holy Land*, resolved to fix themselves as near it as they could; and, having obtained leave of the king of *Cyprus* to take shelter in his island, he assigned to them the city of *Limisso* in that island, where they gradually arrived one after another, as they could best avoid the pur-

^a Vide auct. sup. citat.

suit of the *Saracens*. A doleful sight it was to see them land, after the dreadful fatigues and dangers they had sustained during that siege; and tho' most of them were covered with wounds, yet were they still more grieved at their hearts that they had outlived so great a loss. Here, however, they settled for the present; and the grand master convened two general chapters, one year after another, to consult on the properest means of bettering, if possible, their now almost desperate condition, and preventing the total extinction of their order. He likewise sent to the pope *Nicolas IV.* the melancholy news *Villiers* of the loss of *Palestine*; who immediately dispatched his nuncios to all the *European* princes, to exhort them to set aside *sends to the pope for* all their mutual feuds, and turn their thoughts and efforts *help.* towards the recovery of it. In the mean time *Villiers* had the comfort to see the first general council filled with a vast number of knights of all nations, old and young, who came readily to *Cyprus* from all parts, none excusing himself from being at it on that emergent occasion, insomuch that there never had been seen so numerous an assembly since the foundation of the order.

THE master's speech, which drew tears from the eyes of all its hearers, was followed with an universal protestation both of old and young, that they were all ready and impatient to venture their lives for the recovery of the holy places. The misfortune was, that the city of *Limisso* had suffered so much from the *Arabian* and *Saracen* corsairs, that it was now reduced to a wide open borough, exposed on all sides; on which account some of the assembly proposed to seek for *Some object* a more safe and convenient settlement in some part of *Italy.* *against* This proposal, however, was rejected with scorn by the grand *staying at* master and the senior knights, as inconsistent with the intent *Limisso.* and meaning of some of their late statutes, which obliged *Their ad-* them to keep as near the *Holy Land* as possible, in order to *vice re-* be at hand, whenever an opportunity offered, to take up *jected.* arms for the recovery of it; upon which it was agreed to make the best of the place they were in, and to look no farther.

THE first care of the grand master was, to get proper accommodations for the sick, wounded, lame, &c. as was usually done before; and as there was not room enough in the *old duties* place to entertain so great a multitude of knights and their *of the order.* retinue, it was further agreed that a certain number of those *Sends gal-* gallies, which had brought them thither either from *Eu-* *lias upon* *rope* or *Palestine*, should be armed and fitted out, and commanded by turn; by a proper number of knights, whose

chief business it should be to scour the sea, and escort the pilgrims that still went to and from *Palestine*. Upon which many of them of different sizes began to sail from several ports of the island, and, at their return, brought in considerable prizes which they made of the *Turkish* corsairs, who were watching to intercept those pilgrims in their passage thither or homewards. These helped to augment the number of their vessels; to which they added some new ones, which they ordered to be built, by which means they began again to make some figure at sea, which served also to keep the knights in action, and to train up and enure the young ones at once to war and navigation.

Convenes
two new
chapters.

1292.

Makes
new regu-
lations.

IN the mean time the grand master *Villiers*, finding the preparations in *Europe* for an armament in their favour, to go on extremely slowly, employed his time in making several new and very necessary statutes and regulations. After which, having obtained leave of the king, he set himself about fortifying the city of *Limisso*, in order to secure it from the attempts of *Melech Nazer*, who had succeeded *Melech Zarah*, who would not otherwise fail of assaulting him in so open and defenceless a place. Pope *Celestian IV.* being at length chosen to the papal chair, and apprised of their loss of all the lands which they had held in *Palestine*, made it his first care to shew them some marks of his affection; and, though he was soon after cheated out of his dignity, his successor *Boniface VIII.* shewed himself no less generous to them, by the bulls which he fulminated against the kings of *England* and *Portugal*. These princes, after the loss of the *Holy Land*, had sequestered their lands and revenues, to what they called more pious and charitable uses than the supporting those knights in pride and luxury, for which reproach they had given but too much occasion; but those bulls, notwithstanding their specious pretences, obliged those two princes to obey, and to revoke their sequestration. The misfortune was, that the king of *Cyprus*, no less haughty than that pontif, conceived such a jealousy against the whole order, which claimed an independence on any but the pope, that he absolutely refused to suffer them to settle in his dominions, unless they would submit to pay him a certain tribute yearly as his vassals, with which they were obliged to comply, in spite of the pope's thundering bull against it, in which he styled it a horrid and detestable extortion. In the mean time the

^r BOSIO, MEGISSER, LUSIGNAN Hist. de Malt. VERTOT, t. II. l. 4. p. 9, & seq.

grand

grand master *De Villiers* died at *Limisso*, quite worn out with grief and fatigues, in the sixth year after his election *. *De Villiers dies.*

THE chapter chose in his room *Odon des Pins*, alias *Odo de Pinibus*, a native of *Provence*, a person already advanced in years, but fitter for the monkish offices than for those of such a warlike order, and perhaps more devout and retired than was consistent with it. His affected indolence, and the neglect of sending their galleys in search of fresh captures, soon brought upon him the general dislike of the whole order, which chiefly subsisted by them. Complaints were therefore made to the pope against him, by the greatest part of them, who at the same time begged leave to depose him. He was thereupon summoned before that pontif; but died before he reached *Italy*, in the second year of his government, and was succeeded by

WILLIAM DE VILLARET, of the tongue of *Provence*, at that time residing in his own priory of *St. Giles*; but *de Villaret*, who, upon the news of his election, chose to visit all the places in the several tongues of *Provence*, *Auvergne*, and *France*, in most of which he made several wholesome and needful regulations, before he set out for *Cyprus*. In his time pope *Boniface VIII.* confirmed the old rule of the order, which had been lost during the siege of *Ptolemais*, but the counterpart of which was still extant in the library. That pontif at the same time conferred upon this order the abbey of *Vennosa*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, which he had suppressed on account of the irregularities of the nuns belonging to it. *Villaret*, having thanked his holiness for these two signal favours, set sail for *Cyprus*, where he was received by the whole convent with universal joy, and where they had waited with impatience for his arrival, in hopes that his presence would give fresh life to a new project which they had formed for driving the *Saracens* out of the *Holy Land*, by making a league with *Guzan*, now at the head of the *Mogul Tatars*. He likewise received several other considerable privileges from pope *Benedict X.* and *Philip the Fair of France* ¹.

BUT the grand master had a much more important project in his head, which yet he kept wholly to himself, till he had assured himself of the feasibility of it. The ill treatment which he and his order had received from the king of *Cyprus*, in a great measure forced him into it. It was no less than the conquest of the island of *Rhodes*, where the

* BOSIO, MEGISSER, BYSSAT, LUSIGNAN, BAUDOIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi supra.

¹ NABERAT, ubi sup. p. 49.

lords of *Galla* had, from governors, erected themselves into sovereigns of it, and had peopled it with *Turkish* and *Saracen* merchants, who admitted all the corsairs of those nations into their ports, where they rode safe from the pursuit of the galleys of his order. His first care was to take an exact survey of its ports, fortified places, garisons, and number of its inhabitants; but, not finding himself in a condition to attempt it with the small force he had, he sailed back to *Limisso*, with an intent to go thence to *Rome*, and acquaint the pope with his design on that island, and to procure by his means some fresh assistance from the *European* princes; but, whilst he was preparing for that voyage, he was seized with a lingering disease, which put an end to his project and to his life, on the 12th year of his grand mastership; so that he lived to see the dreadful catastrophe and final destruction of the knights templars".

Prevented
by death.
1308.

24. Foulk
de Villaret.

Sails into
France.

Confers
with the
pope and
French
king.

He was succeeded by his brother *Foulk de Villaret*, who, being well acquainted with all his designs, and the plan he had laid for facilitating so noble a project, and a person of no less courage and conduct for executing of it, was the fittest to supply his place. He sailed accordingly from *Limisso*, accompanied by a great number of his knights, who were no less tired than he with the frequent insults of the *Cyprian* monarch, in the galleys of the order, to go and confer with the pope and *French* king, both then in the city of *Poitiers*, to examine the case of the knights templars, and to propose to the then master of them, who was there likewise, the uniting of the two orders under one chief or grand master. To this he answered, that the same proposal having been formerly made at the council of *Lyons*, under *Gregory IX.* was set aside upon several invincible obstacles which were urged against it, and, amongst the rest, that the monarchs of *Spain*, who were at perpetual war with the *Moors*, and derived their chief strength from the military orders established in their own dominions, would never permit that the *Spanish* knights, who were solely dependent on him, should become subject to any authority but his own: and, 2dly, that it would be highly unreasonable, and even dangerous, to oblige that military order to observe the severe discipline of the templars, with regard to their religious obligations and vows, which they had no proper call, nor grace given, to observe; so that such an union would rather be a disservice than a means of recovering the *Holy Land*, which was what the Christian powers had most at heart,

and esteemed the most meritorious action they could contribute to, or exert themselves in °.

UPON the whole, the project was set aside, and that of *His project* the grand master *Villaret* approved of, exchanging the isle of *seizing* *Cyprus*, where they were exposed to the attacks of the *on Rhodes* *Saracens* from without, and to the insults and extortions of *approved.* the king from within, for that of *Rhodes*, where they would be able to fortify themselves against the one, and be near at hand to attempt the recovery of *Palestine*, whenever a fair opportunity offered. But as the conquest of that island was *A crusade* an enterprize above their present strength, a fresh crusade *proclaim'd.* was proposed and agreed to, to assist them with a sufficient force to effect it, without discovering however the particular design of it, which it was their interest to conceal with all possible secrecy. The pope's bull for it granted such plenary indulgences, and other considerable privileges, to those that should engage in or contribute towards it, that volunteers came in shoals from all parts of *Europe*, especially from *Germany*, to enlist themselves; and the very women readily parted with their jewels to contribute towards the expences of it; so that the vast sums which were collected quickly enabled them to procure arms and ammunition, and vessels to carry over a great army, so great, we are told^p, that, for want of a sufficient number of transport ships, and to prevent the too great confusion it might cause, the grand master and his knights contented themselves with singling out the stoutest and best accoutred; and, taking leave of the pontif, sailed with them for the island of *Cyprus*, where *Sails back* they arrived safe, and without coming near that of *Rhodes*, *with his* fleet to *Cyprus.* to avoid raising any suspicion. Here he stayed no longer than till he could get his knights, and all the arms and effects of the order on board, and then set sail again on his intended expedition.

UPON the ungenerous refusal which the emperor *Andronicus*, who mortally hated the *Latins*, made him of the *Refused* investiture of *Rhodes*, though he had hardly any thing left in *the investiture of* it but a castle, and some shadow of authority, the grand *Rhodes.* master, who easily foresaw the issue of this negotiation, instead of staying longer at *Macry*, where he only stopped to take in fresh water, sailed directly for that island, and quickly landed his forces, provisions, and warlike stores, in *Lands on* spite of the opposition which the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, who *the island;* then inhabited it, could make against them; so greatly were they fallen, by this time, from the valour and noble spirit

° Bosio, & al. sup. citat.

p Ibid. ibid.

for which they had been so justly famed in former days. Not that they immediately submitted to the invaders without resistance, for there was scarcely a day in which they did not make some effort to drive them out, especially as the emperor *Andronicus* supplied them with fresh forces, in hopes that the island would easily submit to him as soon as the *Latins* were destroyed out of it; and this contest lasted near four years, though authors have given us few or no particulars of it, except what relates to the taking of its capital, without which the grand master clearly forelaw the island would hardly be subdued.

Lays siege
to the ca-
pital.

THE siege was actually carried on with surprising bravery, the knights emulously running themselves into the greatest dangers to hasten its reduction; but as the besiegers made a no less vigorous defence, he thought it expedient to turn it into a blockade; in which however he quickly found himself so closely surrounded by the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, that he could get no supply of either forage or provisions for his army.

Repels the
Saracens.

HAVING at length obtained a supply of fresh provisions by means of some large sums which he borrowed from the *Florentines*, and sufficiently refreshed his own men, he came out of his trenches, and attacked the *Saracens*, with a full resolution either to conquer or die. A bloody fight ensued, in which he lost a great number of his bravest knights, whilst the inhabitants fought against them with the utmost fury, as against invaders of their lands, families, and liberty. At length the *Saracens* gave way, and abandoned the field of battle, to gain their ships, whence they went and spread the news of their defeat among the islands of the *Archipelago*.

Takes
Rhodes by
assault,
and the
possession of
the island.

The siege was immediately after renewed with fresh vigour; the assault given, through a thick volley of arrows, and other missive weapons, from the ramparts, and the standards of the order quickly after displayed upon them. The *Greeks*, and other Christians, that were found in the place, had their lives and liberties given them, but the *Saracens* were all cut in pieces. The taking of the city was followed by that of the castle of *Lindo*, situate on the eastern coasts of the island, near which are two convenient bays, especially that which still retains its ancient name of the *Bay of Serpents*. Other fortifications, and at length that whole island, gradually underwent the same fortune; so that they got full possession of it in less than four years time. In memory of this signal transaction, so glorious and advantageous to the order, and

† See Anc. Hist. vol. viii. p. 165, & seq.

all Christendom, they took, and retained as long as they kept possession of the island, the name of knights of *Rhodes*, and it is by that name that we must distinguish them thro' the following section.

The name of Rhodians taken by the knights.

* BOSIO, MARMOL, Afric. l. ii. sub an. 1397. BAUDOUIN, Histoire des Cheval. de Jerusal. l. iii. c. 2, & seq. VERTOT, & al.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Knights of Rhodes, from their first Settlement on that Island, to their being dispossessed of it by Soliman, Emperor of the Turks.

THIS famous island having been fully described in our Antient History, with respect to its situation, extent, climate, soil, product, &c. we shall not trouble our readers any farther about it here, except where it hath since received any considerable improvement either in its fortifications, navy, or commerce, since it became subject to these new masters. But as the reduction of it by them was followed by that of eight or nine more of a smaller size and importance, formerly called *Rhodian* islands, but most of them mere barren rocks, we shall just give a short account of those which proved the most useful to the order in the sequel, and barely mention what is found most remarkable in them, before we resume the thread of our history. These are known by the names of, 1. *Nisara*, anciently *Nisyros*; 2. *Lero*; 3. *Calchis de Simia*; 4. *Episcopia*; 5. *Calchis de Simia*; 6. *Tilo*; and, 7. *Cos*, alias *Lango*. *Seven other small islands described.*

NISARA is distant from that of *Cos* last-named about two leagues, and about the same distance which it is from the continent of *Caria*. It had formerly a temple dedicated to *Neptune*, some hot baths, and a good haven; and, upon its surrender, was now given in fief by the grand master to *John* and *Bonavil Assaliers*, two brothers, who had signa- lized themselves at the siege of *Rhodes*, upon condition they should forthwith build a new galley of 25 oars, man and equip it at their own charge, and go on board it themselves when and where-ever the grand master should order them.

LERO is about 18 miles in compass, yet is one continued rock, on the summit of which was a castle, which defended the harbour from the plundering corsairs.

* Vol. viii. p. 157, & seq.

Calamo.

THAT of *Calamo*, though still much larger, being near forty miles in circumference, is likewise a mere continued barren rock; yet did the knights find in it the ruins of a considerable city, whose inhabitants probably subsisted by their commerce, the soil being altogether dry and barren. Those of *Episcopia* and *Tilo* are still more inconsiderable. That of *Chalce* or *Calchis de Simia* hath little remarkable in it, except that it produces some good wines, and breeds a vast number of goats. The inhabitants are famous for having a sort of small light frigates, which sail and run with such prodigious swiftness, that no ship can overtake them. This island was likewise famous for breeding up excellent swimmers and divers, who dived for sponge; and there was a law among them, that none should be permitted to marry till they could dive 20 fathom deep. On the summit of this island the grand master ordered a very high tower to be erected, from the top of which one could see a great way any vessel that appeared at sea, of which they were to give notice to the order, either by their beacons or by dispatching one of their swift frigates to *Rhodes*. The most considerable of all is that of *Cos* or *Lango*, which is near four miles long and about two in breadth, and more over famed for being the native place of the great *Hippocrates* and *Apelles*. Its soil is fertile, and produces great variety of fruit. The knights found in it a small city or town, situate by the sea-side, at the bottom of a large bay and at the foot of a high mountain. The haven was then commodious and wide, but the mouth of it hath been for some time ago so choaked up with the sand thrown into it by the waves, that none but small vessels can sail into it, while those of a larger bulk are obliged to ride in the road near it, which hath a good bottom and anchorage.

Excellent divers.**Cos, or Lango.****Fertile soil.****Castle.****Commerce.**

ON this island the grand master ordered a stout castle to be built, with strong towers and other bulwarks, and left under the government of one of the knights, who laid the foundation for a commerce in the island: this became considerable under his successors, that the town began to make a great figure, and the island was looked upon as a second *Rhodes*; insomuch that it was raised to the dignity of a bishop's see under that of *Rhodes*, and erected into one of the bailiwicks of the order^b.

WHILST the grand master was receiving the homage, and establishing his authority, in the several islands above-

^b De his, vid. int. alios, VIERROT, tom. ii. l. iv. p. 91, & vid. & BOSIO, MEGISER, & al. sup. citat.

soned, the fortifications of the capital were repaired and improved according to his order; so that at his return he sailed with his gallies into the harbour with great pomp, amidst the shouts and acclamations of his order. He had not long enjoyed the fruits of this new conquest, before the *Saracens*, who escaped from the sword of his troops, by regaining their ships, raised up a potent enemy against him. It was *Osmun*, alias *Othman*, of the race of sultans of that name, who then reigned in *Bithynia*; and, whether to revenge the blood of the slain *Saracens*, or out of dislike of having so warlike and enterprising an order so near his own dominions, resolved at any rate to drive them out of that island. After the several conquests he had by this time made in *Lycia*, *Caria*, and other parts of the *Greek* empire, he bent his whole naval strength against this place; and made such dispatch in his preparations, that he was able to lay siege to that capital before the walls and other fortifications of it were fully repaired. His fleet was numerous, his troops were stout and warlike, and accustomed to conquer under his banners; yet did his good fortune fail him in this attempt. The intrepid valour of the *Rhodian* knights proved such an effectual bulwark against all his efforts, that he was forced to raise the siege, and to retire with a great loss of his men; which he had no sooner done, than the grand master ordered the walls to be strongly terraced, and new out-works to be added to the old, to secure that capital from future attempts.

His next care was to open such a commerce with it as might render it no less rich and flourishing than strong. To this end he invited all that had retired into different parts of *Greece* to come and settle there; which they did quickly in vast multitudes. He also made the port of *Rhodes* a free one to all nations, which drew likewise a vast concourse of merchants thither; insomuch that that city gradually arose to such a degree of opulence, as to become one of the most flourishing in all *Asia*, as well as one of the most secure and commodious havens for all the crusades that came from *Europe*, to the great joy and satisfaction of all the Christian crowned heads, and the singular honour of the knights hospitallers, who, by the taking of this important island, gave the world a proof, that, in the loss of the *Holy Land*, they had never resigned their hopes and desire of recovering it again: in which they shewed themselves much superior in zeal and bravery to their rivals the templars, who so readily abandoned those holy places to the fury and tyranny of the enemies of Christendom, to indulge themselves in ease and luxury.

xury, and a life quite opposite to their vows, and the design of their institution. This was, at least, the general outcry against them, whether deservedly or no, all over *Europe*, but more especially at the courts of *France* and *Rome*, and what hastened their ruin and total extinction, as well as the bestowing of all their lands and revenues on the knights of *Rhodes*.

Lalleman THEY appointed *Robert Lalleman*, of the *Black Castle*, a person of known prudence and integrity, and who had been made visitor of all the priories of *Europe*.

for some time great commander of the order, their attorney-general, with a competent number of other knights his coadjutors, and sent them with full power to take possession of all those estates, and to give proper discharges for them. The said *Lalleman* was likewise appointed, by the same chapter, general visitor, inquisitor, administrator, steward, and reformer of the order on this side of the sea, and ordered to make a thorough reformation of all the abuses which had crept in, during the late troublesome times, with regard to the application of the revenues of every priory, &c. or in any other instance; with full power to judge and condemn all delinquents of what rank and quality soever, to deprive them of their respective dignities and trusts, and nominate others in their place. He was moreover empowered to admit fit and worthy persons into the order, and to invest them with the proper habit and other insignia of it. This commission is dated *October 27, 1312*; and was the more politically concerted, as the execution of it would at once silence the complaints which had been made against their order, with regard to those abuses, at the council of *Vienna*, by the creatures of the *French* king, who wanted to seize on the best part of the estates of the templars; and as it would prevent pope *Boniface*, who had engaged to become himself their visitor and reformer, and to see all such abuses rectified, from nominating some of his own creatures to that office. However that be, *Lalleman* and his coadjutors found the greatest difficulty, when they came into *Europe*, to get those estates out of the hands of the tenacious administrators; and it was not accomplished till after a good number of years, and much trouble and fatigue. It proved, however, quite otherwise in *England*, where *Edward II.* not only published an express order to his officers to put the said *Lalleman*, and other commissioners, in possession of all the lands which the templars held in his dominions, but likewise sent letters, to his barons, to hasten the execution of his orders, and to use their utmost power and authority in protecting those commissaries; and not only to see the lands themselves, but

Edw. II.
of Eng-
land re-
solves these
in his do-
minions:

even the produce of them, such as corn, fruits, &c. to be delivered unto them. The original of both these letters are preserved in the *Tower* to this day, which shew, that this prince was above following the example of other crowned heads, in appropriating any of them to his own use, in prejudice of that order^a.

WE observed, that the success which the young knights *Luxury*, had in their cruises at sea had introduced such luxury and *&c. introduced by* remissness, that the grand master was forced to have some *Villaret* statutes made against it. This abuse was by this time rather increased than lessened, not only by the additional augmentation of their revenue, but, what was still more surprising, by the example of *Villaret* himself, whose carriage, from an able and prudent general, was so strangely altered since his late conquest of the island, and his other successes, that he was sunk into the follies of the younger sort, and become despicable to all the ancients, on account of his new and extravagant way of living. His person was always surrounded with a vast attendance, and crowds of fawning parasites; his table served with most exquisite and far-fetched dainties. He bestowed the vacant commands on his worthless favourites, in prejudice of those, who, by their seniority and merit, were much better intitled to them; and shut up all avenues to remonstrances or complaints, denying them access to his presence; or, if he vouchsafed audience to any, it was with the most discouraging haughtiness. He even retrenched the usual allowance of the house, and other necessities to the knights, serving-brothers, and domestics, yet ran the house deeply in debt; for these, and such other despotic irregularities, he was first summoned to appear before the chapter, which he disdainfully refused to comply with, so that they came at *who is deposed.* length to a resolution to depose him.

THE malecontents had at their head *Maurice de Pagnac*, a strict but sour observer of the religious discipline, who, under pretence of freeing their order from such an arbitrary governor, found means to get himself elected in his place. Their next aim was to seize on his person; and, as that was now become in some measure inaccessible, they offered a very considerable reward to one of his valets de chambre, to let them into his apartment in the dead of night; but he, instead of accepting of their offer, acquainted his master with what had been resolved against him; who, under some pretence, withdrew himself from the city, and retired to the Lido.

^a VERTOT, t. ii. l. iv. p. 161, & seq. WALSING. in Edw. II. p. 99.

castle of *Lindo*, situate on the eastern coast of the island, which he seized ; and, having fortified himself in it, sent to signify to the chapter, that he appealed to the pope against their act for his deposition, or any other they might pass against his person and dignity.

Villaret, and Pagnac his competitor, summoned before the pope.

ALL these overt-acts of tyranny failed not to turn the hearts of the most moderate against him, and to induce them at last to agree to his deposition. The pope, *John XXII.* had a full account of all these transactions sent to him, who immediately deputed thither *Bernard de Mareze*, prior of *St. Caprius*, and *Bosolo*, his own chaplain, with orders to make a strict inquiry into them, to suspend the two grand masters, and to summon them to appear before him, whilst *Gerard de Pins* was appointed by his holiness to preside over the order until the matter was determined. They were likewise ordered to seize on all the money, jewels, plate, &c. of *Villaret*, and to convey them, with an exact inventory of the whole amount, into the treasury of the order, to be applied in the payment of the various sums that had been borrowed from the bank of *Florence*. The two grand masters, according to the pope's order, set sail for *Avignon* ; but, in their way thither, *Villaret* was received with such marks of respect, as gave his competitor *de Pagnac* little hopes of getting the better of him. After several audiences which that pontif granted to each of them, and frequent hearings before the greatest lawyers and cardinals, the deposition of *Villaret* was condemned as too hasty and illegal ; by which *de Pagnac* easily foresaw that his own condemnation would be the next step ; to avoid the disgrace of which he privately retired to *Montpelier*, where he soon died of a deep melancholy, which saved the pope the trouble of pronouncing sentence against him.

Pagnac withdraws, and dies.

Villaret restored ;

abdicates, and dies.

To preserve, however, his authority over the order, he restored *Villaret* to his former dignity, but not without having previously bound him in private to resign it again within a year, upon condition that he should be invested with one of the richest priories, where he might live in splendor and plenty the remainder of his days. The conditions were exactly fulfilled on both sides ; *Villaret* exchanged his grand mastership for a good priory, and went to spend the remaining four years of his life at his sister's castle of *Teyran* in *Languedoc*, and was buried in the great church of *St. John* in *Montpelier*, where a stately marble monument was erected to him, which sets forth his great exploits, without mentioning his abdication¹.

¹ Auct. sup. citat.

WE observed before, that the two visitors, whom the Gerard de pope had sent to *Rhodes*, had left *Gerard de Pins*, grand general of the order, and an old experienced warrior; governor of the island during the absence of the two masters. This gentleman saw himself soon after attacked by a powerful fleet, consisting of eighty sail of pinks, brigantines, and other vessels, well armed and manned (A), under the command of the famed *Orcan*, alias *Urcham*, the son of *Othman*, a prince who had spent most of his time in the field, and had by this time subdued the provinces of *Mysia*, *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia*, and *Caria*, the last of which was divided from the island of *Rhodes* by a narrow chanel. It was the neighbourhood of these that made his father attempt the driving of the knights out of it, as hath been hinted above, at an unlucky time. But now the opportunity appeared to him altogether favourable, from the reigning divisions, remissness, and luxury, which had crept into the order, the absence of the grand master, as well as of the greatest part of their gallies, which were then either upon the cruise, or elsewhere employed; in so much that when news were brought that the *Othman* fleet was designed against that island, *Gerard de Pins* had no more than four gallies belonging to the order, and about five *Genoese* trading vessels, with some few pinks and brigantines of smaller sizes. These, however, he manned with soldiers and inhabitants, and set sail against the enemy, who, though vastly superior in number, yet being less accustomed to sea than land fights, were easily defeated with considerable loss. The *Rhodians* sunk a great number of their frigates and flat-bottomed vessels, took several more, brought away a great number of prisoners, and dispersed the rest. He sailed next

(A) Some authors tell us (1), that this politic prince manned part of his fleet with the old inhabitants of that island, and made them take their families with them, in hopes that they would engage the more heartily in the recovery of their ancient lands and habitations; but, to that end, left those families in the little island of *Episcopia* lately described, which he made himself master of in his way to that of *Rhodes*, and

took the stoutest men along with him, to assist him in the conquest of this, as soon as he had defeated the small forces of the order, of which he thought himself sure. His politics, however, failed him, as well as his hopes; and he, who had been hitherto so successful and victorious at land, had the mortification to see his numerous fleet defeated by a much inferior force at sea (2).

(1) *Giowan Villani*, pag. 113. ap. *Vercot*, tom. ii. lib. iv. pag. 131, & seq.
(2) *Ibid. ibid.* & al. sup. citat.

to the island of *Episcopia*, where he put all the old *Rhodian* inhabitants mentioned in the last note to the sword, to prevent their ever recovering their ancient habitations.

1323.

WHILST these things passed at *Rhodes*, the knights, who were still at *Avignon*, being convoked by the pope, and exhorted to peace and unanimity, proceeded to the choice of a grand master to succeed *Villaret*, who had now abdicated according to his agreement. No man could have a better title to it than the brave *Gerard de Pins*, who had so greatly sig-

25. Helion
de Ville-
neuve
sbesen
grand
master:

nalized himself in defence of their island; yet the pontif had such an influence on that servile chapter, that the choice fell upon one of his own creatures, named *Helion de Ville-neuve*, who, in gratitude to him, sold him some fine seats and lands belonging to the order, in the neighbourhood of *Cabors*, the capital of *Quercy* in *France*, the pope's native country, where he afterwards settled his obscure family, by which means he made himself still surer of his interest and protection in this his new dignity.

Holds two
chapters.

HE stayed above two years at the pope's court, during which time he convened a general chapter at the city of *Montpelier*, to reform the abuses which had introduced themselves into the order during his predecessor's government, particularly the remissness of its discipline, the general luxury that reigned among the gayer sort, and, above all, the non-residence of the knights, vast numbers of whom were dispersed through divers parts of *Europe*, and buried in their commanderies. To recall these, therefore, to their principal house at *Rhodes*, an act was passed, in which those were declared incapable of rising to any of the dignities of the order, who did not reside a certain number of years in it, and in that time did not engage in some martial expedition at sea or land, for the service of religion, &c. Other statutes were made in this and the subsequent years, to ascertain the different privileges of every class. After having made these regulations, the grand master was detained some months longer by a fit of sickness, which seized him just as he had prepared every thing for his departure, and set sail for his government *Rhodes*. as soon as he was recovered of it.

Returns to
Rhodes.

BUT whilst he was employed in making these regulations for the good of his order, his absence had made room for new ones; so that he found, upon his landing, almost every thing wanted to be rectified. The greatest part of the commanders had left the place upon some pretence or other; the garisons, for want of being duly paid, were grown shamefully thin; the walls, and other out-works, were gone to decay; and the same disorders had spread themselves in other places

places under his government ; so that his whole time and care were taken up in repairing and strengthening the fortifications, raising new forces, and augmenting his garisons, which he maintained, it seems, during the rest of his government, at his own charges ; and the island was likewise beholden to him for a stout bulwark which he caused to be erected at the head of one of the suburbs, out of his own privy purse. He took the same care of the smaller islands, which he now caused to be visited by proper inspectors, and put under the government of such of his knights as he thought would contribute most to their strength and welfare ; and who acquitted themselves accordingly of their commission with such faithfulness and diligence, that they were all quickly after put in a good condition of defence ; and their inhabitants so well employed, that there was scarcely one poor one left among them. To all this we may add, that the great concourse of knights, which his presence and late wholesome statutes brought into the capital, soon resumed their maritime excursions, and brought plenty and wealth into its capital, and raised it to its pristine splendor. They moreover kept those seas free from corsairs ; and the coasts of *Cyprus* and *Lesser Armenia*, which used to be infested by that piratical crew, were now quite free from them. His charity and munificence extended themselves to the poorest objects, whether pilgrims or others, who were lodged and provided for in a sumptuous hospital erected for that purpose, and had all their wants both of soul and body plentifully supplied.

WE come now to a more surprising transaction which happened under this grand master, and which we relate only on the credit of some sober authors¹, though others have made no scruple to call it a mere fable ; the reader may pass what judgment he pleases upon it ; but, as it hath a relation to some other parts of this history, we cannot dispense with giving a short account of it. Among the many venomous creatures that infested this island, there was a monstrous large one of an amphibious nature, which harboured in a subterraneous cavern at the end of a large morass, and had made dreadful havock among the small and large cattle, and even among the neighbouring inhabitants ; they gave it the name of dragon, but it was more probably either a crocodile or a sea-horse of the first magnitude ; and several *Rhodian* knights had lost their lives at different times in endeavouring

¹ THEVENOT, Voy. p. 1. c. 3. BAUDOUIN, l. iii. c. 4. DAVITT, VERTOT, t. ii. p. 192, & seq. & al. mult.

to destroy it, fire-arms not being then in use, and its skin being proof against any other weapon ; upon which account the grand master had expressly forbidden making any further attempts against it, under severe penalties. They all readily obeyed, except a *Pravencal* knight, named *Deodat de Gozan*, who, less regardful of the prohibition, than of the horrid depredations of the monster, resolved at all hazards to rid the island of it.

THAT he might atchieve it the more safely, he went out several times to take a distant view of it, till the want of scales, which he observed under his belly, furnished him with an effectual plan for destroying it.

HE first retired to his native castle of *Gozan*, that he might pursue his project with greater secrecy ; and there got an effigy of the monstrous creature, made as exact in colour, shape, and size, as he could, in wood and pasteboard ; after which, he set about instructing two young mastiffs how to attack him at that tender part, whilst he did the same on horseback with his lance, and in his armour. This exercise he continued several months ; after which he sailed back to *Rhodes* with them, and two of his domestics, and, without shewing himself to any one, went directly to the place, and attacked the furious beast, ordering his two servants to stand on the neighbouring hill, and, in case they saw him fall, to return home, but, if victorious, or unluckily wounded, to come to his assistance. Upon the first onset he ran with full force against it, but found his lance recoil back, without making the least impressiön on its skin ; but, whilst he was preparing to repeat his blow, his horse, affrighted at its hissing and stench, started so suddenly back, that he would have thrown him down, had he not as dextrously dismounted, when, drawing his sword, he gave the monster a desperate wound in the softest part of the belly, out of which quickly flowed a plentiful stream of blood. His faithful dogs no sooner saw it than they seized on the place ; and held it so fast, that he could not shake them off ; upon which he gave the knight such a violent blow with his tail, as threw him flat on the ground, and laid his whole body upon him ; so that he must have been inevitably stifled with his weight and stench, had not his two domestics come immediately to his assistance, and disengaged him from his load. They found him so spent and breathless, that they began to think him dead ; but, upon throwing some water on his face, he opened his eyes, and glad was he when the first object that saluted him was the monster dead before him, which had destroyed so many of his order.

THE news of this exploit was no sooner known, than he saw himself surrounded with vast crouds of inhabitants, and met by a great number of knights, who conducted him in a kind of triumph to the palace of the grand master; but great was his mortification here, when, instead of applause and commendations, he received a severe reprimand, and was sent to prison by him, without being permitted to speak for himself, or any one to intercede for him. A council was quickly called, in which that severe governor highly aggravated his crime, and, with his usual austerity and sternness, insisted upon his being punished with the utmost severity for his breach of obedience and discipline, which he maintained was of more dangerous consequence than all the mischief which that and many more such monsters could do. At length, with much intreaty, he was prevailed upon to content himself with degrading him, and Gozan was accordingly stripped of his cross and habit, an indignity which he esteemed more rigorous than death. He continued some time under this disgrace; after which Villeneuve, who was of a generous temper, and an admirer of valour, having asserted his authority by that severe example, readily yielded to have him received again, and likewise bestowed many signal favours on him; whilst the people, less sparing of their praises than he, paid him the greatest honours every-where; the head of the monster was fastened on one of the gates of the city, as a trophy of Gozan's victory, which was still to be seen there in Mr. Thevenot's time; and the knights, no less grateful, sensible of this signal service, readily chose him their grand master upon the demise of Villeneuve, as we shall see in the sequel. However, even in his life-time he bestowed several considerable commanderies upon him, and made him his lieutenant-general and bosom counsellor; rightly concluding, that a person, who had displayed such extraordinary valour and conduct for the safety of that island, could not fall of shewing the same against any of the enemies of Christianity^m.

By this time the island was so well fortified and garisoned, and the seas so well guarded by the Rhodian gallies, that the *Mohammedans* had not dared to make any attempts against it either by sea or land, and this by degrees introduced a general remissness. The cruises were neglected, because they could make but few prizes; many of the knights left the island, and returned to Europe, because they found no further opportunities to exert their martial spirit; and many of them

*Is degraded
and impri-
soned for
it.*

*Is restored
to favour.*

*The peace-
of the or-
der pro-
duces lux-
ury, &c.*

^m BAUDOUIN, DAVITY, VERTOT, & al. supra citat.

neglected to send their respective quotas, or, as they were stiled, responfions, under pretence that the peaceful calm the island enjoyed made them unnecessary; and the far greatest part of them every-where rioted in luxury and sloth, at the expence of the order, to the great scandal of those who had been witnesses of the quite opposite life, for which their order had been so justly esteemed.

Pope *Benedict* XII. who had succeeded *John* XXII. received frequent complaints against them, that the bestowing of the estates of the templars had infected them with the same vices; but, whilst he was taking the properest means to reduce them to their ancient discipline, he was suddenly taken off. His successor *Clement* VI. was likewise informed of the considerable damages which the corsairs of *Africa* had done to the islands of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and others of the *Archipelago*, whilst those who should have protected them were indulging themselves in ease and luxury. That pontiff, weary of the frequent complaints which he received from different quarters, wrote a very severe letter to the grand master about it; the result of which was, the calling of a general chapter, in which it was resolved, that six gallies should be fitted and manned accordingly at the port of *Rhodes*, and maintained at the charges of the order. They likewise made sundry wholesome regulations relating to the dress, table, retinue, &c. of the knights; and appointed three grand visitors to carry them to his holiness, with their humble request that he would back them with his apostolical authority, in order to render them more effectual. The pope was highly satisfied with their ready compliance, and dispatched soon after four of his gallies to join with theirs, and other allies, in order to drive the *Turkish* corsairs out of *Smyrna*, which was then in their hands. We have elsewhere shewn the success of that expedition, in which the *Rhodian* knights behaved with the greatest bravery. The grand master no sooner heard of their having gained that important place, than he caused a fresh supply of forces, arms, and provisions, to be conveyed to it. He applied the short remainder of his days in fortifying the island, and the grand palace, which last he surrounded with stout walls and stately towers, and other public buildings; he likewise erected particularly a stately church, richly endowed; and departed this life on the 27th of *May*, in the 23d year of his government, to the regret of the whole order, who had given him the epithet of the happy grand master°.

The pope's
letter to
the grand
master.

His com-
pliance
with it.

Public
works.

His death.

° *Auct. supra citat.*

Hg

He was succeeded, as we hinted a little higher, by *Deodat* 26. *Deo-*
de Gozan, who lately delivered the island from a destructive monster. His election being something singular, the reader *Gozan.*
 will not be displeased if we give him a short account of it. 1346.
 The chapter being much divided about the choice of a new
 master, the more religious part being for one who should
 keep up the ancient discipline, and the rest less solicitous
 about that than about having a martial captain who should
 revive the cruising trade, and lead them to the acquisition of
 wealth and honour; when it came to his turn to give his vote,
 he expressed himself in the following terms: *Upon my enter-* *Nominates*
ing into this assembly, I took a solemn oath not to propose any himself to
hight but such as I thought the most worthy of filling up that the grand
important post, and the most affectionate to the general good masterhip.
of the order; and, after having seriously considered the pre-
sent state of Christendom, and the continual wars which we
are bound to carry on against the infidels, the steadiness and
vigour required to prevent the least remissness in our discipline,
I do declare that I do not find any person better qualified for
the well governing of our order than myself. He then began
 to enumerate his former exploits, particularly that of de-
 stroying the dragon; but insisted more especially on his be-
 haviour ever since the late grand master had made him his
 lieutenant-general; and concluded with addressing himself
 to the electors in these words: *You have already had a proof* *Speech to*
of my government, and cannot but know what you may ex- *the chap-*
pect from it; I am therefore persuaded that you cannot, with-
out doing me an injustice, refuse me your votes.

ONE may easily imagine the surprise the whole chapter was
 in when they heard him nominate himself; and some of them
 could not forbear observing what pity it was that what he
 had said in support of his own pretensions had not come
 from any other mouth than his own; but the reflexion dis-
 pleased the rest, and, upon an impartial comparing his real
 merit with that of the other candidates, he was elected by *Is chosen*
 the far greater majority, to the no small joy of the *Rhodians,* *by a great*
 who looked upon him as a hero, and as their deliverer. *majority.*

IT was not long before his credit and singular prudence
 gave a new life to the Christian league against the *Turks,*
 and his interest procured the command of the fleet to the
 grand prior of *Lombardy,* a knight of known valour and ex-
 perience, who went soon after and surprised that of the *Turks,* *Defeats*
 near the small island of *Embro* in the *Archipelago,* before the *the Turks*
 enemy supposed them to be sailed out of their ports, so that they *at sea.*
 were scattered all over the island. We have elsewhere given
 an account of that noble action, where the *Rhodian* admiral
 took

took about 120 of their pinks, brigantines, and smaller vessels, put their larger galleys to flight, and brought away above 5000 slaves out of that island.

*Defeats
the Saracens.*

THIS great victory was followed soon after by another, which he gained in *Lesser Armenia* over the *Saracens* of *Egypt*, who had made themselves masters of a great part of the country. The king of it had applied to *Gozan* for some assistance, who, looking upon him as a Christian prince, though a schismatic, made no difficulty to equip a powerful fleet, with a considerable body of infantry, which he sent under the command of some of his bravest knights, who, having joined the *Armenian* forces, immediately engaged the enemy. The fight was fierce and obstinate on both sides for some time, the *Saracens* not dreaming of any other enemy than the *Armenians*, whom they had often defeated; but, when they came to try the valour and bravery of the *Rhodian* forces, they dwindled into mere cowards and runaways. The greatest part of them were slain in the heat of the action, and a great number of fugitives taken prisoners, together with all their baggage, and the victors did not leave the country till they had driven the invaders out of all their conquests.

*The Christian league
broke.*

IN the mean while the Christian league being broke by the parsimony of the pope, and the war between the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, that pontiff sent the grand master a letter to persuade him to accept of the truce which the grand

*The grand
master's
answer to
the pope.*

sir nor offered. To which he nobly answered, that though he saw himself abandoned by all his allies, yet the rules and oath of his order would not permit him to enter into any treaty with the enemies of Christianity; and till it pleased God to raise him some new allies, he was determined at least

*His letters
to the pri-
ors.*

to stand on the defensive. Having now more leisure upon his hands, he set about examining the accounts of the order, and wrote pressing letters to all the commanders and priors, who had been tardy in sending their respective quotas or responsions, to transmit all their arrears without delay. Amongst them some very remarkable ones were directed to the priors of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, in which he severely reminds them of their breach of faith, for having neglected to send their respective contributions ever since their loss of the *Holy Land*, though they could not be ignorant of their present establishment in the isle of *Rhodes*, and continued in a shameful inactivity all this time, to the great dishonour of their profession; adding, that

¹ BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, & al. sup. citat.
sup. t. ii. l. xviii. & al. sup. citat.

² BOSIO, ubi

they did not immediately transmit, with their respective
 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697

In the next year pope *Clement VI.* who had granted the some fresh privileges and immunities, in return for the favours they had shewn to his nephew the viscount of *Genne*, wrote him a letter of thanks, but at the same time painted him in it, that the doge and senate of *Venice* lately complained of his suffering several of his knights to engage in the war between the *Genoese* and them, contrary to the intent of their institution, which permitted them to bear arms only against the enemies of the Christian faith. To *Gozan* replied, that, in an order which consisted of such variety of nations, it was not to be wondered at that some private persons should shew a particular zeal for their own country, and that he doubted not but there were as many on the *Venetian* as on the *Genoese* side ; which, however, he said, was highly disapproved of by the order, as well as by himself, neither of whom had taken any part between those contending powers.

*Answer to
the pope's
complaint.*

ACCORDINGLY, when that pontif's successor, *Innocent VI.* the time after earnestly exhorted him to engage in favour of *Matthew Paleologus*, against the emperor *John* the son of *Andronicus*, and even sent that prince with the letter, earnestly pressing him to assist him to recover the crown, tho' the pretence he had to it with that pontif was, that he aged, in case he was reinthroned, to reunite the *Greek* & the *Latin* church; an old shift, which those princes made use of to obtain the assistance of the *Latins*; *Gozan* made difficulty to refuse intermeddling with their difference, inconsistent with his order; but, to avoid that pontif's urging him a dispensation for it, he wrote him word more-over, that the treasury of the order was in a manner exhausted through the avarice of the priors in *Europe*; who put the revenue into their own coffers, and were upheld therein by their princes, especially in *France, Castile, Arragon*, &c. To this he added, that his extreme old age rendered him incapable of governing so extensive an order, and made his authority to be less regarded; upon which account he begged earnestly that his holiness would permit him to resign it to some more able and active person. *Innocent*,

*Refuses to
assist Mat-
thew Pa-
leologus.
1552.*

*Begs leave
of the pope
to resign :*

* Bosio, & alib. VERTOT, t. ii. p. 227, & seq. * Ibid.

instead

but is re-
fused.

Fortifies
Rhodes.

Repeats his
request.

Death, and

epitaph.

27. Peter
de Corn-
nillan;
reforms
abuses.

Ordered by
the pope to
abandon
Rhodes.

instead of complying with his request, which he told his own merit and great services to Christianity would permit him to do, exhorted him by fresh letters to bear courageously the burden of government, till Providence should think fit to ease him of it. Upon which he resolved to dedicate the short remainder of his life in fortifying the island of *Rhodes*, and causing a convenient mole to be built in the latter for the ease and safety of the galleys of the order. But, whilst he was thus usefully taken up, his mind was sensibly affected both with the pope's refusal, and more with the decay of discipline, which he saw with grief to augment every day, without being able to remedy. This made him renew his request to the pontiff; which he did in such strong terms, and backed with such powerful reasons, that he at length consented to his abdication.

BUT, whilst his bull for it was dispatching at that corner *Gozan*, quite worn out with old age, fatigues, and affliction, he resigned his life, greatly regretted by the whole order, much more by the inhabitants, who respected him as their father and deliverer. He expired on the 7th of *December*, in the 7th year of his government; his funeral obsequies were performed in a manner answerable to his merit, and an epitaph engraven upon his tomb, with only these words: *Draconis extirpator, or The destroyer of the dragon* &c.

PETER DE CORNILLAN, or CORMILLAN, of the county of *Provence*, some say of *Dauphine*, a grave and sincere person, was chosen his successor; who, immediately after his election, convened a general chapter at *Rhodes*, to reform some grievous abuses which were crept in, particularly that of using the grand master's seal without his knowledge of the order, in sealing orders and acquittances, which were afterwards sent to the treasury; to avoid which fraud for the future, a statute was passed, that such orders, acquittances and other matters relating to the finances, should no longer be sealed with his seal, but with that of the convent, and full council. Another, and no less prejudicial, abuse committed by those priors, in assuming the right of nomination to the commanderies, to the prejudice of seniority and merit, was likewise redressed, by restraining that privilege to the grand master and his council. His thoughts were however ever taken off from this laudable and useful work, by an order, no less preposterous than selfish, which he received from the pope, to abandon *Rhodes*, and to go and settle himself

▼ BOSIO, ubi sup. BAUDOUIN, l. iii. c. 4. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 134, & seq. & al. ubi sup.

his order on some part of *Terra Firma*, near the *Turkish* frontiers, either on the side of *Palestine* or *Anatolia*, in order to prevent the *Turks*, who by this time had conquered all of the latter, seized on *Nicea*, *Bursa*, and *Nicomedia*, had already passed the *Hellepont*, from settling in *Neapol*, and thence penetrating farther into *Europe*; a wild and most impolitic project this! but from which that infatuated pontif, dismayed at the rapidity of *Othman's* conquests, did not be diverted by any reasons that could be offered against it. But to give it the greater weight with the grand master and chapter, he sent three of the most considerable knights of the order to them, with orders to represent, in the strongest terms, the grievous complaints which had been made to him against their shameful inactivity and lethargy, at a time when the *Turks* had ravaged the greatest part of *Greece*, and were now threatening *Italy*; and to urge them immediately to set about transplanting their settlement to some country nearer the *Holy Land* (a thing, he said, which his three immediate predecessors, *John XXII.* *Gregory II.* and *Clement II.* had tried in vain to move them to for the good of Christendom), and to assure them, that and threats if they refused to comply with his commands, he would be full of taking all proper measures to oblige them to it, and bestow the immense riches of the templars, which so successfully lulled them in inactivity and wanton ease, upon a new military order that would much better answer the end of the institution.

To this severe and threatening message the grand master hastily answered, that he could not thus hastily abandon an answer, which had cost some of the best blood of the order, without the general consent of his brethren; and that he would summon a grand chapter of them, to consult about it; that the pontif, rightly judging that the fortifications, riches, army, navy, &c. would prove an invincible obstacle to their consent, if that chapter was held at *Rhodes*, immediately ordered it by an express bull to be held at *Nismes*; which he told them, they were to look upon as an irrefragable testimony of his will, however his former orders might have been misinterpreted by ill-designing minds, that they should nevertheless seek a new settlement near the frontiers of the infidels. The result was, that the perplexity into which this sudden and positive order threw the grand master, between his duty to his brethren and his obedience to the pope, put a speedy end to his life, in the 18th month after his election; grief, in whose room the chapter chose

ROGER

28. Roger de Pins; ROGER DE PINS, alias DE PINIBUS, of the tongue of *Provence*, a person of an illustrious family in *Languedoc*;

1355. nearly related to *Otho de Pins*, formerly grand master of order, and of the famed *Gerard de Pins*, who had gained that signal victory over *Orcan* the son of *Othman* during the absence of the grand master, of which we gave an account. The pope, however, as intent upon project as ever, to prevent all delays and opposition from knights, ordered the grand chapter to be held at *At*

Amuses the pope with the proposal of seizing on Morsea. instead of *Nisines*. By good fortune some hint was

him in the mean time, that *Morea* would be a much convenient place for the *Rhodians* to settle in than in neighbourhood of *Palestine*, where it would be impossible for them to defend themselves against the formidable of the *Turks* and *Saracens*. The pope immediately approved the proposal; and the knights, in order to gain time, pointed commissaries and other officers to treat about it with *Robert* the tutelar emperor of *Constantinople*, and *Jan* *Savoy*, prince of *Piedmont*, who both laid claim to the island. However, the grand chapter thought it expedient at the same time to suppress some abuses loudly complained against, and chiefly relating to the misapplication of the revenues of the templars appropriated to charitable uses, and to order them to be restored to their ancient channel, in order to put a stop to all such complaints.

Complaints made against the pontif, NEITHER did this assembly scruple to prefer some less grievous ones against that pontif, who abused his authority over them rather in oppressing than protecting them; he took upon him the bestowing some of the richest communi-

who remains inflexible.

ries and priories on a favourite *Arragonian*, named *Henri*, to the great prejudice of seniority and merit. Upon this the grand master thought fit to send some ambassadors to intreat his holiness to recall his nomination, and to correct the great injury he did to their order; but they found him inflexible as well as his favourite, whom they were likewise ordered to induce, if possible, to desist from his passions; instead of which, his insolence carried him so far, that he pocketed up the whole income of those priories, without transmitting any part of his responsions to the order. When they have preferred fresh complaints against such a powerful favourite, would have only disoblinded the pontif, whom it was in their interest to manage at such a juncture: however, to avoid so pernicious an example becoming a precedent in process of time, the grand master convened afresh a general chapter at *Rhodes*, where this and the like abuses were

guar-

guarded against by proper regulations. Soon after which Roger died, on the 27th of May, in the 10th year of his government, after having, by his prudence and credit, dexterously avoided the fatal blow which the pontif had levelled against the whole order, caused all the statutes of the order to be translated into *Latin* and confirmed anew, and almost exhausted his private estate, sold all his plate and jewels, and even moveables, to supply the pressing wants of the sick and indigent during the whole time of a grievous pestilence and famine which had raged through all the east, for which they gave him the emphatic epithet of *Almoner* ².

He was succeeded by *Raymond Berenger*, descended from the illustrious family of that name in *Dauphine*, who signified the beginning of his government by the number of galleys which he equipped against the *Egyptian* corsairs which infested those seas, and all the coasts of the island of *Cyprus*, where they committed the most dreadful ravages. *Berenger*, not content to destroy many of them on the open sea, ventured even to go, in conjunction with those of the king of *Cyprus*, and burn them in the very port of *Alexandria*. The fleet consisted of above 100 sail of different bulks and nations, most of which had been hired for that expedition, without however communicating his design to any but pope *Urban V.* now raised to that dignity. They accordingly set sail with this great armament, and arrived in less than five days at the walls of that capital. They immediately began to scale them with the most obstinate courage, and in spite of the strenuous opposition of a numerous garrison, which, with their missile weapons, boiling oil, and other destructive means, destroyed them almost as fast as they mounted. We have elsewhere given an account of this surprising action, in which the grand master lost a vast number of his knights, and the *Cypriots* of their troops; but brought home an immense plunder, and a great number of slaves, after having burnt that noble city, which he could not keep longer on account of the approach of the sultan, who was in full march against him, at the head of a powerful army.

His next expedition was against that of *Tripoly* in *Syria*, which he sacked and plundered; and on the next year was sent, by order of the pope, into the island of *Cyprus*, to suppress some intestine feuds which had happened in that island, of which commission he acquitted himself with his usual prudence and success.

* Bosio, & al. sup. citat.

*Desires
leave to
abdicate,
and is pre-
vented.*

*Abuses
reformed.*

*Chapters
when
complete.*

*Berenger
dies,
1373.*

*30. Rob.
de Julliac;
reforms
abuses.*

*Defends
Smyrna.*

BUT upon his return to *Rhodes* he had the mortification to learn, that the order could hardly obtain any supply from the responſions in *Europe*, through the avarice of the priors and commanders; which he took ſo much to heart, that he deſired leave of the new pontif, *Gregory XI.* to abdicate; but the pope, who knew his merit too well to conſent to it, found a proper expedient to relieve him of his cares, by ſummoning a general chapter of the order at *Avignon*, to conſult of the propereſt means for redreſſing that grievance, at which he ſhould however be exempted from aſſiſting on account of his extreme old age, and be only obliged to ſend thither an account of them, together with ſuch other regulations as he thought moſt conducive to the revival of their ancient diſcipline. By this means ſeveral wholeſome ſtatutes were enacted in that aſſembly, purſuant to the memorial which *Berenger* had cauſed to be ſent to them; one of which was, that, in all future elections of a grand maſter, inſtead of the uſual method of taking the votes of all the knights, each tongue ſhould chuſe two electors from among themſelves, with reſpect to the ſovereign council of the order; it was likewiſe reſolved, that it ſhould not be looked upon as complete, unleſs there were in it eight conventual bailiffs, three grand priors, the preſident of the infirmary, and at leaſt two knights of each tongue, with the grand maſter at their head, who, as preſident, and in regard to his dignity, ſhould alone have two votes; and that this grand council, when thus complete, ſhould alone have the diſpoſal of the vacant priories and commanderies^c. Theſe ſtatutes, having been approved by the pope, were tranſmitted to the grand maſter, to his no ſmall ſatisfaction; which however he did not live to ſee the fruits of, but died in the ſame year, after having governed the order about eight years and ſix months^d.

He was ſucceeded by *Robert de Julliac*, or *Jully*, grand prior of *France*, and then reſiding in his priory; who no ſooner received the news of his election, than he went to pay his reſpects to the pope at *Avignon*, before he embarked for *Rhodes*. The firſt thing he did after his arrival, was, to turn out all the receivers on his ſide of the water, who had been tardy in their truſt. He next was obliged to take upon him the defence of the caſtle and lower town of *Smyrna*, which had been taken during the time of the Chriſtian league, as hath been hinted before, and which that pontif now

^c Vid. RONDINEL. Aſt. Ord. titul. 13. VERTOT, ubi ſup. p. 258, & ſeq. ^d Ibid. ibid. & Auſt. ſupra citat.

forced him to take under his protection, and as now properly belonging to his order; charging him, under pain of excommunication, to send forthwith a sufficient number of his bravest knights thither, with a competent number of forces and other provisions for its defence. It is surprising to read with what emulous readiness a great number of the *Rhodian* knights offered themselves to go and defend that place, as soon as the grand master, at his arrival, acquainted the chapter with the pope's positive commands, notwithstanding the imminent danger that attended it, and the unlikelihood of the *Turkish* sultan's suffering them to remain long in possession of a place in the heart of his dominions, and which they had with such singular valour wrenched out of his hands.

THE very reverse was more to be feared at this juncture, in which *Soliman*, the warlike son of *Orcan*, now on the throne, had in less than two years made himself master of the greatest part of *Thrace*, and of the city of *Adrianople*; and his no less fortunate successor *Amurat* had extended his conquests still farther, and was at that time at the head of a powerful armament, the weight of which, tho' none could certainly know where it would fall, yet seemed to threaten both *Smyrna* and the isle of *Rhodes*. The grand master failed not to inform the pope of all these preparations, who thereupon convened a chapter of the principal commanders of the order, to meet at *Avignon* in the month of *March* following, in which it was resolved, that 500 knights, and the same number of esquires, or serving brethren, should forthwith repair, the former to *Rhodes*, who were all to be nominated by the priors, and the latter to be chosen by the knights so nominated; soon after which the grand master died; and *His death*,
was succeeded by

1375.

FERDINAND DE HEREDIA, the pope's great favourite, mentioned a little higher, and who was then in his government of *Avignon*, and was elected to that dignity rather on account of his great interest with the pope, of whose firm favour and friendship they stood now more in need than ever, than for any affection they could have for a man whose ambition and avarice had done so much injury to the order. They were however agreeably surprised soon after to find him become, from one of the greatest oppressors, one of the most generous benefactors to it. He had been married twice, in hopes to inherit his brother's estate, who was of one of the noblest and richest families in *Arragon*, but had no children by his wife, when he was at length disappointed by her having two sons; upon which, his last wife being dead, he easily got himself admitted into the order by his address,

31. Ferd.
de Heredia;
subjoined
by the
chapter.

*His great
sway with
the pope.*

and had attained by degrees to the dignity of castellan of the imposts, one of the highest and most profitable offices, next to that of the grand master. Not content with it, he, by his intriguing genius, gained such an influence over his holiness, that he did hardly any thing without his advice, and had raised him to one of the richest priories in *Spain*, without the grand master's knowledge, though it was properly in his and the chapter's gift. But when he came himself to be raised to that dignity, his mind took a quite different turn, and it became his chief ambition and delight to promote the interest and honour of the order, as well as to maintain the privileges of his place as grand master, as we shall see in the sequel.

*Provides
a noble
fleet.*

*Accompa-
nies the
pope to
Rome.*

His first care, after the news of his election had reached him, was, to provide himself with such a noble fleet as might at once support and give lustre to his new dignity. Accordingly he embarked, attended with nine large galleys, and a great number of adventurers, whom he had taken in pay at his own charge. He was just ready to set sail, when he was obliged, at the earnest request of *Gregory XI.* who had just then succeeded *Urban V.* in the papal chair, to suspend his journey for some time, in order to accompany him from thence to *Rome*, whither he designed to sail as soon as possible, not only in hopes that his presence would quell the troubles that then reigned in *Italy*, but also to prevent another pope being chosen there, if he tarried any longer at *Avignon*^s. He embarked accordingly at *Marseilles*, in the grand master's galleys, who commanded them in person, and was accompanied by the grand priors of *St. Giles*, *England*, and *Rome*, and arrived safe at *Civita Vecchia*, whence the grand master accompanied him in great pomp to his own capital, bearing himself the standard of the order before him on horseback, thro' the loud acclamations of the people^b.

*Takes the
Veneti-
an fleet.*

HEREDIA, in haste to return to *Rhodes*, embarked soon after for that island, where he was impatiently expected by the whole convent. In his way he met with the *Venetian* fleet near the coasts of *Morea*, that republic being then at war with the *Turks*, who had taken the city of *Patras*, famed for its silk commerce. The *Venetian* admiral went into his gally to intreat him to assist him in the recovery of so important a place from the hands of those infidels. The two fleets, being joined, sailed directly to it, where having landed their forces, *Heredia* immediately began to scale it at that

^s Vide auct. sup. citat.
TOT, & al. sup. citat.

^b BOSTO, BAUDOUIN, VAN

place where the walls had been most damaged in the late siege, and made himself master of it without any great opposition, the *Turkish* governor having reserved the best part of his garrison for the defence of the castle. This last, which was situate on the highest part of the city, was likewise besieged in form with the same bravery and success. The *Turks* made indeed a vigorous defence; but this served only to whet the impatience of our knights, and much more that of their grand master, who no sooner saw a sufficient breach made by his engines, than he mounted it the first, sword in hand, without minding whether any of them followed him; and, having gained the top, flung himself down, more like a young candidate for glory and preferment, than like one that was at the summit of both. Here he was immediately encountered by the governor, and a bloody single combat was fought between them, in which *Heredia* had the good fortune to run his sword through the body of his enemy, and laid him flat at his feet. In the mean time the rest of the knights came pouring down to his assistance, immediately after which followed a general slaughter of the garrison, who were all put to the sword.

THE success of this enterprize soon enlarged the views of the grand master, who now began to propose the conquest of the whole peninsula. *Corinth* was the next place that was agreed upon to be attacked, the situation and fortifications of which he resolved to reconnoitre in person. But, unfortunately for him, being unprovided with a sufficient escort, he fell into an ambush of the *Turks*, who killed all his attendants, and sent him prisoner to the sultan, without suspecting that he was more than a knight of the order. The three grand priors, who, as we hinted above, accompanied him from *Marseilles* through this whole expedition, as soon as they heard of his being taken, sent forthwith to offer the restitution of *Patras* for his ransom; but the sultan, who had been informed who his prisoner was by some deserters, rejected the offer with scorn; and sent them word, that as he was still master of the rest of *Morea*, he knew how to recover that city in less time than they had spent in taking it. This mortifying repulse, joined to the disgrace of leaving their grand master a prisoner in the hands of infidels, induced them to send a second offer of a considerable sum, besides the surrender of *Patras*, for his ransom, and engaged to remain hostages in his hands till that was paid. But though the *Turks* readily agreed to it, the grand master, then closely

¹ Auct. sup. citat.

His singular generosity.

Closely confined.

Ransomed.

Finds the treasury exhausted.

confined in the castle of *Corinth*, no sooner heard of it, than he as generously rejected it: *Leave me, my dear brethren, said he, in his answer to them, leave a superrannuated and useless old man to die in bonds, whilst you who are young and active reserve yourselves for the services of religion. At length, when those who were permitted to speak to him had tried in vain, by their tears and intreaties, to obtain his consent, he replied, If such a large sum must be paid for my ransom, let it not be out of the treasury of our order; my family hath been sufficiently enriched by my means to give me that testimony of their gratitude. One might have expected that the Turks, fordid as they are, might have been moved by such a singular instance of generosity; but all the effect it had upon them, was, that they sent him into a closer prison in Albania, and condemned him to a severer confinement, where he was kept above three years, during which he was at full leisure to make the most serious reflections on the instability of human affairs^k.*

In the same fatal year in which he was taken prisoner, died *Gregory XI.* on the 2d of *March*, whose death was followed by that dreadful schism between *Urban VI.* and *Clement VII.* of which an account hath been given in a former volume, and of which we shall only say here, that it caused another in the order, part holding for the former, but indeed the grand master, and the greatest part of the knights, for the latter; but more especially after *Heredia* was returned from his captivity, out of which he had been redeemed by the sums which his family furnished him with; for he then, at the head of the whole convent, publicly declared for *Clement VII.* in revenge for which, *Urban*, by his own authority, deposed him, and nominated one *Richard Carracciolo* grand prior of *Capua*, to his dignity; so that there were now two grand masters in the order, as well as two pontiffs in the church; but, if we except those of the *Italian* and *English* tongues, and some few commanders in *Germany*, all the rest as steadily adhered to *Heredia* as the others did to *Clement VII.* A much greater abuse had crept into the order during his imprisonment, which he quickly discovered when he came to examine the public accounts; for in that small space of time the commanders and priors had assumed such a kind of independency, and made themselves the judge of what portion of their responsions they should transmit to the public treasury, without any farther regard to the

^k BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, lib. iii. cap. 7. VERTOT, t. ii. p. 293 & seq.

orders of the council, than what they deemed sufficient for the present exigencies. Many of those of the north had quite desisted from keeping up their respective quotas; all which had run the order so greatly in arrear, that he saw himself obliged to take a journey to *Avignon*, where *Clement VII.* resided, to beg of that pontif to interpose his authority, in order to oblige those faithless stewards to refund their ill-gotten wealth, and to clear up all their arrears; but, before he set out, the council obliged him to a solemn oath, that he would faithfully transmit into the public treasury all the sums which he should receive from the respective priories above-mentioned; and that he would not dispose of any vacant benefices until his return to *Rhodes*. For still further security, they appointed a certain number of knights, whom they knew to be very zealously attached to the interest of the order, to accompany him, under pretence indeed of his making a greater appearance, but in reality to be watchful of all his motions; but that precaution was no less needless than their apprehensions were groundless, as the sequel plainly shews^m.

AT his arrival at *Avignon* the pope appeared sensibly touched at the melancholy account he gave of the state of their treasury, through the avarice and ambition of their faithless stewards; and much more so, when he told his holiness, that he had forbore pressing them too hard for their arrears, lest that should induce some of them to turn schismatics to save their unrighteous mammon. Three chapters were thereupon summoned successively, one at *Valentia* in *Dauphine*, the second at *Avignon*, and the third at the castellany of *imposts for Spain*, in all three of which the grand master presided; and partly by his pathetic discourses and behaviour, and partly by the danger he represented the order, and even Christendom, to be then in thro' those abuses, more especially at this juncture, when *Bajazet*, now upon the *Turkish* throne, seemed to threaten both *Smyrna* and *Rhodes*, he made such an impression upon them, that many of them immediately offered themselves to attend him back to *Rhodes*, others engaged to remit all their arrears to the treasury, several other wholesome regulations were made in each of these chapters; after which the grand master founded two rich commanderies in *Spain*, and endowed them out of the vast estates which he had formerly heaped up, by way of restitution. His co-rival *Carracciolo*, not to be behindhand with

*Goes to
Avignon.*

*3 chapters
held in
France.*

*Reclaims
the knights
by his
speech, &c.*

^m BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. iii. c. 8. VERTOT, t. ii. l. 5. p. 306, & seq. DAVITY, DAEPER, & al. sup. citat.

His cor-
val digt.

him, did much the same in *Italy*, and died soon after. *Boniface IX.* however, who had succeeded *Urban* at *Rome*, declined appointing him a successor, whether for fear of his being rejected by the order, or out of regard to *Heredia*, for whom he had conceived a singular respect, and contented himself with appointing a relation of his own to be his lieutenant *pro tempore*. *Heredia* being returned to *Avignon*, and finding the arrears and subsidies which had been promised to him at those three chapters to come in but slowly, sacrificed another considerable part of his own estate in sending at different times some of his galleys to *Rhodes* and *Smyrna*, with fresh supplies of arms, provisions, vast sums of money to pay their forces, and a good number of knights and other troops to assist in the defence of those two places. He held afterwards another council at *Avignon*, wherein it being represented, that the walls and circuit of *Smyrna* were by far too large, and would require a much more numerous garrison in it than the order could well maintain, they came to a resolution, that they should forthwith be reduced in proportion: to that end, the admiral of *Germany* was ordered by the grand master to see it done accordingly, and had 4000 florins assigned to him for that end out of his own coffers.

Sends sup-
plies to
Rhodes
and Smyr-
na.

Dies at
Avignon.
1396.

IN the *March* following of the same year in which *Carracciolo* died at *Rome*, died also the grand master *Heredia* at *Avignon*, in an extreme old age, after having enjoyed that dignity nineteen years and eight months, with the greatest reputation*. His remains were afterwards conveyed to *Casfo*, and buried in the church of that commandery which himself had founded, and which became from that time a chief bailiwick of the order. He left behind a good number of excellent regulations, both for the reformation and retention of the ancient discipline, which the reader may see among the other statutes of the order°, and which testify his zeal for religion, and the interest of his order, and his great wisdom and capacity for the government of it.

ss. Phil-
bert de
Naillac.

ON the first news of his death the grand chapter at *Rhodes* chose for his successor *Philibert de Naillac*, grand prior of *Aquitain*, a person equally respected for his valour and prudence. We have elsewhere seen what a powerful league the Christian princes had entered into against that formidable force of sultan *Bajazet*, in consequence of the crusade which the pope had published the year before. *Philibert* was

* Vide auct. sup. citat.
BAUDOUIN, ubi sup. & al.

° RONDINEL. Statut. Ordin. pass.

scarcely elected to his new dignity, before he was earnestly *Entered into* pressed by that pontif, and other princes, to join with them *the Christian* in it; as he accordingly did with great readiness, and immediately ordered his quota of galleys to be equipped, and to *league.* join those of the *Greek* emperor, and the *Venetians* under the command of the famed *Thom-Mocenisco*, whilst himself prepared all things in order to meet the land forces at the head of his chief commanders, and a great number of *Rhodian* knights, at the general rendezvous in *Hungary*. They had scarcely joined them, before *Sigismund*, then on the *Hungarian* throne, and at the head of the allied army, sent to compliment him on his arrival, and to invite them into his own quarters, declaring, that he designed to fight at their head; and, as he was no less pleased with their noble appearance, than satisfied with the valour and merit of their commander, placed him and his chief officers near his own pavilion. The rest of the confederate army was very numerous, and made also a gallant shew, and was commanded by some of the most experienced generals in *Europe*; and yet *Bajazet*, then in *Anatolia*, had taken such precautions to stop all intelligence from them, that they did not even know where his own lay; insomuch that when he was got within a day's journey from *Nicopolis*, which they were then besieging, they, supposing him to be still in *Anatolia*, were scattered about the place without fear, discipline, or mistrust.

We have already given a large account of the ill success of that expedition, and fatal combat, which proved rather a general rout to the Christians than a regular fight. The *Defeated,* *Rhodians*, whose history we are now chiefly concerned in, *and flees to* quickly rallied under their grand master, about the person *Rhodes.* of king *Sigismund*, and fought with the utmost bravery. The greatest part of them died sword in hand; and that prince and *Naillac* must have undergone the same fate, if Providence had not thrown a fisher's boat in their way, into which they escaped through a thick cloud of arrows from the enemy, and rowed to the mouth of the *Danube*, where the Christian fleet, which was not far off, gladly received them. They both went on board one of the *Rhodian* galleys, whence they sailed directly for that island, where they were received, if not with shouts of joy, yet with all the respect due to two such great persons. *Sigismund* embarked soon after for *Dalmatia*, and left the grand master to bewail the loss of so many brave knights, and to set about the most effectual means to retrieve his disgrace and misfortune.

Morea **THEODORE PALEOLOGUS.** SOME time after arrived at *Rhodes* the despot of *Morea*, sold to the *Theodore Paleologus*, where he was likewise honourably received; and it was at this interview that he proposed to the grand master and his chapter the selling of that peninsula to them, to which they readily consented. He was, in virtue of this agreement, to deliver up to them *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and the other principal cities of the province, and they to pay him the price agreed on in money and jewels before his departure^r. The grand master immediately sent proper commissaries to go and take possession of those places, who were accordingly received by the magistracy and inhabitants of *Corinth* with great demonstrations of joy, not questioning, but, under the protection of so powerful and warlike an order, they should thenceforth be freer from the incursions

Commissaries sent to take possession of Corinth.

Sparta refuses to admit them. of the *Turks*. But it proved otherwise at *Sparta*, where the treacherous *Greek* bishop, an enemy consequently to the *Latins*, so instigated the citizens against them, that they forthwith dispatched some deputies to inform the commissaries, that they were resolved to admit none of them into their city; and that if they offered to come nearer, they should be treated as enemies. Some other less considerable places, however, gladly followed the example of the *Corinthians*, and received them with marks of honour; but as they were not provided with a sufficient number of forces to oblige *Sparta* to submit, they returned back to *Rhodes* time enough before the despot had left the island; and, upon his being informed of the repulse they had met with from that city, he refunded some small part of the money, and set sail directly for that place. His subjects, glad of his return, received him with all the marks of joy and duty, assuring him, that they should be still ready to shew him the same obedience and loyalty that he had experienced in them during such a number of years, provided he forbore treating with the *Latins*, and admitting any into his government: but intimated to him at a distance, that they would prefer being subject to the *Turks*, or any other power, rather than to that of the pope, or any other *Latin* prince,

Theodore sails to Sparta.

By all this he easily found, that it would be next to impossible to make them consent to his agreement with the *Rhodians*; but he was no less concerned about refunding the money which he had received from them for that city, which, as his circumstances then stood, he could hardly spare. On the other hand, the grand master, hearing nothing from him

^r BOSIO, l. iv. BAUDOUIN, l. iv. c. i. VERTOT, t. ii. l. 6. P. 335.

upon the subject, sent him some of the most considerable knights of the order to compromise the matter; and, after *A new* *undry* voyages to and fro, and many other demurs, it was *agreement* at length agreed, that the order should restore the city of *made.* *Corinth* to him, in consideration of which *Paleologus* should deliver up to them the country of the *Sun*, and the barony of *Zetona*, both in the same province of *Corinth*, besides 46,500 ducats in money, 22,000 of which he then paid in ready coin^a.

WHILST these things had been transacting, the grand master, who foresaw the danger *Smyrna* was in of being quickly attacked by the conquering arms of *Timur Beg*, or *Tamerlane*, had taken all proper means to put it into a state of defence, supplied it with arms, and all necessary provisions, and sent thither *William de Mira*, at the head of a good number of knights, to command in it, and put all the fortifications of that place in the best condition to withstand a siege; of which he acquitted himself so faithfully, that *Bajazet* himself allowed it to be impregnable. But after his signal defeat, of which we have elsewhere given an account, *Timur*, whose rapid successes made him think no place capable of standing out against him, pitched upon it *Smyrna* for the first scene of the war which he had declared against *besieged by* *Timur*; the *Rhodians*, as being the only people, who, tho' sworn enemies to the *Turks*, had refused to submit to him. He would much rather have begun with that of *Rhodes*, tho' no less strongly fortified, as it was the centre and seat of the order, and would have yielded him more laurels and richer spoils; but, wanting shipping to transport his troops, he rather chose to begin with *Smyrna*; whose spacious haven, he hoped, might in time furnish him with a sufficient quantity of them. We need not here repeat his success against that place, though it was no less gallantly defended by the *Rhodians* than attacked by his own troops^b; the taking *taken and* of which, especially as the conqueror, according to custom, *razed.* caused it to be razed, was rather an advantage than a loss to the *Rhodians*, as it had been forced upon them by the see of *Rome* so much against their will; but the slaughter of such a considerable number of knights, whom that barbarian caused to be butchered, was what sensibly affected the grand master and the whole order. However, to retrieve as much as possible so great a loss, the grand master formed the project of seizing upon an old castle, situated in the bay of *Cerawie*, upon that coast, about 12 miles from the island. He

^a Posso, & al. ubi sup.^b Vide ant. sup. citat.

Naillac
builds the
castle of St.
Peter, &c.

went himself on board his fleet, and sailed along the coast of *Caria*; and, entering into the castle in which *Tamur* had left a small garison, he made himself master of it. But he did not find it strong enough for his purpose, he caused a new one to be built, upon the rocky point of a peninsula that extended itself into the sea, and called it the castle of *St. Peter*; and the *Turks*, since they became masters of it, gave it the name of *Budroo* castle*. He spared neither cost nor labour to have it strongly fortified both on the land and the sea side; after which he caused a large fosse to be digg'd into the rock around it, into which the sea water could easily come. A stout garison was put into it, and a certain number of vessels of different sizes were constantly kept in the harbour, which, upon the least signal, were ready to join the gallies of *Rhodes* and *Lango*, and by that means shut up the mouth of the river *Caria* to all the corsairs and pirates, while the castle itself served as a place of refuge for all Christian slaves that made their escapes from the neighbouring countries.

War between
Cyprus and
Genoa.

SOON after this arrived at *Rhodes* the *Genoese* admiral, marshal *Boucicault*, with seven large vessels and nine gallies in his way to *Cyprus*; the occasion of whose sailing to this island with so great a force, was, the war of the *Genoese* with the *Cyprian* king *Janus*, of which an account hath been given in a former volume. But though the grand master gave him a noble reception at his landing, and entertained him with great splendor during his stay with him, yet he made no scruple to declare his mind freely to him with respect to his design against the *Cypriots*, which, he told him would prove the most effectual means of opening a way to the *Saracens* into that island, which had hitherto proved so strong a bulwark against them, and a staple to all the *European* shipping. He begged of him at the same time, and in the strongest terms, that he would permit him to sail thither before him, not doubting but, with the blessing of God, he should find means to restore peace between these two nations. The admiral, having given his consent, ordered his capitana, and two other gallies, to be got ready, and embarked forthwith for the island of *Cyprus*. At the same time *Boucicault* went on board his own; and, that he might not continue idle during the grand master's absence, went and ravaged the country round *Alexandretta*, then call'd *Lefanderonos*, or *Scanderona*, on the coasts of *Syria*, and made himself master of some places there, as we have elsewhere

Naillac
sails to
Cyprus.

Alexandretta
ravaged by
Boucicault.

* Vide ant. suprà citat.

Arvo. The grand master proved no less successful in the Naillac judicial office he had undertaken. His great credit and unexpected presence quickly terminated all the differences between these two nations in an amicable manner, as we have seen in their respective histories. *mediates a peace between Cyprus and Genoa.*

The peace was no sooner concluded than the grand master and marechal *Boucicault* set sail from that island, and, in their way homewards, jointly ravaged the coasts of *Syria* and *Palestine*, at that time in the hands of either the *Saracens* or the *Tatarian* troops, which *Timur* had left there to guard them. They made likewise an attempt to surprise the city of *Tripoli*; but, to their disappointment, found the avenues to it on the sea-side guarded by above 15,000 men belonging to that prince, among whom were 600 of his horse, which appeared all clad in velvet and golden tissue, if we may credit the writer of that admiral's life. Yet was all this numerous appearance so far from deterring the *Rhodian* knights from landing, that they strove who should cast himself first into the sea with their swords in hand, and the water up to their chin. These, backed by about 3000 of the *Genoese* forces (a small number against 15,000), marched against them with such surprising fury, that they drove them to the very walls of the city, where they were intrenched up to the neck behind their barriers and fascines. But though to us it must appear no better than a bravado, if not a piece of martial madness, to have carried their attempts farther against such a number of forces so barricadoed, and backed by so strong a garison, yet such was the ambition of the grand master and *Genoese* admiral, that they would not depart till they made a fresh assault against them, in which there was a deal of blood shed, and many a death's wound given on both sides, till the enemy, who, being five to one more numerous, and of course must suffer the greater loss of the two, were prudent enough to secure themselves from their fury by withdrawing, some into the adjacent orchards and gardens, and others into the city. However, as they had not troops enough to form the siege of the place, they agreed to go and try their fortune against *Barut*, alias *Berytus*, a wealthy staple sea-port on the *Phœnician* coasts, in which a great number of Christian merchants, especially the *Venetians*, had their rich ware and country houses. As they were sailing thitherwards, they observed a light vessel sailing out of the haven, and endeavouring to gain the sea with more than usual speed, but which was soon brought back by one of their galleys which they sent after it. Upon examining the captain of it, they could get nothing out of him, *Meet with a stout opposition.* *Attempt on Barut.*

Lidda and
Zaide
luckily
escape.

him, but that he was a Christian and a *Venetian*, till they began to threaten him with the torture; upon which he confessed, that he had been dispatched from *Venice* into all the sea-ports of *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, to give them notice, that the Christian fleet, commanded by the grand master of *Rhodes* and the admiral of *Genoa*, was at sea, that they might take their precautions against them; at which both the *Rhodians* and *Genoese* were so exasperated, that they were for throwing him into the sea, but were prevented by their officers. This did not prevent their pursuing their design on *Barut*, which they plundered and burnt. Their next descent was on *Said* or *Zaide*, which they found likewise strongly guarded, and where a violent storm hindered their landing all their forces, so that those that were got on shore were attacked on all sides with great fury by the *Saracens*. They defended themselves with no less bravery during the five hours the storm lasted, and then retired to their respective ships, within view of the enemy. They were like to have fared worse in their next attempt upon *Lidda*, by the *Greeks* called *Diopolis*, in *Palestine*, where, upon their landing some of their troops to reconnoitre the place, they observed only about 3000 *Turks*, at some distance from the sea, whom therefore they determined to attack by the next rising sun; but, upon their returning to their ships, they saw no less than 30,000 more, who lay in ambush in an adjacent wood, and sallied out sword in hand against them; which lucky discovery prevented the rest from landing, and being all cut in pieces^a.

Returns to
Rhodes.

Surprising
strength of
the Rhodians.

FINDING, therefore, the coasts so well guarded everywhere, and the season now far advanced, they agreed to separate. *Boucicault* sailed away to *Famagosta*, and the grand master to *Rhodes*, where he soon after received a visit of thanks from the admiral, furnished his fleet with plenty of provisions, and, after having regaled him with a view of the whole island, sent him home full of admiration at the vast strength of it, the fortifications of the city, the great quantity and variety of gallies and other vessels riding in the harbour, and the surprising number and gallantry of his knights, by whom those seas were so well guarded, that scarce any corsairs dared shew themselves on them; all which was the more admirable, at a time when the schism, which so long rent the church, had proved no less detrimental to the order, by the advantage which the grand priors and

^a BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi supra.

commanders took from it to withdraw, and appropriate those quotas and responfions which they ought to have transmitted into the public treasury: for the fuppreffing of which grievous abufes they were, as we have had frequent occafion to hint, obliged very often to have recourfe to the pope, and other crowned heads, to hold chapters in different places of *Europe*, and to other meafures no lefs burdensome and chargeable to them ^c.

How dreaded their power and intereft were become by this time among their enemies, may be gathered from the overtures of peace which the haughty foltan was glad to *Makes an* make them by a particular embaffy to *Rhodes*, by the advantageous articles of which in favour of the order, and the Chriftians in *Paleftine*, one may plainly fee that the grand mafter *advantageous peace with the foltan.* accepted his offers in a great meafure upon his own terms. The happy turn which the affairs of Chriftendom took about 1409. this time did not a little contribute to his obtaining fuch an advantageous peace, namely, the unanimous zeal which appeared in the greateft part of the cardinals, as well as crowned heads, to put a final end to the fchifm, by reducing the church to the obedience of one head. It was to that end that the famed council of *Pifa* was convened, of which an account hath been elfewhere given, to which the grand mafter was folemnly invited, and the guard of the conclave committed to his care. But what gave him the greateft fatisfaction was, to fee the choice of a pontif fall upon fo worthy a perfon as the cardinal of *Milan*, fince named *Alexander V.* who, though born of the very loweft rank, yet was poffeffed of all the eminent virtues which could adorn that fupreme dignity.

THE first thing he did was, to acquaint the new pontif *His project* with a project which he had formed of fending a folemn *for uniting* ambaffy to the principal courts in *Europe*, in order to unite *the Chrift-* them into a league againft the *Turks*, whose overgrown *tian* power was now fo happily curtailed by the late overthrow *princes in* of *Bajazet*, and the rapid fucceffes of the great *Timur.* *a league.* The pope not only applauded and approved of his defign, but engaged, that, if he fucceeded in it, he would declare himfelf chief of it, and be at the greateft part of the expence. He moreover fent a nuncio to *Rhodes*, to acquaint the order with his election to the papal chair, tho' *Naillac* was ftill with him, as a mark of his fingular regard for the whole order ^d.

^c Vide aucl sup. citat.

^d Ibid. ibid.

*Sends an
ambassador
to France
and Eng-
land.*

IN order to put the same effectual end to the schism which reigned in the order, as well as to restore the ancient discipline, responsions, &c. and reform divers other abuses, the grand master convoked a general chapter at *Nice*, and afterwards at *Aix* in *Provence*; and, as he thought his presence would be of great service, he was preparing himself for his departure thither, when the pope thought fit to engage him in a design more advantageous to religion, which was, to send him on an embassy to the kings of *England* and *France*, who were then at war, in order to induce them by his address to conclude either a peace or a long truce. *Nail* highly relished the proposal; and the more readily accepted of the offer, as it might prove a means to engage those two great monarchs to join in his projected league against the *Turks*. Having therefore impowered the council above-mentioned to chuse three of their number to preside in his room, he set about getting all things ready for his

*The schism
still reigns
among
them.*

ambassy. The misfortune was, that though that chapter agreed upon some wholesome regulations for suppressing sundry flagrant abuses, particularly with regard to the priories and responsions; yet the schism reigned as much as ever among them, notwithstanding the new pope's election, the two deposed popes, *Benedict XIII.* and *Gregory XI.* refusing to acknowledge the council of *Pisa's* authority, and the priors, &c. still taking part with one or the other of them, that they might have some pretence for detaining their respective responsions*.

*The new
pope dies.*

ALEXANDER V. died in *May* following, at *Bolonia*, and was succeeded by *Balthassar Cossa*, then legate, or, as he is more rightly stiled†, tyrant of that city, a person equally insatiable in his avarice, and his other debaucheries, and suspected to have caused his predecessor to be poisoned, to make way for his election‡, in which he took the name of

*John 23.
a great ty-
rant to
the order.*

John XXIII. The *Rhodian* order, in common with the rest of Christendom, became very great sufferers both from his bad example and his detestable avarice; insomuch that he caused a bull to be published in favour of one of their commanders, whom he permitted to marry, notwithstanding his vow of chastity, and, by his own authority, appropriated his commandry to himself, and sold it soon after to a youth about 14 years of age, whom he dispensed from taking either the vows or habit of the order. He carried his tyranny so far,

* Vide auct. supra citat.

c. 30.

† GOSWIN in Cosm. æt. 6.

‡ See PLATINA PAGI, and other writers of their

lives.

as to seize upon all the priories as soon as he heard they were become vacant, and disposed of them afterwards to the highest bidders, without any regard to their character or merit, or the rights and privileges of the order, which, by such frequent arbitrary seizures, saw itself on the eve of being totally ruined¹. This at length obliged the council of Rhodes to send him a letter, full of the bitterest complaints, and with that laudable freedom which became their exalted station and dignity, representing to him the wrongs which both they and all Christendom must unavoidably receive from his tyrannic conduct. The result of which was, that thro' fear of their laying open all his villainies to the general council then sitting, he thought it expedient to relax from some of his arbitrary proceedings, and to recall the grant of some of the commanderies he had formerly sold, without however refunding any of the price to the purchaser.

He was at length deposed by the council of *Constance*, as *Deposed*, we have elsewhere shewn, at which the grand master was *and Mar-* present, and honoured with the guard of the conclave, as-*tin chosen* sisted by *Frederic* marquis of *Brandenburgh*, *William* count *in his* of *Lunenburgh*, *Bruno* baron of *Verona*; and *Otho* *Colum-* *stead.* *na* elected in his room in *November*, who took the name of *Martin*, and on the 25th of *April* following dissolved the council. *Naillac*, being now discharged from his office, would gladly have proceeded immediately to *Rhodes*, where his presence was earnestly wished for by the whole order; but his extreme desire to see the very seeds of that long and unhappy schism wholly extirpated, prevailed upon him to stay and lend a helping hand to so laudable a work; so that he contented himself with transmitting over to the convent 18,000 crowns out of his own cash, to supply its present exigencies, and then called a grand assembly to meet at *Avignon*, where he could more conveniently assist. This as-*Chapter* *convened* ssembly, which consisted of the ancientest priors, receivers, *at Avig-* and commanders, of *Italy*, *France*, and *Savoy*, came to a *non.* resolution, that a general chapter of the order should be convened at *Rhodes*, at which all those, who had hitherto refused to submit to the authority of the grand master, should be summoned to appear, in order to be regularly tried according to the laws and statutes of the order, and be punished according to their respective violations of them¹.

This resolution had soon after the desired effect; the grand master, who was to take *Florence* in his way to *Rhodes*,

¹ Vide ant. & al. sup. citat. *Visitor*, & al. ubi sup.

¹ Bosio, BAUDOUIN,

A general
one at
Rhodes.

The schism
extinguish-
ed.

Dies.
1421.

33. Anto-
ny Flavi-
ano.

Threaten'd
by the
Turks and
Egypti-
ans.

in order to confer with the new pope about his projects league against the *Turks*, saw himself met at *Bolonia* by considerable number of recusants, who now entreated his pardon, and their reunion with the order, promising an entire obedience to his orders for the future, and a prompt payment of all their arrears. He ordered them accordingly to meet him at *Ancona*, whence they set sail, and arrived safely at *Rhodes*, to the inexpressible joy of all the rest of the fraternity. The general chapter was soon after opened, in which every one expressed an emulous readiness to comply with all his desires, and to agree to the several regulations he proposed to them for the reviving of the ancient discipline, the extinguishing the least sparks of schism, and restoring the order to its ancient discipline and opulence. These new statutes he took care to convey to the pope with all possible diligence, and seemed now to wait only for the joyful news of their being confirmed by that pontif, who, on his part, did not let him wait long for that satisfaction, but sent them back to him, ratified with his approbation, with the highest encomiums upon them and him. His receipt of them was quickly followed by a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a good old age, and in the 25th year of his grand mastership^m.

He was succeeded by *Antony Flaviano*, of the priory of *Catalonia*, and grand prior of *Cyprus*, a native of *Arragon*; in the beginning of whose government, the tranquillity which had been so happily settled in the order, as well as in the church, was again disturbed by the successive attacks of the *Turks* in *Asia*, and of the *Saracens* in *Egypt*. The former had by this time retrieved their affairs to a wonderful degree, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, under the reigns of *Mohammed I.* and his successor *Amurat III.* the latter of whom seemed now to turn his thoughts towards *Morea* and the isles of the *Archipelago*. The dread which seized the inhabitants made their petty sovereigns apply to the grand master for succour, who readily equipped some galleys of the order to cruise about those seas, and get what intelligence they could of the sultan's intentions; but whilst he was making all the necessary preparations against any attempt from so powerful an enemy, he saw himself in much more imminent danger from another quarter, namely, from *Egypt*, where the *Mameluc* had raised to the throne the famed *Circassian Al Nazer Al Dabar*, a warrior much more skilled in naval affairs than any the order had hitherto been engaged with. We have

^m Vide auct. supra citat.

ready given an account of this new *Egyptian* dynasty, at whose head this prince now was, who, to keep his new subjects employed, had declared war against *Janus* the *Cyprian* king, then in strict alliance with *Rhodes*. This obliged him to suspend the succours he designed for *Morea*, and at the same time to try all possible means to mediate a peace between the *Saracen* and *Cyprian* monarchs. *Al Dahar*, who only measured his pretensions by his power, refused to listen to a peace, unless *Janus* became his vassal and annual tributary, which he no less haughtily rejected; so that there being now no way but that of the sword to decide the contest, *Urviano* sent him what vessels, men, and money, he could spare. We have seen the sad result of this war, which ended in the defeat of the effeminate *Cypriots*, the loss of a great number of *Rhodian* knights, and the captivity of the *Cyprian* monarch, who was carried prisoner into *Egypt*.

At the news of this disaster, the grand master, fearing the loss of the whole island, sailed thither with fresh succours, with a promise to continue there, provided they resolved to die sword in hand in defence of their country; instead of which, they chose the way of negotiation, as the most suitable to their native indolence, whilst the *Egyptian* sultan was still finding some pretences to delay it, in hopes that his forces would make themselves masters of the island before any thing was concluded. This obliged the *Rhodian* knights

that were sent thither to redouble their efforts, to stop their progress, whose singular valour upon this occasion so exasperated their general, that, in revenge, he destroyed their grand commandry in that island, which was the richest that belonged to their order, pulled down all their houses, cut down all their trees, and totally ruined that noble bailiwick.

The priory of the knights destroyed.

Al Dahar, no less provoked at the *Rhodians* than his general, was easily induced by his sycophant court to attempt the conquest of their island, which they deemed to be now destitute of defence, because so many of her knights were gone to defend that of *Cyprus*. Flushed with these hopes, which he vainly imagined would open a way to his subduing all the other islands of the *Archipelago*, he renewed his negotiation with the *Cypriots*, but demanded no less than 120,000 golden *scorins* for their sovereign's ransom, which he knew he was in no capacity to pay. This extravagant demand, however, far from discouraging the grand master, who wanted at any rate to see him at his liberty, that he supplied him with the greatest part of that sum out of the public treasury, and a peace was soon after concluded between them.

Peace made with

A general
chapter,
summoned
at Rhodes.

ALL this while the treacherous *Al Dahar*, tho' he knew that the peace concluded between him and the late grand master *Naillac* still subsisted, was endeavouring to amuse him with proposals for renewing it, whilst he was making the greatest preparations for invading him. But the grand master, who had his spies every-where, and even among those of his privy-council, was so well apprised of all his designs, that he neglected no means nor precautions to elude them. The misfortune was, that the *Cyprian* war had so exhausted his treasury, that he was obliged to have recourse to the usual tho' tedious remedy of calling a general chapter, and at the same time to apply to the pope *Eugenius* IV. and several other crowned heads, for assistance¹. The chapter, however, met with more readiness than could have been expected, considering that the grand priors, commanders, and bailies, of the order, had, during the late troubles, not only relapsed into their old abuse of appropriating the revenue that should have been sent into the public treasury, which had in a great measure exhausted it, but had moreover refused to maintain the number of knights which were quartered upon them, which had obliged a great number of them to disperse themselves among their friends and relations. However, the grand master sent every-where his summons with such diligence, and in such pressing terms, that he was enabled to hold quickly after one of the largest and noblest assemblies that had been seen for a long time in his capital of *Rhodes*.

Sundry
great abuses
reformed.

THIS chapter was opened on the 23d of *May* by *Flaviano* himself, with a most affecting representation of the imminent danger which threatened both the order in particular, and Christendom in general, from the growing power of the *Turks* and *Saracens*, and much more so from the ambition and avarice of the then grand prior and commanders, whose accounts and long-winded arrears he ordered to be faithfully laid before them, as well as the state of his exhausted treasury. The consequence of which was, that they expressed the most zealous unanimity to set about redressing all those disorders, and restore the ancient discipline by new regulations and penalties; in doing which, they made such laudable dispatch, that the grand master had time sufficient to make all necessary preparations against any invasion either from *Turky* or *Egypt*. A new statute was likewise made, in order to fix the knights to their respective residences, and

¹ BOSIO. BAUDOUIN, l. iv. c. 2. VERTOT, t. ii. l. vi. p. 423, & seq. & al. ubi sup.

to have the young ones trained up in the military discipline, expressly obliging all the priors and commanders to entertain what number of them was assigned to each of them, under the penalty of being deprived of their dignities, and degraded from the order; so that by this wholesome law every prior and convent became as it were a nursery of young warriors, ready to supply the room of those that died in the field, or to be sent upon any expedition which the grand master should think proper. A new bull was likewise expedited to him soon after, forbidding expressly any of the knights to go to *Rome* without his or the procurator general's leave; by which another great abuse was prevented, viz. their seeking to raise themselves by the pope's favour and recommendation, rather than by any real merit. In such pious and excellent regulations did *Flaviano* employ that leisure time which the truce with the sultan allowed him, and particularly in the erecting a most sumptuous infirmary at his own charge, when death put an end to all his labours on the 29th of *October*, in the 17th year of his grand mastership. He sent, a little before his death, the sum of 200,000 ducats into the public treasury, which were the fruits of that exemplary oeconomy with which he had all along endeavoured to inspire all that lived under his government¹. He obtained likewise several considerable privileges to the order from the popes *Martin V.* *Eugene IV.* and *John XXIII.* as well as from *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, the duke and duchess of *Lorrain*, and other crowned heads, which the reader may see in the authors quoted in the margin².

Knights forbidden to loiter at Rome.

1437.

He was succeeded, with the unanimous consent of the electors, by *John de Lusit*, grand prior of *Auvergne*, during his residence in that priory; who no sooner received the news of his election, than he set out for the isle of *Rhodes*, where he was informed, by his predecessor's spies, of the preparations that were making in *Egypt* against the order, with which *Amurat III.* the *Turkish* sultan, seemed well pleased, on account of the Christian league lately formed against himself. The better to penetrate into his designs, the new grand master sent the grand prior of *Rhodes* on an embassy to him, both to notify his election, and to renew the truce with him; but could draw nothing from that politic monarch but reciprocal compliments, in such general terms as plainly gave him reason to judge that a rupture was not far off. He dispatched at the same time his own nephew, *William Lusit*, with two

34. *John de Lusit*

In fear of the Turks.

¹ Vide auct. supra citat. RAT, Privil. p. 67, & seq.

² VERTOT, ubi sup. NABE-

gallies, to inform himself what was doing in *Egypt* and on the coasts of *Barbary*; who quickly returned with the disagreeable news, that they would instantly have the whole force of *Egypt* armed against them. The grand master thereupon lost no time to equip eight of their best gallies, and a proportionable number of transports and other vessels, well manned and armed, and to put that and the other islands under his government in the best state of defence he could.

Al Dahar

destroys one
of their
castles.

On the other hand, *Al Dahar*, with a fleet of 18 gallies, and a good number of other vessels, appeared on the coasts of a little island, or rather rock, belonging to the order, situate at about 100 miles east of *Rhodes*, and about two or three from the *Lycian* coast. The *Rhodians* had built a castle upon it, from which the island took the name *Castel Rosso*, or *Red Castle*: this the *Saracens* took and demolished, without any opposition that we can learn; and, having made the inhabitants their prisoners, sailed directly for that of *Rhodes*, where they appeared on *September* following. The grand master made no scruple to meet them at sea, and to offer them battle; but they, surprised to see so many ships about him, which they supposed to have been far enough off upon the cruise, instead of accepting the challenge, retired into a creek, and, facing about with their vessels, contented themselves with keeping them at a distance with the great fire of their artillery. They continued cannonading each other till night, when the *Rhodians* returned to their harbour, with a design to attack them on the next morning, but, to their surprise, found that they were sailed away in the night. They appeared next before that of *Lango*, where the marshal, who was ready to receive them, sailed directly against them; and, being posted under the cannon of the castle, made them a fresh offer of battle; to avoid which, the enemy tacked about, and made for an island belonging to the *Turks*, but which was almost abandoned; and, there fastening his ships to one another with their prows outwards, raised a strong battery upon them to repulse the *Rhodian* ships, if they offered to attack them; but as neither the superiority of their number, nor their strong situation, could deter the marshal from it, he only took the precaution of planting his artillery upon such flat-bottoms as took in the least water, and then fell upon them. The attack was very fierce on both sides, and did not end but with the daylight; by which time the enemy had lost above 700 men, and the *Rhodians* only about threescore; but the marshal

Is defeated
before
Lango.

† Vide auct. supra citat.

had

had received no less than five wounds in the action; notwithstanding which, he would have renewed the fight by the next break of day, had not a lowring storm, which seemed to threaten him, obliged him to sail back to *Rhodes*, *Sails* which gave the enemy an opportunity of giving him the *away*.
ship.

THE sultan, provoked at his ill success, and forced to make new preparations, tried in the mean time to amuse the grand master, who on his side lost no time to fill his magazines, fortify the island, and to summon all the knights of *Lusit* the order, that were able to bear arms, to its defence. He *fortifies* likewise sent ambassadors to most courts in *Europe*, as well as *Rhodes*. to that of *Rome*, to acquaint them, that he was on the eve of being besieged in his capital; and that, if they neglected to assist him at such a crisis, he and his knights would have no other recourse left, but to bury themselves under its ruins. But whether those princes suspected the truth, or that their zeal for crusades was quite extinguished, he could obtain little else from them but faint promises; so that all the fruit he reaped from so many ambassies, was only a league offensive and defensive with the *Greek* emperor, *John Paleologus*; which yet proved in the end of as little service as any of the rest, that prince's whole dominions being by this time reduced to his bare metropolis, and that so closely blocked up on all sides by the *Turks*, that he had no succours that he could spare him ^u.

AT length, after sundry negotiations and treaties, carried on merely to gain time, the *Egyptian* fleet appeared in full sight of the island, in the month of *August*, and forthwith landed 80,000 men, besides a large body of cavalry, which were the choicest forces of *Egypt*, who all marched directly to the capital, whilst the fleet kept the haven blocked up, to prevent its receiving any succours. All that the writers of this remarkable transaction have thought proper to transmit to us concerning it, or that could be found in the *Rhodian* chancery, amounts only to this, that the place was battered with a numerous artillery, and many fierce attacks made against it, in which the besiegers were always repulsed with *Defeats* great loss; and that the *Egyptian* general, having pursued *the Sara-* the siege till the greatest part of his army was destroyed, *cens before* saw himself obliged to raise the siege, and reimbark with the *Rhodes*. poor remains of it for *Egypt*, and to carry himself the news of his ill success to his master.

• Vide auct. sup. citat.

Peace con-
cluded.

THIS signal advantage over those infidels was no sooner spread in *Europe* by young *Lustic*, whom his uncle had sent to notify it to the pope, than it procured a fresh reinforcement of the bravest youths from *France, Italy, Germany, &c.* whom it had inspired with fresh zeal, and who came in good time to enter into the order, and share in the glory of defending it. But as this timely supply of young warriors must of course increase the expence to the convent, the grand master convoked a new chapter to meet at *Rhodes*, on the 25th of *July* next, in which, among other things, it was agreed, that the grand master might negotiate a peace with *Egypt*, which was soon after set on foot by the means of a *French* merchant, named *Jaques Cœur*, in *English*, *James Heart*, a man who carried on a most extensive commerce, and who, by his credit and address, soon brought it to a conclusion; but how, or upon what terms, we are left in the dark; only we are told, that the *Rhodian* commissioners, upon their return from *Egypt*, brought away a considerable number of Christian slaves, who had been taken during the war; immediately after which, an order was sent to the grand prior of *St. Giles*, and to the grand receiver of *Provence*, for the reimbursement of *James Heart* above-mentioned, which bears date *Febr. 8, 1446*, all the charges he had been at in that negotiation ^w.

Nich. V.
condemns
his mea-
sures as
arbitrary.

THIS joy was soon after disturbed by a severe letter which he received from pope *Nicholas V.* in which that pontif highly censured the arbitrary liberty he had taken in augmenting the responsions of the priories and commanderies of the order, and punishing those who did not comply with his exactions, which had been represented to him as unjust, and contrary to the statutes of it. *Lustic* was no less nettled at the calumny, and easily cleared himself and his council, by sending him a fair account of the whole matter, signed by all the members of the chapter; and at the same time to shew that he was not to be frightened from his firm adherence to the statutes by such misrepresentations, earnestly begged of his holiness not to give so much credit to his informants, seeing their living at such a distance from *Rhodes* (not only that they might indulge themselves in a shameful neglect of their discipline, but, which was still worse, to avoid the dangers to which the rest were obliged to expose themselves against such powerful enemies which they had to do with) made them very unfit judges of the exigences of the order to support

His noble
answer to
him.

^w Rosio, & al. sup. citat.

such an expensive war : besides that their non-residence gave an ill and dangerous example to a great number of others, and deprived the order of their service, and induced them to prefer an idle and effeminate life to the strict and religious discipline which was invariably kept up in the convent. The case, in short, was so fairly stated before the pope, that, he was forced to appear satisfied, at least outwardly, with it. But that did not hinder those sycophants, who had their powerful friends, not only in the college of cardinals, but even in the grand master's council, from continuing in an open defiance of their statutes, and fomenting a kind of anarchy among their brethren, not only at *Rome*, but in several other parts of *Europe*. To suppress so strange an abuse, the general council saw themselves obliged to have recourse to as strange an expedient, and such a one as would, upon any less emergency, have been thought not only inconsistent with, but dangerous to, such a republican government as theirs was, *viz.* to invest the grand master with a kind of dictatorial power, by putting the sovereign authority, and the disposition of the finances of the whole order, solely into his hands *.

LUSTIC, however, did all that lay in his power to dissuade them from it, alleging sometimes its being contrary to their institution, and at others his extreme old age, and it was not without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept of it ; and with this proviso, moreover, that this change should last no longer than three years, at the expiration of which the council should resume its pristine authority. This expedient soon produced a good effect through the order, and a prompt payment of all the arrears, a renewing of the ancient discipline, and many other wholesome regulations, which we have no time to enumerate. After this, he sent an embassy to *Amurat II.* who, as we hinted a little higher, had refused to explain himself to his former ambassadors about renewing the truce ; but being now threatened by the powerful league in which the king of *Hungary*, the vayvods of *Transylvania* and *Walachia*, and, above all, the brave *Scanderbeg*, king of *Albania*, were strictly joined with the sophi of *Persia* against him, he gladly accepted the offer : and glad he well might be that the order did not join in that powerful league, seeing his ill success against it shortened his days so soon after. His successor *Mohammed II.* showed no less readiness to do the same ; and, though with very different views, yet was glad to continue at peace with

*The grand master of-
served the
supreme
power.*

*Accepts of
it on some
conditions.*

*Renews
the truce
with the
Turks.*

* BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, DAVITY, VERTOT, & al.

Mohammed's
haughty
summons
to the
grand master.

Rhodes, till he could bring his perfidious projects to maturity, and gladly renewed the truce with *Zinat*, who was sent by the grand master to compliment him on his succession to the *Othman* throne. At the conquest of *Constantinople*, of which a full account hath been formerly given, this proud conqueror became so elated, that, without any regard to his late engagements, he sent an ambassador, or more properly a herald, to *Rhodes*, to demand of the grand master to acknowledge him as his sovereign, and to pay into his treasury the annual tribute of 2000 ducats, and, in case of refusal, to declare war against him in his name*.

His noble
answer.

To this haughty demand, the no less brave than prudent *Lusfic* answered, that the order, at whose head he was, being a religious one, which acknowledged no other superior but the pope of *Rome*, and the city and isle of *Rhodes*, in which he commanded, having been purchased by his predecessors with valour, and the lives of so many noble knights, he was ready to sacrifice his life, rather than betray the privileges and independency of his order, with which he had been entrusted at his election. At the same time, as he rightly judged that his answer would be soon followed by a dangerous war, he had immediately recourse to the pope and *European* princes for a speedy assistance, and dispatched the commander *Aubuston*, a person every way qualified for such an important commission, into *France* and *Italy*, to make the most pressing instances for it.

His death.

1454. In the mean time the grand master, quite worn out with old age and fatigues, departed this life on the 19th of *May*, in the 17th year of his government, and was succeeded by 35. *James Goubert*, or *James de Milly*, on the 1st of *June*, whilst he de Milly. was residing in his grand priory of *Auvergne*; and who made such timely dispatch, that he arrived safely at *Rhodes* on the 20th of *August* following, though not before the order had felt the first effects of *Mohammed's* resentment who, impatient to be revenged of an order which he detested above all his other enemies, had already sent a fleet of thirty galleys to ravage all their coasts. But whilst he was making the most effectual preparations to extirpate their very name, a powerful league was forming against him in *Europe*, of which *Calistus III.* had declared himself the head, and had gradually brought into it the kings of *Hungary* and *Aragon*, the duke of *Burgundy*, the republics of *Genoa* and *Venice*, and some other princes of *Italy*, and, last of all, the new grand master of *Rhodes*; whilst *Charles VII.* of *France*,

A powerful
league
against the
Sultan.

* BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.

who

who was in no condition to join in it, contented himself with transmitting considerable sums to *Rhodes* for the use of the order, by their ambassador *de Aubusson* ^b. This grand confederacy quickly obliged the sultan to suspend his preparations against the *Rhodians*, and to turn his arms another way. We need not repeat here the mortifying repulse which he met with before *Belgrade*, from the renowned *Hungarian* king, since the reader may see a full account of it in a former volume; the result of which was, that, being more exasperated against them than ever, for having taken the advantage of his absence to ravage the coasts of his dominions, block up several of his sea-ports, and do him very considerable damages both by sea and land, he immediately equipped a powerful fleet, with above 18,000 land-forces on board, with orders to go and carry fire and sword into all the islands belonging to the order ^d.

Moham-
med turns
his arms
against
Rhodes.

THESE made their first descent accordingly on the isle of *Cos* or *Lango*, and raised their strong batteries against its castle, where having made what they thought a sufficient breach, they mounted it with their usual eagerness, not doubting of carrying the place with ease. They met, however, with such an unexpected opposition from the besieged, and were so terribly annoyed in the attack, from the huge stones, boiling oil, and melted lead, which came pouring upon them, as soon forced them to abandon it; and, being closely pursued by a timely sally, were glad to gain their ships with greater precipitation than they had landed out of them. Their next attempt was against that of *Simia*, formerly described, where they undermined the castle with a design to blow it up; but their project was discovered time enough to be prevented by a countermine from within, in which the *Rhodians* cut in pieces both the miners and all the forces that were ordered to support them. The rest, having recovered their ships, sailed directly for *Rhodes*, and there landed a few forces to reconnoitre the island. These, finding all things quiet, advanced to a populous town, but weakly guarded, named *Archangel*, of which they gave notice to their admiral, who immediately put a sufficient number of his forces in flat-bottomed boats, who surprised the place, killed all that made head against them, and carried off the greatest part of the rest prisoners. In their retreat they committed much the same ravages in those of *Lerro*, the rest of *Calamo*, *Nizara*, and *Lango*, where they likewise destroyed the islands.

Defeated
in Cos and
Simia.

Ravages
the rest of

^b BOSIO, & al. sup. citat.
TOT, & al. ibid.

^c BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VER-

*The sultan
forces the
captives to
turn Mo-
hammed-
ans.*

most of the vines and fruit-trees, made a great number of prisoners, and returned to *Constantinople*. The worst of it was, that the *Turkish* sultan gave no other chance to those unhappy captives, but either to be butchered upon the spot, or to turn *Mohammedans*, the greatest part of whom, being base enough to chuse the latter, became in time the most pernicious guides to the *Turkish* corsairs^f.

THIS sad disaster, which had in a great measure depopulated those islands, obliged those knights who were entrusted with the government, not only to have them better guarded for the future, but to admonish their fresh colonies to keep the fortifications in better repair, and to add new ones to them, particularly to the unhappy town of *Archangel*, such precautions being become so much more necessary at this time, not only on account of their war with the *Turkish* sultan, but as they found themselves upon the eve of a new one with that of *Egypt*, an enemy no less powerful and irreconcilable to their order than the haughty *Mohammed*. Before they could be well prepared against those two powers, they saw themselves invaded by a third, on account of the protection which the grand master had given to the lawful queen of *Cyprus* against the bastard *Lusignan*, whom both *Mohammed* and the *Egyptian* sultan had set on the throne out of hatred to all the *Latins*. The latter of these had moreover, contrary to the law of nations, arrested the *Rhodian* ambassador, and seized all the vessels belonging to the order, on the very same account, whilst *Mohammed* refused all overtures of peace with *Rhodes*, from the same resentment.

*Rhodes
invaded by
the Vene-
tians.*

In this dismal situation the grand master was, when the *Venetians* (who had obliged the bastard above-mentioned to marry one of the senator's daughters, and soon after, as is commonly supposed, caused him to be taken off, that they might govern the island in his widow's name) made a powerful descent into, and ravaged, the island of *Rhodes*, in a more dreadful manner than ever the *Turks* or *Saracens* had done; soon after which, they came with a fleet of 40 galleys, and blocked up the port, and threatened the city with a siege^g. Their pretence, however, for this rupture, was in part given by the grand master, who, by way of reprisals for the retention of his ambassador by the *Saracens*, had ordered two rich *Venetian* galleys, freighted with merchandizes for *Egypt*, to be seized, the goods to be confiscated, the *Sara-*

*The grand
master the
occasion of
it.*

^f BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi sup. auct. sup. citat.

^g Vide

as to be made slaves, and the *Venetians* that were in them to return home; so that this second fleet was sent to demand a restitution of all these, threatening, in case of refusal, to ravage all the islands belonging to the order. In this dilemma, some haughty spirits in the *Rhodian* council were for rejecting the *Venetian* demands with scorn; but the grand master, who foresaw the dreadful consequences of such a step, chose rather to submit to the restitution, than hazard the loss of so many subjects at such a critical juncture¹; for, besides their having so many powerful enemies ready to fall upon them from without, their condition was not much more promising within. The partiality of so many *French* grand masters, who had lately succeeded one another, and bestowed the greatest priories and commandries on those of their own nation, to the prejudice of those of the other tongues who claimed an equal right to them, had kindled a kind of civil war in their own council; insomuch that they seldom met to deliberate on the most important exigences of the order, but their debates were immediately disturbed and soured with complaints. These malecontents, as the *French* writers stile them^k, went so far, that the procurator for the tongue of *Aragon* threw down an act of appeal at the grand master's feet, and in an abrupt manner retired with the rest not only out of the council, but out of the city. The grand master left no means or promises untried to allay this storm, and, by his lenity and address, brought the greater part into a better temper; which did not last long, as we shall soon see. He died soon after of the gout, on the 17th of *August*, in the eighth year of his government, soon after whose demise the same complaints were revived again^m.

*New sends
in the
council.*

*Suppressed
by the
grand
master.
His death,
1461.*

He was succeeded by *Raymund Zaccosta*, commonly called *36. Ray-*
Megisser, a native of *Castile*, and castellan of the imposts; and soon after whose election the chapter fell upon an effectual expedient to extinguish the flame, which began to blaze afresh by the creation of a new tongue in the order, in favour of the *Castilians* and *Portuguese*, who became by it separated from the *Catalans* and *Navarrese*, from which time the order came to consist of eight tongues, and a more equal balance was established in it between those emulous nations. Matters were no sooner compromised at *Rhodes*, than the grand master was surprised with an overture of peace from the Turks. proud *Mohammed*, who had so scornfully rejected all the pacific offers of his predecessors, upon any terms but those of

*A truce
with the
Turks.*

¹ BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi sup. ^k See VERTOT, tom. iii. l. vii. p. 25; & seq. ^m Ibid. ibid.

his becoming his vassal and tributary. His suspicions of that treacherous monarch, one may easily believe, rather augmented his fears, than gave him any hopes of succeeding in that negotiation; yet, as he dared not openly refuse such an offer, he sent one of his chief commanders to *Constantinople*, attended with two *Greeks*, natives of *Rhodes*, who found the *Porte* ready to agree to any amicable terms, without insisting on his former irksome conditions; so that a truce was quickly concluded with it, though without their being able however to penetrate into the secret views of the sultan. They did not continue long a secret, before his conquest of *Paphlagonia* and the empire of *Trapezond*, of which we have formerly given an account, opened the eyes of all Christendom.

*They infect
the Rhodian
coast.
Reprisals
made on
them.*

THE grand master lost not the advantage of this short truce, but caused a very stout castle to be built for the defence of the capital. The ground he chose to erect it upon was a solid rock, jetting out into the sea; no cost or labour was spared to make it strong and lasting; and, as the duke of *Burgundy* had contributed a considerable sum towards it, his arms were ordered to be fixed upon the walls, which, inclosing a little chapel dedicated to *St. Nicholas*, occasioned the fortress to be called by that name. All this while the truce did not hinder the *Turkish* corsairs from making frequent descents upon the islands, and seizing as prizes all the ships they met with belonging to the order. This obliged the grand master to send his galleys out to make reprisals upon them; at which the proud sultan was so exasperated, that he from that hour resolved to drive them not out of that island only, but, if possible, out of *Asia*. He began with an attempt upon *Lemnos*, and other isles of the *Archipelago*, to prevent their receiving any succour from them; but the grand master took care beforehand to send a good number of his knights into that island, which caused the siege to be more difficult and obstinate, and the effusion of blood greater than it might otherwise have been on both sides.

*Cruelty of
the sultan
to the
knights,
after his
conquest of
Lemnos.*

We have already given an account of this siege, and of the sad catastrophe of the two *Gattihuso's*; who, though sufficiently acquainted with that monarch's perfidy, yet delivered up the place, on the promise of an equivalent from his no less faithless vizier, and became the unhappy victims of their fatal credulity. It fared still worse with the *Rhodian* knights, who surrendered on the same terms, whom the tyrant, contrary to all faith and humanity, caused to be sawn in two

from head to foot, and their bodies to be thrown to the dogs, as a cruel earnest of what the rest of the order must expect from him.

THE grand master failed not to interpret it in that sense ; and to ward against the effects of his fury betimes, convened a general council at *Rhodes*, ordering all the knights to be present at it, and the arrears of all the responsons to be forthwith transmitted to the treasury. But whilst he was taking these and other necessary precautions for their safety and honour, many of the priors and commanders in *Italy* and *Aragon*, to elude his just demands upon them, began to make loud complaints against him, some pretending that he exacted of them much more than he ought, others that his old age and pusillanimity made him look upon every puff of wind that blew from the *Turkish* dominions as the most dreadful and destructive hurricanes. These complaints were *the grand* at length laid before pope *Paul II.* with whom the king of *master* *Aragon* found interest enough to persuade him to summon *summoned* the grand chapter to assemble at *Rome*, and *Zacosta* to appear to *Rome*. there, to answer to such accusations as should be preferred against him. The chief cause of grudge of the *Arragonian* monarch against him was, that he had, after his election, appropriated the grand castellanery of the imposts, one of the richest posts in the whole order, next to the grand mastership, to himself. Other princes had their own particular views for desiring that he should be ordered to appear at *Rome*, though it was in fact delivering up that worthy grand master into the hands of his most inveterate enemies, against which he might moreover have objected his extreme old age, and his obligation to defend the island of *Rhodes* in person. But that venerable old gentleman, who preferred the clear- *clears* ing of his own innocence to all other considerations, having *himself* obeyed the summons, so clearly retorted all those unjust allegations against the authors of them (by shewing, on the one hand, that the exactions charged upon him had no other foundation than the luxury and extravagance of those who urged them against him ; and, on the other, that he had retained his castellanery not for his own benefit, but to defray the charges of building the fortrefs of *St. Nicholas*, which he was ready now to surrender to the order) that all his adversaries were put to silence, and the pope himself was quite ashamed of having given so much credit to them. To make him the amplest amends he could, he not only shewed him the most singular marks of his esteem and intire satisf-

faction, but confirmed the several regulations which were made by that chapter, especially against all those refractory recusants who had caused him and them so much trouble and fatigue. *Zacosta* was making himself ready for his return to his government, highly satisfied with the turn which his obedience had taken in his favour, when he was seized *His death.* with a violent pleureisy, which carried him off on the 21st of February, in the 6th year of his grand mastership. The pope, to shew his great regard for him to the last, ordered him to be interred in the *Basilica* of *St. Peter*, with the greatest solemnity¹; after which the chapter proceeded immediately upon a new election.

37. John THE choice fell, by the majority of one single vote, on *Baptist de John Baptista de Urfini*, then grand prior of *Rome*, in preference to *Raymund Riccard*, of the tongue of *Provence*, and grand prior of *St. Giles*, and most probably by the influence of the pope over some of the electors, which might perhaps have been much less any-where but at *Rome*. However that be, the new grand master, knowing how necessary the *Turkish* sultan's progress made his presence at *Rhodes*, not only hastened thither himself, but ordered, by a particular summons, all the bravest knights of the order to repair thither, especially those of each tongue who were the most experienced in martial affairs. Upon his arrival, he gave the superintendency of all the fortifications to *Peter d'Aubusson*, one of the most experienced commanders, and the best skilled in military architecture of the whole order, who immediately set about surrounding the city with a larger and deeper ditch, and fortifying that part of it which lay towards the water side with a stout wall, 100 fathoms long, six in height, and one in thickness. These new fortifications, and those which had been made under the two last grand masters at the castles of *Archangelo* and *St. Nicholas* in the isle of *Rhodes*, together with those of *Lindo*, *Seraglea*, *Villa Nova*, *Catanda*, *Tiranda*, and others in the other islands, and situate at proper distances for the inhabitants to shelter themselves and their effects against the *Turks*, corsairs, and other invaders, proved of very singular use at this juncture, in which *Mohammed*, tho' hindered by sickness, and the then raging plague, had equipped 30 stout galleys, filled with land forces, with orders to make descents upon those islands, where they found them easiest of access, and to put all to fire and sword; for by that means the inhabitants, sheltering themselves in those castles, gave the invaders an opportunity of landing

¹ BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.

the troops where-ever they found a convenient place, whilst the Rhodian cavalry, being advantageously disposed in distinct bodies, fell upon them so suddenly, that few of them could regain their ships, and the rest were all put to the sword, or made prisoners.

THESE ill successes failed not to rouse the sultan's fury to a higher degree, who ordered immediately a powerful armament to be got ready, without giving the least hint where he designed to fall. However, as it was easy to guess that he designed it either against the island of *Eubœa* or *Rhodes*, the *Venetians*, who were masters of the former, lost no time to negotiate an alliance offensive and defensive against him. The grand master at first gladly accepted the offer; but, upon finding that they had glided a clause into the preliminaries, importing that the order should submit themselves to their protection, and not have power to undertake any thing for the future without their leave, some say without their order, he rejected the proposal with that indignation which such an ensnaring league justly deserved; yet did not this mean piece of artifice prevent his sending them a speedy succour, when he heard that *Eubœa* was really invaded by the sultan, and the capital of it besieged by him. This aid consisted of a number of galleys commanded by *Cardono*, an old experienced knight of the order, and the famed *d'Aubusson*, no less expert in whatever related to the attack or defence of a place.

WE shall not here repeat what has been said elsewhere concerning the success of this expedition*, much less the treachery and cruelty which the tyrant exercised on all that fell into his hands; what most principally relates to our present *Rhodian* history is, that *Mohammed*, having observed the galleys of the order among those of the *Venetians*, dispatched immediately an herald to declare war against them, with the most dreadful imprecations on himself if he did not kill the grand master, and exterminate all the knights that fell into his hands*. But nether did these threats deter the grand master from joining the *Venetians* in some expeditions against him, of which we have already given an account, particularly that against *Attalia*, formerly mentioned, making prizes of all the *Turkish* corsairs that haunted the *Rhodian* coasts.

THE *Rhodian* galleys were hardly returned from ravaging *Anambassy Attalia*, when the grand master received a pompous embassy from *Hassan Cassan*, king of *Persia*, who was now entered into a new league with the Christian princes against *Moham-*

* *Auct. supra citat.*

* *Bosio, & al. ubi sup.*

med, as he had done before more than once. The *Venetians*, after the loss of *Eubœa*, were the first projectors of it, and had engaged in it pope *Paul II.* the kings of *Arragon* and *Naples*, the republic of *Genoa*, and the knights of *Rhodes*; and, last of all, the *Persian* monarch, whose ambassador was received with the utmost magnificence. The occasion of this embassy was, to notify his accession to the league against him, and at the same time to acquaint the grand master, as well as the other chiefs of it, that he had taken the important fortrefs of *Torato* in *Lesser Armenia* from the *Turks*, and was fully determined to pursue the war against them. But that though the *Persian* troops were invincible, their cavalry the finest and best in all the world, and he neither wanted men or horses, lances, scymitars, or other missile weapons, yet the use of fire-arms being still unknown in his dominions, he made it his earnest request to all his new allies to assist him with some of their best founders, and expertest cannoners against the common enemy. The grand master not only promised the ambassador to comply, on his part, with his master's desire, but gave him a sight of all his land and sea forces ranged in battle array, and performing all the various evolutions and movements which are used in a real fight; and assigned him a squadron of 12 of his galleys to conduct him to *Venice*, where the league was to be, and was accordingly concluded. At his return, that republic took care to have him furnished with a good number of the best founders, gunsmiths, armourers, and other workmen, by whom that kingdom was quickly after supplied with complete trains of artillery, and an infinite quantity of other arms.

Mohammed turns
his arms
against
Persia.

THIS embassy, however, brought the whole weight of the war upon the *Persian* monarch; and *Mohammed*, having tried in vain, by fair means and menaces, to make him renounce his alliance with the Christian powers, turned all his forces against him, at the same time that it gave the rest of the league leisure to breathe, and suspended the *Turkish* sultan's design against the isle of *Rhodes*, long enough to give the grand master opportunity to make all proper preparations against him. The first thing he did, was, to order every place in it, and all the other islands, to be examined by proper persons, and to have every one put in the best state of defence. He next convened a general chapter, for the reviving of the ancient discipline, summoning the payment of arrears, and the absent knights to the convent. The great commander *d'Aubusson*, now become grand prior of

* Vide auct. sup. citat.

Auvergne, proposed fundry additional fortifications to the old ones; which were accordingly set about under his direction, particularly two towers on the sea shore towards *Simonia*, and a third towards the little town of *St. Martha*.

ALL this while the grand master had languished near a year under a severe disease, and other infirmities of old age, which ended at length in a violent dropy, and carried him off on the 8th of *June*, in the ninth year of his grand mastership. 1476.

He was succeeded, with the unanimous votes of the chapter, by the grand prior of *Auvergne*, the famed *Peter d'Aubusson*, so often mentioned in this section for his extraordinary skill in military architecture, and the many fortifications which had been made in all the islands depending on the order; and whose election was celebrated with the greatest rejoicings, fire-works, &c. on account of his great merit and signal services. Soon after his being chosen to that dignity, he caused the mouth of the haven to be shut up by a strong chain against the roving pirates; augmented the number of towers in this and the other islands, to prevent their frequent descents; and put such numerous garisons in them, that, if any ventured to land, they might meet with a suitable reception. With the same view the castle of *St. Peter*, formerly built by the grand master *Naillac*, on the coast of *Garia*, for the security of the island *Lango*, and its fortifications, were repaired and augmented, and the fosse around it made much wider and deeper, so that the gallies and other vessels could enter the harbour with ease, and be at safety against the corsairs.

WHILST he was thus usefully employed, an ambassador Venetian arrived from *Venice*, to reclaim, in the name of that republic, the person of *Riccio Martini*, a Cypriot of high rank, and a zealous partizan of *Charlotte de Lusignan*, who had taken refuge in that island. The ambassador demanded that faithful gentleman in very proud, and even threatening terms; such as the grand masters had been so little used to, that the council were for sending him away without any answer; but *d'Aubusson*, who foresaw the danger of disobliging the *Venetians* at so critical a juncture, so moderated theirs as well as his own resentments; by the prudent answer he gave him, that he sent him away satisfied, without delivering up the person under their protection, or incurring the resentment of the republic.

* Vide ant. sup. citat.

* BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vi.

* 5. VERTOT, t. iii. l. vii. p. 70, & seq.

The grand
master
redeems the
Christian
slaves.

He had scarcely dismissed that ambassador, before he received another from the sub-basha of *Lycia*, a *Turkish* province in the neighbourhood of *Rhodes*; the pretence of it was, to treat about the redemption of Christian slaves, which that officer had in his hands; but the real intent of it was, to gain the best intelligence he could about the condition the island and order were then in. This did not, however, prevent the generous *d'Aubusson* from entering into a negotiation with him; and the hopes of freeing so many brave captives from their chains prevailed so far upon him, above all other considerations, that he spared no sums nor presents out of his own private purse to satisfy his avarice, and bring so desirable a treaty to a conclusion; so that he had the inexpressible pleasure in a little time to see a good number of them at his feet, thanking him in the most pathetic terms and behaviour for his generosity to them, and styling him their father, saviour, and deliverer. To these, after he had embraced them one after another, he addressed himself in the following words: *My dear children, it is to religion and our order that you ought to pay these grateful acknowledgements, and I doubt not but you will discharge them with your wonted bravery, in our mutual defence against Mohammed, our common enemy, who is hourly threatening us with a siege*.*

Mohammed
prepares for
war.

THIS was not said without good foundation; for he had been apprised by his spies, of which he kept a great number, that the *Venetians* were on the point of privately concluding a peace with the *Porte*: on the other hand, he was apprised, that *Hassan Cassan*, worn out with age and fatigues, kept himself on the defensive, without undertaking anything against the *Turks*, whilst the Christian powers were engaged in most bloody wars against each other; from all which he clearly foresaw, that *Mohammed* would hardly fail of attacking the isle of *Rhodes* by the following year. To be therefore prepared against all events, he first of all convoked, as usual on such emergencies, a general chapter at *Rhodes*; and, finding the number of his forces insufficient to defend the island, dispatched at the same time a general summons, directed to all the grand priors of the order, enjoining the knights to repair thither, with the arms and equipage suitable to their rank. *Bosio*, an author frequently quoted in this chapter, being the only one who has preserved to us a version in *Italian*, from the original *Latin*, still kept in the archives of *Malta*, of this singular piece of rhetoric, our readers will not perhaps be displeased if we

* *Auct. sup. citat.*

gave them to understand, that it was couched in such pathetic terms as could not but inspire, as it actually did, every worthy member of the order with an emulous zeal to hasten to the defence of an island which was become the seat and glory of their order, and the bulwark of Christendom; inso-much that many of them sold or pledged their plate, furniture, and other valuables, to procure the necessary arms and equipage with all possible diligence, in order to be present at the general assembly in due time. Whilst his summonses were thus dispersed over all parts of *Europe*, he was taken up with viewing in person every island and fortress in it, and supplying them with whatever was wanting towards their making a stout defence. His next care was, to fill up his magazines, arsenals, and other repositories, with all warlike necessities for a siege; whilst the pope *Sixtus VI.* was furnishing him with the most likely means for purchasing them, by the help of a jubilee published on that occasion, which brought immense sums from all parts into the public treasury, by the help of which he was enabled to make some considerable additions to the castle and other fortifications of the city ^b.

MOHAMMED, vexed at his heart to find, by these vast *Moham-* preparations, that *d'Aubusson* had got such an insight into *med* his hostile views, and afraid lest they should produce some *amuses him* powerful league in *Europe* against him, thought fit to try how *with offers* far that might be prevented by a pacific negotiation; but as *of peace* his pride could not have brooked a refusal, if the first proposals came from him, he committed the management of it to his son *Zem*, or *Zizim*, and his nephew *Keleby*, whose governments lay most contiguous to *Rhodes*, who employed a *Greek* renegado to carry a letter to the grand master, fraught with expressions of esteem and value for him and the order, and in the end inviting him to strike a peace with the sultan, for which they offered their mediation. The *Greek* carried the letter accordingly; and, upon delivering it to *d'Aubusson*, confirmed all the contents of it from his own knowledge, assuring him, that the sultan would readily grant him a peace on so small a condition as the tribute, or, if that term seemed too harsh, a present of 2000 ducats *per ann.* a thing which the *Venetians* had not scrupled to agree to, obtain the same favours.

To all this the grand master, who was thoroughly in- *but is out-* formed of the artifice, answered, that as their order was *witted by* object to the pope, and obliged in many respects to several *him*.

^b *Auct. supra citat.*

A suspension of arms concluded.

European princes, he could conclude nothing without their concurrence; but promised to consult them and his order about it, not doubting but they would all easily agree to it, provided that condition of a yearly tribute or present were set aside, as being of such a nature, that his knights could never submit to it. In the mean time, added he, it would not be at all inexpedient to make a short truce with the *Porte*, whilst I send notice of this negotiation to the *European* princes, which will the more easily obtain their consent to it, as it will be a proof to them of the sultan's pacific disposition. This last article he artfully insinuated to gain time for his knights to reach the island before they came to a rupture; and the *Græek*, who was sufficiently impowered for it, concluded a treaty with him for a suspension of arms and free commerce, whilst the negotiation was carried on, which was soon after confirmed by a fresh embassy sent from the *Porte*. In this last step the proud sultan was no less politic and artful, as such an embassy, when known by the Christian powers, would most probably cool their zeal, and the prospect of an approaching peace retard the succours which they designed to send to *Rhodes*, as well as the diligence of the knights to hasten thither.

A peace made with Tunis.

In the mean time the sultan of *Egypt*, who dreaded nothing so much as *Mohammed's* making himself master of *Rhodes*, by which he would become a nearer and more formidable enemy, dispatched one of his favourite ministers on an embassy to *Rhodes*, to renew the last treaty of peace with the grand master, which was accordingly done to the satisfaction and security of both sides. Much such another treaty was concluded with the king of *Tunis*, with this addition, that the order should, in case of need, be furnished from thence with 30,000 sacks of corn, without paying any duty.

ALL this while the knights arrived from all parts in great numbers; but as the grand master was still in expectation of many more, he thought fit to put off the chapter till the *October* following, when he opened it with great solemnity, and a most pathetic address to them, the substance of which was to this effect:

" My generous brethren, the time is come, at length,
 " wherein you may display your zeal and courage against
 " the enemies of our commonwealth. In a war so holy and
 " just as this, Christ himself will be your chief, and will
 " never abandon those who fight for his religion and glory.

"In vain doth the proud and impious *Mohammed*, who owns no other deity than his own power, threaten you with the total extirpation of your order: if his forces be superior in number to ours, they consist chiefly of abject slaves, which are dragged by main force, and expose themselves to the danger of death, merely to avoid a more sure one with which they are threatened by their officers; whereas I behold none among you, but gentlemen of noble and illustrious extract, and fully determined either to conquer or die, and whose valour and piety are a sure earnest of victory."

His speech was a kind of declaration of war against the *Turkish* sultan, and was answered, as it well deserved, with the most unanimous and repeated assurances that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their religion; after which, they set about the most effectual means to carry it on with success. One of them was universally agreed on as the most conducive to prevent all differences between the commanders, and all other delays in their councils and measures, viz. to invest the grand master *Aubusson* with the sovereign power, and with the sole command of the forces both by sea and land, at least till the threatening storm was happily allayed; but it was not, however, without great difficulty, and after the most earnest intreaties, that he was prevailed upon to accept of so dangerous a dignity; after which, his first care was, to nominate the most proper officers to their several posts, to demolish all the villas and houses of pleasure, and even churches, in the neighbourhood of their capital, to have all the grass and standing corn mowed down throughout the island, and to appoint their several duties to the inhabitants both of the city and country during the siege, and to make all proper preparations for a vigorous defence^f.

WHILST he was thus usefully employed, he had the pleasure to see a fresh supply of knights of the most illustrious families arrive daily from *France*, and other countries, to fight under his banner, all expressing an impatient desire to signalize themselves on this occasion against the enemy. At length the siege of the place was determined, and the conduct of it committed to *Misauli*, or *Michael Paleologus*, a renegade *Greek*, of the imperial family of that name, now raised to the dignity of grand vizier, and who, to give the stronger proofs of his zeal against the Christians, had solicited that siege with uncommon ardour, and had caused the

^f Vide auct. sup. citat.

^f Bosio, & al. ubi sup.

plan of the island, and all its fortifications, to be taken by three famed renegadoes, whom he had sent thither for that end. The first of these was a native of *Rhodes*, who had ruined himself by his extravagance, and was forced to abandon the place; the second was the *Greek* renegado who had brought some time before a letter from the prince *Zuzim* to the grand master; and the third one *Francis Frapan*, a *German* engineer, who had travelled through all those *Christian* countries which *Mohammed* designed to attack, and brought him exact plans of them, and now lastly that of *Rhodes*; and from these three it was, but more especially from the plan of the *German*, that *Mohammed* formed his own for the attack of the place.

The grand vizier twice repulsed with loss. THE grand vizier *Paleologus* was immediately dispatched in a small fleet, with his other three renegadoes, to reconnoitre the place before the arrival of the grand army. By the 4th of *December*, he appeared before *Rhodes*, and landed some of his *spahis* over-against the castle of *Faris*, who met with such a warm reception, that they were glad to regain their ships, after having lost a good number of their companions. His next descent was on the island of *Tib*, belonging to the order, where he found the inhabitants all housed, with their effects, in the castle, which was a strong fortress, and defended by a stout garrison. This he cannonaded eight whole days, till, thinking the breach sufficient to begin the assault, he mounted it at the head of his troops, and maintained the attack with great firmness, till he had seen the best part of his men lie dead at the foot of the wall, and himself forced to found a retreat. This gave him such a taste of the *Rhodian* bravery, as made him judge he should never gain the place without attacking it in due form; but as he had not a sufficient force for such an enterprise, and the weather was altogether unfavourable to him, he was obliged, after some further loss, to raise the siege, and sail away for *Phisio* in *Lycia*, where was to be the grand rendezvous of the *Turkish* armada. Here he was forced to wait for it till the end of the following *April*, when it entered the mouth of the river *Lycia*, in full sight of the isle of *Rhodes*, which is not above 18 or 20 miles from it. The watch on the top of mount *St. Stephen's* gave the first signal of its appearing; upon which *d'Aubusson*, accompanied with all his principal officers, went up thither to take a view of it. It consisted of 160 large vessels, besides the feluccas,

* Vide *Aust.* sup. citat.

gallies, flat-bottomed and other transport-ships, on which were reckoned no less than 100,000 land forces.

THIS vast force no sooner arrived on the coasts of the island, Rhodes on the 23d of May, than the sea seemed quite covered with *besieged by* their vessels, and the air with their hideous shouts, and the *the Turks.* thunder of their artillery, which kept a constant firing whilst the infantry was making towards the land. The cannon of the city was no less constant and brisk against them, whilst the knights sallied out sword in hand, and went into the sea up to their girdles to oppose their landing, till, after a vast deal of bloodshed on both sides, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retire. The *Turks* then landed in vast crowds, and divers places, and quickly gained the mount called *St. Stephen*, where being strongly intrenched, they summoned the city to surrender. The haughty refusal of the besieged was soon followed by some bloody skirmishes, after which the *German* engineer lately mentioned (and now the only one that was left of the three who had been employed by the grand vizier to take the plan of the city), advised him to bend all his force against the tower or castle of *St. Nicholas*; assuring him, that, if it was once carried, the city would soon be forced to surrender. His *Fort St.* advice was followed, and a battery of three large pieces *Nicholas* planted, which made a continual fire against it. The grand *assaulted,* master, on his side, caused another to be raised in a con- *and stoutly* venient quarter, which returned their fire with the same vi- *defended.* gour; all which was but a prelude to what ensued soon after, when the vast number and variety of the artillery which the vizier had brought came to be played against the place. That general, according to the *German* traitor's advice, ceased not plying that strong tower with his largest artillery, till he saw that side which looked towards the town, and by much the weakest, fall to the ground, after having received near 300 cannon-balls, upon which he sent a good number of his troops to scale the breach; but here they met with such a stout opposition from the *Rhodian* knights, and such a bloody conflict ensued on both sides, that the grand master, who knew the importance of that fortress towards saving the town, came himself to defend it in person, and took his station on the most dangerous part of the breach, telling his officers, in a resolute tone, that that was the post of honour which belonged to the grand master of the order.

Our prescribed limits will not permit us to enter into a particular detail of that siege, which would require more room than we can afford to this whole chapter; those who

desire a more full account, may find it in the authors quoted in the margin ^a; we may only observe here in general, that the contest was carried on with the utmost fury and bravery on both sides; that neither the extraordinary courage of the *Rhodian* knights, nor the many bloody repulses which they gave the enemy, nor the vast numbers of them which were cut off at every attack, could discourage the grand vizier, who stood in greater dread of *Mohammed's* resentment than of the *Rhodian* arms, from pursuing the siege with the utmost fury and obstinacy. The loss of the *German* re-

*The vizier
discourag'd
by his ill
successes.*

negado, who had conveyed himself into the city as a spy, was detected, and executed by order of the grand master, the frequent discoveries he made, that the besieged received continually fresh intelligence of every step he took, raised in him such suspicion of his officers, that he knew not who to trust to. The vigilance and indefatigable bravery of the grand master, who was every-where, animated every thing, warding against every advantage he gained, and defeated every stratagem he formed against him, joined to the ill success he had in almost every step, had had such an effect upon him, that he was three whole days, after a bloody repulse, in a manner senseless and inactive, and awaked out of his lethargy by his fear and despair, and the discouraging news which the deserters brought him from the city. One came and told him, that the grand master had put all the women, children, and useless hands, in such a place of safety, and out of the reach of his engines and artillery, that he only spent all his force against empty houses; another informed him of some new wall, or other work, reared in one night, with incredible diligence, to which persons of every rank and sex put a helping hand, the very nuns coming out of their monasteries to assist the workers with variety of refreshments. Others assured him, that the place had been so well stored with all kind of ammunitions and provisions, that its numerous garrison was not likely to need any supplies in haste, whilst the continual firing which the besieged made upon him gave him an ample assurance that powder and shot were the least of their wants. All these mortifying reports were interwoven with such encomiums on the grand master's bravery and vigilance, that, despairing to gain the city whilst he commanded in it, he sent thither two renegadoes, in the disguise of deserters, to take him off by sword, poison, or any other way they should find most convenient. The villains soon

^a Monf. Du PUYs Relat. du Siege, &c. CAOURSIN, p. 3, & seq. BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vi. c. 8, 9, 10, & seq. VERTOT, t. iii. l. vii. p. 93, & seq.

got access into the city and palace; and would have actually *His trea-*
 gained their end, had not one of them been happily disco- *cherous*
 vered, who, being put to the torture, confessed the whole *attempt*
 design, and informed against his accomplice; upon which, *against*
 they were both condemned to a suitable death; but were *the grand*
 torn to pieces by the people as they were led to execution. *master's*
 This hellish project having failed him, he had recourse to *life disco-*
 another; *viz.* to get letters thrown into several parts of the
 city, fraught with the most insolent bravados and threats, ex-
 tolling the power and clemency of the *Turkish* sultan, and
 what happiness it would be for them to exchange the tyranny
 of the *Rhodian* order for the mildness of the *Othman* govern-
 ment; and denouncing the most dreadful rage of fire and
 sword against them, if they refused the terms he now so gene-
 rously offered to them.

THESE letters having met with the contempt they deserv- *A confer-*
 ed, his next stratagem was that of embassy to the grand *ence with*
 master, much to the same purport, and in the same haughty *the be-*
 stile. The grand master, who wanted time to repair the di- *sieged.*
 lapidations which the *Turkish* artillery had made, turned that
 embassy into a conference, which was held on the skirts of the
 city-ditch between one of the chief officers of the *Turkish*
 army and the castellan of *Rhodes*. In this interview, the *The*
Turk appearing wholly divested of that fierce and haughty *Turks*
 air which is natural to that nation, contented himself with *offer a ca-*
 exhorting the order to avoid the dreadful effects of a general *pitulation.*
 assault, and not let their valour, which, at such a juncture as
 this, would be justly termed rashness, expose them, and such
 a vast number of harmless inhabitants, to the horrid slaughter
 and desolation, which are the usual consequences of an un-
 timely and too obstinate resistance, as this would infallibly be
 deemed by the conqueror. Will it not be even interpreted
 the highest inhumanity, if, after your walls and bulwarks are
 destroyed, your towers are levelled with the ground, and
 your ditches are filled with their dilapidations, you still per-
 sist in the fruitless defence of a heap of rubbish, which will
 cost our grand vizier but two or three hours to be master
 of? He concluded with begging of him to lay these things
 before the grand master, and to persuade him, by a wise and
 timely capitulation, to prevent the massacre of so many noble
 knights and guiltless inhabitants, the prostitution and slavery
 of so many virtuous and honourable women, and other ter-
 rible consequences that attend the taking of a place with
 sword in hand.

To this artful speech the grand master, who, tho' design- *The grand*
 edly absent, yet was within the hearing of it, sent an answer to *master's*
 this answer.

this effect, by the castellan above-mentioned, that "the grand vizier had certainly been misinformed by his spies, with respect to the condition of the place; and that if he thought fit to try the fortune of an assault, he should soon find their want of walls and bulwarks suppld with such barriers and intrenchments as would cost him no less blood to gain; and that if he had no such obstacles to surmount, he would find the city still strong enough, as long as it was defended by a set of knights, who were all of one heart and soul, had no other aim than the defence of their religion, and the honour and interest of their order, and to whom a noble contempt of death gives a strength much superior to that of walls. However, if *Mohammed*, or his vizier, are inclined to peace, let them first remove their forces far enough, and we will readily negotiate it with them on such terms as are consistent with our religion and honour; but, if otherwise, tell them, that we are ready to answer them in their own way."

A murmuring of the knights against him.

THIS answer soon broke up the conference, and the *Turkish* commander went away much abashed at it; but the grand master soon found that it had quite a different effect upon several of the order, who began to complain to one another of the ill-timed firmness, as they stiled it, of the grand master, and to declare for an honourable capitulation, rather than sacrifice the rest of the knights and garison to his obstinacy. These cabals, which daily increased, came at last to his ears; upon which he sent for them to the palace, and, as if he had no longer looked upon them as members of the order, instead of the term *Brethren*, he addressed them with that of *Sirs*. "Sirs," said he to them, "if any of you do not think yourselves safe enough in this place, one part is not quite so closely blocked up, but I may find means to facilitate your escape out of it: but," adds he, in a higher and more determinate tone, "if you stay with us, let me never hear a word more of capitulating, on pain of immediate death." At these words they were all so thunder-struck, that they knew not how to answer a word to him; but, soon recovering themselves, they expressed the utmost remorse at their pusillanimity, and gave him the strongest assurances, that they would fight under him in defence of the place, to the last drop of their blood. They accordingly behaved upon all occasions afterwards with such intrepid bravery, and such an emulous ardour to encounter the greatest dangers, as if now their sole aim was to wipe off the ignoble stain they had brought upon themselves, by the most gallant behaviour, or by a glorious death.

His stern answer recalls them to their duty.

ALL this while, the haughty vizier, exasperated to the *The assault* highest degree at the answer which the grand master had *renewed* sent to him, and ashamed to have his offers so disdainfully *with* rejected, denounced death and destruction against the whole *great* order, and ordered a vast number of sharp spikes to be fixed *sur* at the head of his camp, resolved to impale all that fell alive into his hands. The fire of the artillery began afresh, and with greater fury than ever; every thing was prepared for a most obstinate assault, which was accordingly given at several parts of the city, to oblige the knights to separate themselves, and was carried on with such intrepid fury, that, in spite of all efforts of the order, they planted their standards on the ramparts. This produced a new kind of combat, and obliged the besieged to mount the scalade against them, with the grand master at their head, who mounted the ladder foremost of them all, with his half-pike in his hand. They met with an obstinate opposition from the *Turks*; but at length slew such numbers of them, that they were forced to retire. These were immediately succeeded by a corps of resolute janissaries, sent thither by the vizier, with the largest promises to any that should kill the grand master. They soon found him out by his gilt armour, and twelve of them forced themselves up to him, and, in spite of the knights that surrounded him, gave him five wounds in different parts of his body; which, however, the heat with which he defended himself did not permit him to feel, till the knights, who ran to his rescue, and saw him covered with blood, apprised him of it, and begged him to retire; but found him determined to die honourably on that spot. This inspired the *The Turks* knights with new life; they fell with redoubled fury on the *repulsed,* *Turks*, cut in pieces all that made head against them, and *and the* struck such a panic into the rest, that neither the threats nor *siege* intreaties of the vizier could stop them from a most shameful *raised.* fight. The *Rhodians* pursued them with eager haste, and laid vast numbers of them dead on the ground: all which being perceived by him, he was obliged to give up all for lost, and to make the most speed he could to regain his camp, and soon after his shipping¹.

THE victory thus happily secured, the grand master was *A general* conveyed by his knights, all over covered as he was with his *thank* own and the enemy's blood, to the cathedral, where a solemn *giving* thanksgiving was celebrated, which was concluded with the usual rejoicings. The grand vizier did not leave the island,

¹ DUFUY, ubi sup. CAOURSIN, p. 63, & seq. BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vi. c. 10, 11, 12. VERTOT, t. iii. l. vii. p. 303, & seq.

till he had left behind him the most dreadful marks of his resentment, and seen the rest of his army commit the greatest ravages in it. At length being informed of the arrival of some ships from *Spain*, and afraid of being surpris'd by them, he reimbarked, and set sail with all possible speed for *Constantinople*. The grand master being informed of the great losses which the inhabitants and peasants of the island had suffered from the *Turkish* forces, ordered a sufficient quantity of corn to be distributed amongst them, to last them till the next harvest, and remitted their taxes for some years to come; and, in the same generous manner, rewarded all his surviving knights, in proportion to their merit and valour, from the greatest officer to the meanest soldier; after which they set about repairing the fortifications of the place with the greatest diligence, not doubting but that they would soon hear again from the haughty *Turkish* soltan.

He was not mistaken; for *Mohammed*, after the first transports of fury at the ill success of his vizier, whom he deposed, and sent prisoner to *Gallipoli*, declared publicly, that, as his arms were never fortunate but when he was at the head of them, he was determined to command them himself, on the next year, against that proud and obstinate order; and forthwith gave directions for making all necessary preparations against that time.

1481.
Violent
earth-
quakes at
Rhodes.

In the beginning of this year happened a violent earthquake, attended with frequent shocks, which greatly endangered the city and island, and was felt in all those belonging to the order, and those of the *Archipelago*. At *Rhodes* the sea broke out with such force that it laid the city 10 or 12 feet under water. The first shock was felt on the 15th of *March*, the second, much more dreadful, on the 3d of *May*, followed by a violent lasting rain, which swelled the sea, and caused the inundation above-mentioned. Several others were felt successively in that month; but the most dreadful of all did not happen till the 10th of *December* following, in the dead of the night. In this the people, men, women, and children, run out of their houses half-naked, and took refuge in grottos and caverns; many, who ventured to stay at home, were buried under the ruins of their houses by the violence of the shocks. Some churches, the grand palace, and some other public edifices, were terribly shattered, and the ground heaved and undulated in such a dreadful manner, that the *Rhodians*, who have a tradition that their island sprang out of the sea, imagined that it was going to sink into it again; The grand master, taking the advantage of the general consternation, set about reforming several great enormities which

which were crept in, by some new statutes and severe penalties.

WHILST he was employed in this, and in repairing the *Prince* damages and dilapidations which the earthquake and the *Zizim ap-Turkib* forces had caused in the island, he received a mes-^{plies to} sage from prince *Zizim*, one of the late *Mohammed's* sons, *Rhodes* whom his other brother *Bajazet* had lately defeated, and ^{for pro-} forced to seek shelter and assistance out of the *Turkib* domi-^{tection.} nions. This message was to implore the aid and protection of the order, and a safe-conduct from the grand master, which was readily granted, and a squadron of *Rhodian gal-* ^{His recep-} lies, under the command of *Don Alvares de Zuniga*, was ^{tion there.} dispatched to bring him to *Rhodes*, where he was received with all the marks of honour due to his birth and rank. The grand master himself, with a numerous retinue, went to receive him at the port, and conduct him to the palace prepared for him, which was that of the *French* tongue. In their march, *D' Aubuffon*, with his usual politeness, gave the prince the right hand, which he offered to decline, alleging, that it did not become an exile and captive to take the upper hand of his patron and protector; to which he obligingly replied, that captives of high birth claim the first rank every-where, and only wished his power was as great at *Constantinople* as at *Rhodes*. The grand master took care, during his stay, to entertain and divert him in the grandest manner he could, though he had all the reason to apprehend his brother's resentment would terminate in an insolent demand to have him delivered up, or, if refused, in a declaration of war.

WHILST he was in this perplexity, there arrived an en-^{Bajazet's} voy from the governor of *Lycia*, a province parted from ^{artifices} *Rhodes* only by a narrow chanel, who was sent to treat about ^{against} a commercial truce, but in reality to inform himself of what ^{him.} passed between the exiled prince and the order; which obliged him to prolong the negotiation as much as he could, notwithstanding the readiness which the grand master, who saw through the artifice, shewed to agree to it, and get rid of such a privileged spy. He had scarcely dispatched him, when a new one arrived with a letter from *Achmed*, *Bajazet's* favourite prime vizier and general, to propose, as from himself, ^{A peace} a negotiation of peace with his master, and with offers of his ^{proposed.} mediation, if the grand master agreed to it, and thought fit to send an embassy to *Constantinople*. It was easy to conclude, from all these artful proceedings, that that prince sought

only to have his rival dispatched by poison or the sword, or by any other way; for which reason the grand master made all the haste he could to dismiss those authorized assassins, with this answer, that he was ready to accept of the offer, provided nothing was mentioned or insisted on of vassalage or tribute. In the mean time, to prevent all treacherous attempts against the prince *Zizim*, the council, after several deliberations, resolved to send him safe into *France*. The grand master communicated the matter to him in such manner as easily gained his consent. Before his departure, he left two instruments in his hands, the one to empower him to treat with *Bajazet* about an accommodation with him, and by the other he obliged himself, if ever he recovered his dominions, to observe a constant peace with *Rhodes*, to open a free commerce to all their vessels, and to release 300 Christian slaves. Both these treaties, signed and sealed by him, and still preserved in the archives of the island, bear date the 5th of the month *Regheb*, in the year of the *Hejra* 887; answering to our 31st of *August*, 1482. Soon after which he embarked for *France*, under the conduct of *M. De Blanchfort*, the grand master's nephew.

Zizim's
two trea-
ties with
the order.

Two em-
bassadors
sent to
Constanti-
nople.

IMMEDIATELY after his departure, the grand master, according to his promise, dispatched two of his principal knights ambassadors to *Bajazet*, who received them with great marks of honour, and appointed *Achmed* above-mentioned, and *Michael Paleologus*, now recalled from exile, to negotiate the peace with them. The former of these was like to have broke up at once the conference, by his insisting on a tribute, and telling the *Rhodians*, on their rejecting the bare mention of it, that his master would go himself to raise it at the head of 100,000 men. Upon which *Paleologus* was obliged to remind him, in the *Turkish* tongue, that the sultan had charged them to conclude a peace at any rate with them. This not only obliged him to desist from it, but furnished the *Rhodian* ambassadors, one of whom understood that tongue, with a handle to insist upon more advantageous terms than they would otherwise have done, and to which both ministers were glad, in spite of their native haughtiness, to consent.

A peace
concluded.

By these articles the grand master obliged himself to keep the prince *Zizim* in his hands, and under a sufficient guard of his knights; and that he should not deliver him up to any other prince, whether Christian or infidel, who might thence take occasion to give the sultan any disturbance. In conside-

tion of which the *Port* should cause 35,000 ducats to be paid yearly into the *Rhodian* treasury for his expence, and, over and above that sum, that he should likewise pay another of 10,000 ducats *per annum* to the grand master, as a satisfaction for the damages which the *Turkish* forces had caused in the *Rhodian* islands. This peace being signed by *Bajazet*, was immediately dispatched by one of his chief ministers to *Rhodes*, to be ratified by the grand master; and the proud *Achmed*, who had loudly inveighed against the conditions, as dishonourable to the *Port*, was soon after disgraced and put to death.

BAJAZET, highly pleased with the peace, was not only punctual, but even before-hand, in the payment of the sums above-mentioned; but the grand master reaped neither comfort nor honour by it. The unhappy *Zizim* made loud complaints against him, as having agreed to that peace in open violation of the safe-conduct which he had granted him; and was deaf to all the palliatives which the *Rhodian* knights, who guarded his person, offered to him. What was still worse, many of those, who were no friends to the order, took occasion to throw the severest reflections against him, as having sold the liberty of a prince who had put himself under his protection, and, for the sake of an inconsiderable tribute, had engaged to become his gaoler, in favour of a tyrant, an irreconcilable enemy of the Christians, and, by that means, giving up the most favourable opportunity that could have been wished for of kindling a war in his dominions, which might have proved of the greatest advantage to Christianity. There are indeed two cotemporary writers, who have endeavoured to palliate this step of the grand master; the one by representing the advantages gained from it to the Christian powers in *Europe*, by the detention of that unfortunate prince, in such a light as shows him to have been more careful to wipe off that stain from the order, than about his own character, as an impartial historian; so that, according to him, it was no more than a choosing the lesser of the two evils. The other, a favourite minister of the grand master, by flatly denying that ever any such safe-conduct was granted by him; and pretending that *Zizim* was no other than a prisoner of war, who might be therefore disposed of according to the discretion of the person into whose power he was fallen. The misfortune is, that we have no cotemporary authors to direct us to which of those two we ought to give the preference. However that be, pope *Innocent VIII.*

• *Auct. supra citat.*

was

Prince
Zizim
sold to the
pope.

was so far from censuring this politic step of the grand master, that he made pressing overtures to him for his nuncio to take himself the custody of the unfortunate Zizim, in hopes, as he pretended, that, if he had him once in his power, he could easily put an end to the wars that raged between the Christian princes, by uniting them in a strong league against *Bajazet*. *D'Aubisson* made several very just and strong objections against his proposal; on which, however, that pontif proved so inflexible, that he was at length obliged to send two of the principal knights of the order, one of whom was the vice-chancellor *Gaourfin*, frequently quoted in this section; to treat with his holiness about delivering him up to him upon the most advantageous terms to himself and his order.

Advanta-
geous
terms
granted to
the order.

THESE two politic knights, finding the pontif no less ready to grant than they were to ask, so he obtained their consent, complied with him upon the following terms: That his holiness should not thenceforth take upon him to bestow any commanderies to the prejudice of the tongues, or the seniority of the members. 2. That the goods and revenues of the order should no longer be included amongst the benefices which the popes had reserved in their own gift. 3. That in case *Bajazet* should withdraw the payment of the yearly sum stipulated for *Zizim's* maintenance, on account of this new treaty, the pope should supply that deficiency to the *Rhodians*, by suppressing the two orders of *St. Lazarus* and *St. Sepulchre*, and bestowing their revenue upon it, to prevent, says the pontif in his bull, that order, so useful and necessary to all Christendom, from sinking under the power of the infidels. Neither was the interest of the grand master forgot in this treaty, who, upon the delivery of the prince by his two plenipotentiaries, was to be created cardinal, and his holiness's nuncio in the east, as he accordingly was by another bull, dated *March 9th, 1488*, or, according to others, *1489*; a dignity little suiting that of a secular sovereign, much less that of the chief of a military order^p. Thus was that unfortunate prince bought and sold to the highest bidder by those religious brokers, from whom he hoped for protection; yet was all this vastly short of the treacherous and inhuman treatment which he met with from that pontif's immediate successor *Alexander VI.* who, a few years after, caused him to be closely confined in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and, for the sum of *300,000 ducats*, which *Bajazet* engaged

The grand
master
created
cardinal.

^p BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vii. tom. iii. p. 175, & seq. VRETOT, & al. sup. citat.

to pay him, ordered him to be privately poisoned, as we have seen more at large in a former volume.

THE grand master, at the news of that horrid treachery, D'Aubusseaued the most tender concern for the unfortunate prince, *son resent* tho' he dared not express his abhorrence against his murderer, *the treachery.* who, instead of excusing the fact, sent his nuncio to require him to send immediate word to *Bajazet* of the preparations which *Charles VIII.* of France was making against him. On the other hand, *Charles* sent him a letter, to invite him to come over, and consult with him about his designed expedition against the sultan; but he, who clearly foresaw that the French monarch would soon have other work upon his hands, both in *Italy* and his own dominions, as it actually proved, neither regarded the invitation of the one, nor the orders of the other: for which that pontiff gave him soon after such an earnest of his repentment, as made him and the whole order apprehend some farther attempts from him upon their privileges. For, about this time, the commandery *The pope* of *Novellec*, and the rich priory of *Catalonia*, happening to be *invades* vacant, *Alexander*, by his own authority, as sole disposer, *as the rights* he styled himself, of all such preferments, bestowed them on *of the* his worthless nephew *Lewis Borgia*, tho' the grand master had already conferred them upon *Francis Boffolx*, one of the most illustrious knights of the tongue of *Arragon*. Happily for them, *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon* and *Castile*, who was ever at war with the *Moors* of *Africa*, and stood in constant need of the assistance of the order, was quickly prevailed upon, by their complaints, to interpose his authority in their behalf; which he did in so effectual a manner, that the pope was forced to submit, and forego his pretended right over their ecclesiastical preferments¹.

By this time the pope made so odious a figure in the world, *Engages* and had raised so many enemies against him, that he thought *the Christi-* it high time by some way to wipe off, or at least to take off *slain* the eyes of the world from, the scandalous stains which he *princes in* had brought on his pontifical character. To this end, he *a league* ordered his nuncios to invite the Christian princes into a *against the* powerful league against the *Turks*, of which he designed to declare himself the chief. The grand master was not forgot in it, whom he promised to appoint generalissimo of this new crusade. The grand master, who had too much reason to suspect the pontiff's sincerity, was much inclined to refuse the offer; but the council representing to him the discredit the

¹ BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vii. c. 67, & seq. VERTOT, ubi supra, p. 186, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

declining such an invitation would be to the order, whose profession it was to embrace all opportunities of warring against the enemies of Christianity, joined to an obliging letter which he received from *Lewis XII.* in which he acquainted him, that he had sent a small fleet into the *Mediterranean*, under the command of *Philip of Cleves*, who was expressly ordered to obey and be directed by him in all things, did at length determine him to accept of that high post. He ordered accordingly a suitable number of large ships, galleys, and other vessels, to be equipped, and waited only for the arrival of those of the pope and *French* admiral. But this last, instead of following his instructions, sailed directly to the island of *Metelin*, and besieged the capital of it; but was soon obliged to raise the siege, after having sustained a considerable loss, both of his ships and troops, and forced to a shameful retreat into his own country.

D'Aubus-
son for-
saken by
his allies:

Soon after this the grand master received the disagreeable news of it from *Venice*; and that he must no longer depend on the 15 galleys which the pope had engaged to furnish, for that he had no more than two at sea, and they otherwise employed: so that he saw himself under the necessity either to carry on the whole war without any assistance but that of his order, or to let the league, which still subsisted, come to nothing. He chose the former, as the more honourable of the two; his fleet took the island of *St. Mauro*, whilst himself was using all his efforts in vain to spirit up the allied powers. The treacherous pontif, thinking he had done enough to save his character, was now wholly taken up with enriching his nephew, whilst the other princes, after his example, were minding their own private interests. So that all the fruit that was reaped from this extraordinary league, besides the taking of the small island above-mentioned, was a considerable prize which *Villagarut*, who commanded the *Rhodian* squadron made of some *Turkish* merchant-ships bound for *Constantinople* richly laden, and which, after having defeated and dispersed their escorte, he brought safe to the haven of *Rhodes*.

His grief
augmented
by other
disasters.

To alleviate the grief which the ill success of this league the treachery of the pope, and unfaithfulness of the allied Christian princes, gave him, which was still aggravated by other no less pungent cares, among which the scandalous encroachments which the ravenous pontif made on the privilege of the order on the one hand, and the luxury and effeminacy which reigned among the greater part of the *Rhodian* knights were not the least, he spent the short remnant of his life in applying the most effectual means to work a thorough reformation, by reviving the antient discipline. He began with

medict for banishing all the *Jews* from the *Rhodian* dominions, not only as enemies to the name of *Christ*, but as brokers and panders to the debauchery and luxury which he set about to reform. The next was a kind of sumptuary law, by which he expressly forbid the use of gold, silver, and other taudry ornaments, in the apparel, equipage, and furniture, of the order, under the severest penalties, in which he had the singular satisfaction to see such a general deference paid to his authority, that they seemed to be quite banished out of the island in a very little time. But this was greatly overbalanced by the mortification he received to see all the just complaints he sent to that voracious pontif not only prove ineffectual, but even productive of fresh oppressions and encroachments; so that oppressed with grief and cares, as well as old age, being now turned of fourscore, he fell into a deep melancholy, which carried him off on the 3d of *His death.*
July, in the 27th year of his grand mastership". 1593.

THE chapter, to retrieve as much as possible the loss of so illustrious a chief, whose in his room *Emeric d'Amboise*, a ^{39.} *Emeric d'Amboise*, person of no less noble a family, then grand prior of *France*, and residing in his priory, but who left it soon after to attend on the more pressing duties of his new dignity. Upon his arrival at *Rhodes*, his first care, to inform himself of the true state of the order, was to convoke a general council, to regulate the finances, and put the islands and fleet into a condition of opposing the common enemies, *Bajazet* and the sultan of *Egypt*, who had privately entered into an alliance against them. The former, who could never forgive the *Rhodians* the reception they gave to his brother, nor the great power they had at that time at sea, by which they daily enriched themselves at the expence of the *Turkish* and *Egyptian* commerce, which was in some measure ruined by their gallies, no sooner saw himself out of danger from that formidable rival, than he ordered his corsairs to make frequent descents upon all the islands belonging to the order, and commit any other hostilities against them. As for the *Egyptian* prince, he was not only a great loser by them in the article of commerce, but was no less annoyed by the progress which the *Portuguese* had made on the coasts of the *Red Sea*, and in many other parts of the east; but as his country afforded no timber for building a sufficient number of ships to make head against two such naval powers, he was obliged to have recourse to *Bajazet*, who by this treaty al-

* BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al.
Hist. Portug. l. iii. c. 3. alib.

▼ Vid. OSSORI.

lowed him the liberty of buying merchant and other vessels at *Constantinople*, and of cutting trees in the forest near mount *Negro*, along the bay of *Ajazzo*, for the construction of others. In consideration of which, he obliged himself to furnish the *Turkish* sultan with a powerful fleet for the besieging of *Rhodes*.

*Bajazet's
fleet re-
sists.*

WHILST these preparations were carrying on, *Bajazet* sent out a numerous fleet, consisting of a great variety of galleys, and other vessels, commanded by the famed corsair *Gamali*, with orders to sail to the island belonging to the order, and to put all to fire and sword. But the grand master, who had his spies even in the heart of the seraglio itself, having had time sufficient to repair every fortification, and to put into every place a sufficient number of forces, commanded by some of the bravest knights of the order, those invaders met with such a hot reception where-ever they landed, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces, without being able to succeed in any of them. *Gamali*, at length, having gathered up the shattered remains of his forces, made his last attempt upon the island, or rather barren rock, of *Lindo*, guarded only by a castle and a small garrison, which he laid siege to. The governor, an old officer, being then confined to his bed, committed the defence of it to a young *Piedmontese* knight, named *Simoni*, scarcely 18 years old, who, after returning their brisk fire for some time, observing that their cannon had beat down some part of the wall, immediately ordered all the inhabitants of the island, who had retired thither, both men and women, to appear upon the breach with the white cross of the order upon their breast, and their weapons in their hands, whom *Gamali* and his men took for so many *Rhodian* knights who had landed there in the night to the assistance of the garrison; so that the fear of being surrounded by the *Rhodian* galleys made them raise the siege with the utmost precipitation, and betake themselves to their ships, and to a shameful flight*.

*Gauri
Com-
son's fleet
defeated.*

PRESENTLY after this, the sultan of *Egypt* having, pursuant to his treaty, sent out seven armed pinks to make a descent on the island of *Lango*, the two first who were sent to reconnoitre it were discovered from the castle; upon which the governor dispatched two galleys out of the haven, which, fetching a compass about, came so suddenly upon them, that they had no other way to escape than by landing on the coast, and hiding themselves in the island; upon which the

* BOSIO, & al. sup. citat. VERTOT, ubi sup. t. iii. l. viii. p. 219, & seq.

Rhodian gallies towed the two pinks along, and, having put some of their own soldiers and sailors in them, under two lights of the order, followed the same route with the other five, and fell foul upon them as soon as they had joined them. Their surprise was increased when they beheld from behind a creek the two *Rhodian* gallies ready to surround them. They defended themselves briskly for some time; but, being forced to surrender, were immediately put in irons, and carried prisoners to *Rhodes**. These two stratagems were followed some time after by a more considerable one, against a monstrous large carack that sailed yearly from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, laden with the richest silks, spices, and other valuable merchandize, which the grand signor's subjects brought from the *Red Sea*. This vessel was of such height, that the main-mast of a *Rhodian* galley hardly reached its row. It was seven stories high; and its mast so thick, that three men could scarcely embrace it. It carried, besides its eight, merchants, and other necessary sailors, between 900 and 1000 soldiers for its defence; and was called, on account of its vast bulk and rich lading, the queen of the sea. It had been attempted more than once by the *Rhodian* gallies in the late grand master *d'Aubusson's* time, without success. This did not discourage the present one from trying his fortune against it, as soon as he was apprised of its being at sea. He committed the expedition to an expert and brave knight, named *Gastineau*, who commanded the first man of war belonging to the order, and was directed to attempt it rather by stratagem than force, but to avoid the burning or sinking of it.

GASTINEAU, according to his instructions, sailed directly towards the island of *Candia* in quest of it, and soon after came in sight of her. The *Saracen*, who commanded the carack, made not one single motion to shun him, but seemed rather insultingly to come full in his way. As soon as they were got near enough to one another, the *Rhodian* sent one of his officers in his long-boat to summon him to surrender; to which the *Saracen* haughtily answered, that the vessel belonged to the Sultan his master; that he had had it several years under his command, and had never before met with, in any of those seas, an enemy bold enough to send him such a challenge; that he had on board a vast multitude of brave *Moslems*, who would hazard their lives in defence of it. *Gastineau*, having received this answer, dispatched the officer back with this reply; that he was likewise commanded by

A rich carack taken by the Rhodians.

* Vide auct. supra citat.

his grand master to come thither and attack him at all hazards, and he was obliged in honour to obey; and that if he did not immediately surrender, he would either burn or sink him without any further ceremony; but that if he yielded, he would give them quarter. The *Saracen*, affronted at this second message, bid him go back; and threatened him, that if he came again on that errand, he would order him to be thrown into the sea.

THE *Rhodian* commander, by all these intermessages, only meant to amuse him till he had got him within cannon-shot, by which time he gave the carack a broadside with his cartridge guns, which, among other mischief, killed the *Saracen* commander; at which the merchants, officers, and all that were upon deck, were so dismayed, that they made a signal to surrender before he could tack about to give them a second. The *Rhodian* knight ordered the most considerable of them to come into his galley, whilst he sent a sufficient number of his soldiers and mariners into the carack to take care of her. When they came to examine her cargo, they found it immensely rich; for, besides the merchandize she was freighted with, she carried a large quantity of money, gold, silver, jewels, &c. to redeem which, as well as his own subjects, the sultan sent an equivalent in spices, rich stuffs, and other valuable commodities. Not long after this the *Rhodian* gallies made a considerable new prize, near the isle of *Cyprus*, of three *Saracen* merchant-men, which were sent with their lading into *France*, and there exchanged for cannon, arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores^a.

The sultan of Egypt's fleet defeated. ALL this while the subjects of *Gauri Compsen*, sultan of *Egypt*, had been cutting down timber in the woods adjacent to the bay of *Ajazzo*, in order to build therewith a new fleet of ships, as we lately hinted. As soon, therefore, as he was informed of their being ready for his purpose, he sent out a fleet, consisting of twenty-five vessels of different bulks, to fetch them away. The grand master was soon informed of their arrival in that bay; and, with the advice of his council, dispatched the great carack, attended by four gallies, to go and attack them; and as the designed *Egyptian* armament was partly intended against the king of *Portugal*, the *Rhodian* gallies were put under the command of a knight of that nation, named *Andrew Amaral*, a gentleman bold and brave indeed, but proud and confident. The rest of the vessels were committed to the care of *Villiers de Pijé Adam*, since grand master, a knight not inferior to him in courage,

^a BAUDOIN, l. vii. c. 2. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 222, & seq.

but

but more cool and circumspect. But when both were joined at the place of rendezvous, at the cape of *St. Andrew*, on the east coast of *Cyprus*, the *Portuguese* admiral was for going to attack the enemy in the very bottom of the bay, and the other for staying till their vessels were laden, and got in full sail. The contest would have risen to a dangerous height, if the latter had not yielded to the former, and set sail with him to the gulph. The *Saracen* commander no sooner espied them entering, than he caused all the men that were on shore to come on board, and sailed away to meet them; but the *Rhodians*, having got much better pilots with them, had gained the wind of the enemy before the onset began. It proved a very fierce one on both sides during the space of three whole hours, till the *Rhodians*, vexed at the obstinate opposition of the enemy, as well as the loss of so many of their own ships and men, agreed to board them at once; which was done with such vigour and bravery, that the *Saracens*, no-way equal to them in this close way of fighting, abandoned their vessels, by throwing themselves, some into their long-boats, and others into the sea, and happy were they that could gain the shore, where they sought for shelter in the woods. The admiral was the only one that dared to stand his ground, and preferred dying sword in hand to a shameful flight. The result was, that the *Rhodians* took 11 sail, and four gallies, and sunk all the rest. They next landed some forces to pursue the fugitives, many of whom they killed and took prisoners; after which, they fell to ravaging the country about, from whence they brought some considerable plunder before they left the bay. With all these prizes they set sail for *Rhodes*, and entered the harbour with the usual signals of joy, and a booty which sufficiently repaid all the expence of that expedition ^b. The grand master ordered great rejoicings to be made both in the city and islands, and dispatched the news of it to the several courts of *Europe*, and all the priories of the order, intreating the one, and enjoining the other, to send him fresh supplies of men, money, and arms, with all speed, there being so much cause to suppose that the sultan would not let such an affront go long unrevengeed.

THE grand master employed the short remainder of his life in repairing the fortifications under his government, and died on the 13th of *November*, in the 78th year of his age, *Death of* and the 8th of his grand mastership. He was succeeded by the grand *Guy de Blanche-Court*, nephew to the late *Peter d'Aubusson*, master.

^b *Auct. sup. citat. & seq.*

40. **Gay de Blanche-Court,** 1512. grand prior of *Auvergne*, to whose custody the unfortunate *Zizim* had been committed upon his going for *France*. Whilst the news of his election were hastening thither to him, the chapter received a bull from pope *Julius II.* now in the chair, and a person of most ambitious views, inviting them to assist at the council of *Lateran*, the guard of which he designed to commit to them. But they, being well apprised how little religion was concerned in the measures of that pontif, excused themselves from complying during the absence of the grand master, and only ordered their admiral *Caretti*, then residing at the court of *Rome*, to convoke as many knights as he could in *Italy* to perform that office under his command. Neither was this a proper time for the head of the order to be attending the pope and council, when they were threatened with a powerful invasion from the *Porte*; so that *Caretti*, instead of staying to attend the council, obtained leave of the pope to repair with his knights to *Rhodes* with all possible speed, carrying thither two vessels laden with corn.

THE grand master, on his part, being likewise apprised of *Bajazet's* vast armament, made all the haste he could to reach the island, though at that time dangerously ill, inso-much that the knights, who embarked with him at *Nice*, finding him to grow still worse, would have persuaded him to land in *Sicily*, and stay there till he was recovered; which he utterly refused, and expired by that time they were come to the height of the isle of *Zanthus*. When he found his last moments approaching, his first care was to have a caravel to row to *Rhodes* with all possible speed, to carry the news of his death before the court of *Rome* could have notice of it, lest the pope should take upon him to appoint him a succes-

The grand master dies in his way to Rhodes.

1513.

24. **Fabrizius Caretti.**

for *. He died on the 24th of *November*, and the vessel arrived at *Rhodes* on the 13th of *December*, and on the very next day the chapter proceeded to a new election, in which the choice fell unanimously on *Fabrizius Caretti*, lately mentioned, a gentleman who had greatly signalized himself in the last siege of *Rhodes*, and to whom the great *d'Aubusson* had in some measure foretold his advancement to that dignity.

His first care, after his election, was to assemble a general chapter in the island, in order to make all the possible preparations for the approaching siege; soon after which, he caused an extraordinary train of artillery to be brought from *France*, whither he had sent the grand prior *Philip*

* BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vii. c. 8. VERTOT, l. viii. t. iii. p. 233, & seq.

C.7. *The History of Maltha.*

Vikars de Pisse Adam, as his lieutenant and visitor in that kingdom. The war with which they were threatened was however suspended for some time, through the dissensions which happened among *Bajazet's* sons, of which we have given a full account elsewhere. *Selim*, his youngest, having got the power into his hands by the murder of his two brothers, carried his arms into *Persia* with such success and valour, that the sophi was obliged to make an alliance with several other powers, and in particular with the grand master and the sultan of *Egypt*, to both of whom *Selim* was become equally formidable. The consequence of which league was, that *Selim*, after several vain attempts to bring the latter off, bent his whole force against *Egypt*, and in less than four years made himself master of *Syria*, *Palestine*, part of *Arabia*, and the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, by which a final end was put to the *Mamluc* dynasty.

THE grand master soon received intelligence of the naval *Selim's* preparations which *Selim* was now making, and rightly ^{prepara-} judged that they were designed against *Rhodes*, they consist- ^{tions} ing of no less than two hundred galleys, which he ordered ^{against} to be equipped with all expedition. As he had, at his election, accepted of the sole management of the treasury, he spared no cost to put himself in the best posture of defence. He added some new fortifications to the city and haven, filled his arsenals and magazines, and took all other proper precautions against the enemy. But whilst he was thus employed, a *Jew*, whom *Selim* had hired for his purpose, and who, to put himself in a more effectual condition to serve him, had turned Christian, and been baptized at *Rhodes*, was sending him the news of every thing that was done there, and of all the weak places in the island, which, by his insinuation with the most considerable persons of the city, he had frequent opportunities to examine.

In the mean time *Selim* died, and was succeeded by his ^{His death,} only son *Soliman II.* then scarcely 20 years of age, which ^{1520.} gave an encouragement to *Gazello*, governor of *Syria*, to revolt from him. As he was in great want of some artillery, he had recourse to the grand master for a supply; to which *Caretti* readily consented, and sent him a great quantity of powder, ball, and other ammunition, together with some of his expertest engineers, of all which he made singular good use at the head of his *Mamlucs*, till, being at last overpowered by numbers, he lost at once the battle and his life. *Soliman's* ministers, after this victory, failed not to exasperate

Soliman
de-clar.s
war
against
Rhodes.

rate him against the *Rhodians*, who, they told him, had assisted that rebel with artillery and ammunition, were sworn enemies to the *Porte*, and held a vast number of his bravest subjects in chains. But what chiefly determined that prince to declare war against *Rhodes*, was, the instructions which his father had left him in writing; among which was found an exact account of the state of the island, as it had been communicated to him by the *Jewish* spy lately mentioned.

Caretti
dies.

WHILST, therefore, he was making all these vast preparations against the grand master, the latter was no less diligent in providing all things for a vigorous defence; and, as he had taken care betimes to secure the assistance of the pope, and some other Christian powers, so he gladly saw arrive at his port three galleys well armed from the pontif, nine from *France*, together with four brigantines, and as many armed barks, under the command of the baron *Blancard*, which sailed away, however, homewards, soon after, upon the news that *Soliman* was going to besiege *Belgrade*. We have elsewhere spoken of that siege, and the loss of that important place; which, whilst it was carrying on with the utmost fury, was attended with the death of the grand master, who, worn out with age and fatigues, and now with concern and grief, departed this life on the 10th of *January*, in the beginning of the 8th year of his government. The present state of affairs obliging the order to proceed with all diligence to the election of a successor, to which there appeared a greater number of competitors than usual, the choice would in all likelihood have fallen on *Andrea d'Amarald*, grand chancellor of the order, and prior of *Castile*, a person in all other respects well qualified for that dignity, had not his assuming behaviour on that occasion quite disgusted the electors, and induced them to give the preference to *Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam*, a person of great merit, and at that time absent from *Rhodes*. The applause which the rest of the order gave to his election threw the haughty *Amarald* into such excess of resentment, that he could not forbear telling a *Spanish* knight, his intimate, that *L'Isle Adam* would be the last grand master of *Rhodes*; as he really proved, through the vindictive perfidy and baseness of that exasperated *Spaniard*. The method that traitor took to perpetrate his most hellish design, as *Besio* informs us^h, was as follows:

42. Villiers de l'Isle Adam.
D'Amarald's resentment and perfidy.

HAVING secured a young *Turkish* slave to his interest, under the hopes of regaining his liberty, he sent him privately to

^h Hist. de Malt. BAUDOUIN, lib. ix. cap. 1. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 254, & seq.

Constantinople, with a letter to the grand signor, in which he gave him the most minute account of the condition of *Rhodes*, with respect to its fortifications, arms, garrison, provisions, &c. to all which he added, that the order was just then going to pull down the bastion of *Auvergne*, in order to have it rebuilt upon a former foundation; so that now was his time for executing his design upon that city, seeing he would find it quite uncovered and defenceless on that side. The sultan was still in *Hungary*, so that the young Turk was obliged to deliver his packet to the prime minister, who caused it to be dispatched to his master. *Soliman*, beyond measure pleased to find so powerful a privileged spy offering him his services, sent back his slave with the highest promises of gratitude. His treacherous master, to avoid all suspicion, gave out, that he was come back with the price of his ransom, and caressed him after such a strange manner, as gave great uneasiness to some of his order, who yet dared not let it break out for fear of his resentment, especially as the grand master was not yet arrived from *France*, where he had been procuring all the succours he could get against the approaching war.

He went at length on board the great carack of the order, which waited for him at *Marseilles*, when, thro' the carelessness of some of his servants, the vessel took fire soon after, and burnt with such vehemence, that the sails, cordage, &c. were all consumed, and nothing was talked of but abandoning it, and getting into some of the other vessels of his retinue. This was however forbidden under pain of death, and his orders so strictly obeyed, that the fire was soon after quite extinguished, and the ship preserved by those who were for abandoning it; This disaster was quickly followed by a more dreadful and irresistible one, viz. a flash of lightning which fell into the stern room, killed nine of his men, and shattered his sword in pieces without hurting the scabbard; which, by those of the meaner sort, was interpreted as a very threatening omen to the order, and obliged him to stay at *Syracuse* till his carack was refitted. In the mean time news were brought to him there, that the famous *Curtogli*, a favourite corsair of the grand signor, lay in wait for him at the head of a powerful squadron. Great endeavours were used to dissuade the grand master from encountering so powerful and successful an enemy; he proved deaf to all their intreaties, and ordered his small fleet to make all the sail they could. They saw the enemy waiting for them at cape *St. Angelo*, and passed by them in the dead of the night,
and

The grand master arrives at Rhodes. and arrived safely at *Rhodes*, where his presence gave a kind of new life to the order¹.

SOLIMAN, having by this time made himself master of *Belgrade*, and being resolved to follow his father's scheme of making his next attack on *Rhodes*, in order to put an end to their continual ravages at sea, and to all their future attempts on the *Holy Land*, had made all the necessary preparations for that siege, and appointed the several officers who were to command in it, when his ambassador arrived at *Rhodes* to congratulate the new grand master, and brought the following letter to him :

Soliman's letter and embassy to him. "SOLTAN Soliman, by the grace of God, king of kings,
" &c.
" To Philip Villiers de l'isle Adam, grand master of *Rhodes*,
" greeting :

" WE congratulate thee on thy new dignity, and safe arrival in thy dominions. I wish thou mayest reign in them even with more glory than thy predecessors. Thou hast it in thy power to share in our good-will, and to enjoy the effects of our friendship. As a friend, therefore, to us, be not one of the last in congratulating us upon our conquests in *Hungary*, and particularly on our reduction of the important city of *Belgrade*, where we have caused all our opposers to be put to the sword. Adieu,
" From our camp," &c.

THIS letter having been read in council, the grand master returned an answer to it, to this effect :

" Philip Villiers de l'isle Adam, grand master of *Rhodes*,

" To Soliman, sultan of the Turks :

His answer.

" I THOROUGHLY comprehend the meaning of the letter which thy ambassador hath brought to me. Thy proposals of a peace between us are as welcome to me as they will be to thy corsair *Curtogli*, who, in my passage hither from *France*, hath left no means untried to surprise me ; but, having missed his aim, and being unwilling to abandon these seas before he had done us some damage, he hath failed into the mouth of the *Lycia*, and attempted to carry off two merchant-men which were bound from our ports. He had even fallen foul upon a *Candian* bark, but

¹ BOSIO, tom. ii. l. xviii. p. 625. BAUDOUN, lib. viii. c. 11. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 256, & seq.

"was forced, by the gallies which I dispatched after him, to
 "let it go, and to betake himself to a speedy flight, to avoid
 "falling into their hands. Farewell.

"Given at *Rhodes*," &c.

THIS letter was sent, not by an ambassador, or person of rank, who might have been detained prisoner at the *Porte*, the *Turks* not being very scrupulous observers of the laws of nations, but by a private inhabitant of *Rhodes*. This sufficed, however, to let the sultan know what a brave and resolute order he had to do with; but as it did not answer his purpose, *Pyrrus*, an old experienced basha, advised the council to send the grand master word, that they had not dared to shew his letter to *Soliman*, on account of the meanness of the person that brought it; but that if he was inclined to listen to his peaceful proposals, it might be speedily brought to a conclusion, if he sent some proper person of the order ambassador to him. The view of that artful minister was in all likelihood to have extorted by that means a more perfect knowledge of the state and strength of that city from him; for which reason that proposal was rejected.

It was not long before another messenger arrived at *Rhodes*, with a new letter from that monarch, but in a very different stile, and little short of a declaration of war; it was to this effect:

"I AM well assured that the letter which our highness
 "sent to thee came into thy hands, and that it hath given *His second*
 "thee more uneasiness than pleasure: assure thyself, that I *and threas-*
 "am far from sitting still with the reduction of *Belgrade,* *ening let-*
 "and that I have another in view no less considerable and *ter to him.*
 "important, of which thou wilt be apprised in a little
 "while, thou and thy knights being seldom out of my
 "thoughts."

To this the grand master answered in words to this effect: *His brave*
answer to
it.

"I AM not at all displeased that thou bearest me and my
 "order in thy mind. Thou tellest me of thy conquest in
 "*Hungary*, and of another which thou designest to make
 "elsewhere, in which thou promisest thyself an equal suc-
 "cess; but consider seriously, that of all the projects which
 "men are apt to form, none are more uncertain than those
 "which depend on the fortune of war. Adieu."

To

To this he added a private one to *Pyrrus*, assuring him, that if his master entertained any pacific views, he would not delay sending one of the order on an embassy to the *Porte*, as soon as he was provided from thence with proper hostages, or a safe conduct signed with the imperial seal: but the next news he heard from thence was, that they had seized a brigantine belonging to the order, which he looked upon as a sufficient declaration of war, and set about making the most proper preparations against it, by furnishing the city with all kinds of necessaries, particularly by laying up vast quantities of wheat, wine, and oil, from *Naples* and *Sicily*, and causing all the grain and forage to be gathered in, that the enemy might have nothing to subsist on but what they brought ^k.

D'Amaral's treachery.

HERE again the treacherous chancellor betrayed his perfidy, by opposing all these wise precautions, under divers pretences, such as parsimony, and the danger of exhausting the public treasure, by buying up such quantities of stores before they were sure of their being wanted; and by endeavouring to persuade the council, that *Soliman* would never have sent such a threatening letter, if his vast armament had been really designed against *Rhodes*; though the letters which they had from their spies at the *Porte* assured them, that the siege of that capital was the only object of it. And happy it was that the grand master carried his point against him, or else they must have been reduced to the want of the most essential necessaries, by the vile means which this false brother took to elude all his precautions. Wine, in particular, so proper in a siege, was what *d'Amaral* took upon himself to provide, in such quantity as was agreed upon by the council; yet he was base enough to reject the offers of some merchants who engaged to bring him that supply in good time at a reasonable rate; and was still complaining, that the vain apprehensions which they frequently entertained of imaginary invasions from the *Turks* had proved more chargeable, and done more real damage to the order, than all their arms could have done; which obliged the grand master to send *Bosio* (a serving brother, and uncle to the knight of that name, so often quoted in this chapter) into *Candia* for ^l, who returned accordingly soon after with a considerable supply ^l. He was at the same time ordered to raise what recruits he could in that island; but finding that the governor had, out of fear of disobliging the grand signor, forbidden,

^k BOSIO, MEGISSER, BAUDOIN, VERTOT, VITRY, & al.
^l lid. ibid.

by sound of the trumpet, any *Candiot* listing in the *Rhodian* service, he was obliged to act more cautiously in it; yet, either with his connivance, or in spite of his vigilance, he not only got 500 into his gallies, under the disguise of merchants and sailors, but prevailed upon one *Gabriel Martinengo*, an *Gabriel* excellent engineer, whom the senate of *Brescia* had sent thither to take care of the fortifications, to go with him to *engo*, an *Rhodes*, and share in the glory of defending that place against the enemies of Christianity; and who proved afterwards, by his valour and skill, of excellent service to the order during the whole siege, as we shall see in the sequel ^{from Candia.}

UPON his arrival, the grand master, and the rest of the knights, being told by *Bajio* with what readiness he accepted of their invitation, and what dangers they had undergone in their flight from *Candia*, loaded him with caresses; and he soon after became so enamoured with their order, that he begged to be admitted, and was gladly received, into it. Immediately after this he had the superintendency of all the fortifications committed to him; and it was by his advice, as well as by his direction, that the ramparts were raised to a more convenient height, the gates defended by ravelins, new casemates built in the lanes of the bastions, and the counterescarp of the ditch, and other improvements were added, of a most exquisite contrivance to keep off an enemy, or crush him on his too near approach, which we have not room to enumerate.

WHILST these measures were carrying on, a new defection was hatched among the knights of the *Italian* tongue, whose preferments the pope (*Adrian VI.*) bestowed upon his favourites at *Rome*, whilst they were taken up in the defence of the island, on which account they begged leave to go into *Italy*, and lay their complaints before the pontif. As their request was altogether unreasonable at such a juncture, the treacherous *d'Amaraud*, who had perhaps the greatest hand in it, failed not to interpret the grand master's refusal as arbitrary and unjust, and as a mark of his disregard for the *Italians*, which deserved to be equally disregarded by them, especially as there was such probability that he raised these rumours of an approaching siege, merely that he might be at liberty to squander the public treasure as he thought fit among his *French* favourites. The poison worked just as he wished; and, without asking any further leave, they all withdrew to the isle of *Candia*, where they had soon after the mortification to hear that the grand master had got them to

• Vide auct. supra citat.

be publicly condemned as rebels and deserters, and to be degraded and erased out of the order. But as the defection of so many, otherwise brave, knights could not but be a sensible loss to it, some others were forthwith dispatched thither, to try all proper means to reduce them; and to let them know, that as their city would infallibly undergo a dreadful siege in a short time, all their other pretences would never prevent their flight being interpreted as a mark of cowardice. This quickly brought them back to the feet of the grand master, who, upon their submission, readily embraced and restored them to their dignity and respective posts.

*Success
from Eu-
rope de-
nied.*

*Prepara-
tions
against the
siege.*

THEIR return, and the desire they expressed to wipe off the stain of their defection by their future conduct, were the more acceptable to him and the whole order, as all his ambassies to the *European* powers for assistance had proved abortive; and they plainly perceived, that *Rhodes* was not likely to have any other defenders than those of the order. This induced him to make a general review of all his forces, which were found to consist of no more than 500 knights and about 4500 troops, besides a few companies of the *Rhodian* citizens, and the peasants of the island, who were appointed to serve as pioneers. As for the slaves, those who belonged to private persons were to be employed in the fortifications, whilst the *Rhodian* cruizers, who were all ordered home, were directed to shut themselves in the port, and to take the guard of it upon them. Besides these, the port was defended by a double chain, one of which went across the mouth of it, and the other extended itself from the tower or fort *St. Nicholas* to that of the *Mills*; and, in order to prevent the enemy's attempting the mole, as they had done in a former siege, a number of old vessels were sunk, laden with stones, at the mouth of the *Mandrake*. The bastions, walls, and ramparts, were likewise filled with artillery, fire-balls, large stones, and other warlike necessities, among which the provident master did not forget a miraculous statue of the *Virgin Mary*, which had been brought in a former siege from the chapel where it formerly stood, and placed upon the ramparts, and which he caused now to be fetched in solemn procession, and deposited in the church of *St. Mark*. We have dwelt the longer on these preparations (to which we might have added many other particulars of less moment, which the writers of that siege have thought worth recording) to shew, that nothing was neglected by the grand master to put that capital in the best condition of defence against so powerful an enemy.

WE come now to the fatal siege, in which *Soliman* spared neither stratagems nor forces ; for, being still doubtful about the intelligence which *d'Amarald* and the *Jewish* physician had given him, one of his first cares was, to be more effectually informed of the state of the city ; and, whilst the grand master was taken up in assigning to his knights their proper posts, the *Turks* were making frequent signals by their fires at night on the *Lycian* coasts, over-against *Rhodes* ; to reconnoitre which, a *Rhodian*, named *Jaxi*, who understood the *Turkish* tongue, was dispatched in a small pink, who, coming to them under pretence of inquiring after some merchant-men, was to get the best information he could concerning the enemy's fleet. *Jaxi* refusing to go on shore to them, unless they sent a proper hostage for his own security, a man richly dressed was forthwith sent into his ship ; but no sooner was he got to land, but they bound him hand and foot, and sent him with all expedition to *Constantinople*, where, after having stood against the vast promises of the sultan, he was put to the rack several days successively, till he expired under it, though not before they had extorted from him a full account of the strength and condition of the city, and particularly that the *Rhodian* forces consisted of no more than about 6000 men.

As soon as *Soliman* had received the particulars of his deposition, he sent orders to have every thing ready for a siege ; but, according to the rule which he had prescribed to himself, sent the grand master and knights of the order a declaration of war, in words to this effect : " The continual ravages which you commit against our faithful subjects, and the injury and affront which you thereby offer to our imperial majesty, oblige us to send you our express commands to deliver the island and fortress of *Rhodes* to us ; which if you readily consent to, I swear by the great Maker of heaven and earth, by the twenty-six thousand prophets, the four musaphi fallen down from heaven, and by our great prophet *Mohammed*, that you shall be permitted to quit the island, and the inhabitants to continue in it, without the least injury to either ; but if you delay obeying my orders, you will all be put to the sword by my invincible forces ; and all the bastions, towers, and edifices, levelled with the grass that grows at the foot of your fortifications ".

° FONTAN. Bel. Rhod. BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. ix. c. 1, & seq. VERTOT, t. iii. l. viii. p. 302, & seq. & al.

THIS chartel was followed soon after by the whole fleet, consisting of 400 sail, whilst the army is said to have amounted to 140,000 men, exclusive of 60,000 pioneers, brought from the mines on the frontiers of *Hungary*, *Servia*, &c. to serve at the siege. The council at first proposed the attack of the other islands before they came to that of *Rhodes*; but *Pyrrus*, alias *Peri*, the basha, who was the son of an expert renegado, and burnt with impatience to signalize himself on this occasion, resolved to lose no time about those islands, which would soon be reduced of course after the main one; and therefore proposed beginning immediately with the siege of the capital, which was unanimously agreed to. As soon as the grand master was assured of their design, he forthwith drew the greatest part of his forces out of those islands, to come and defend the city; and, that he might be more ready at hand to give his directions, he left his palace in the upper town, and came to reside near the church of *Our Lady of Victory*. The trenches were accordingly opened, and a stout battery raised against the place, which was soon after dismounted by the cannon of the besieged; and this was presently followed by frequent sallies, in which they killed great numbers of the enemy, and filled up their trenches again. The same efforts and opposition were daily repeated, in which the very janissaries themselves found such a superiority of skill and extraordinary bravery in the *Rhodian* knights, beyond what they expected or had ever tried, that they began to draw a bad omen from these unsuccessful beginnings, and to complain that they were brought thither to a slaughter-house instead of a regular siege, and where they had no other chance but that of death or slavery, instead of plunder and conquest. This was soon followed by a general mutiny, in which they shewed rather a singular contempt of their young general, than any regard to his orders; insomuch that he saw himself forced to apprise the sultan of it, and to assure him, that nothing but his immediate presence could prevent a general defection.

*A mutiny
in the
Turkish
army.*

*A female
slave's
horrid con-
spiracy.*

SUCH disagreeable news soon determined the sultan to go and command the siege in person, in spite of all the remonstrances of his other bashas; but whilst he was making all the haste imaginable to his army, a woman slave had formed such a hellish plot against the place, as might have proved more destructive to it than the united force of 100,000 janissaries; which was, to engage the slaves, who were in great number in the city, to set fire to it in several parts at once: she had moreover found means to acquaint the *Turkish* generals with

with her design, and the day and hour in which it was to be put in execution; but, by good providence, the plot was *Discovered*, when some of the principal slaves concerned in it, being put to the torture, disclosed all the particulars of *ed and punished.* that horrid treason. The woman who had been the contriver of it was the only one who bore the most exquisite torture, without making the least discovery. She was, however, condemned and hanged, upon the evidence of the rest, and the others drawn and quartered, and their limbs exposed, *in terrorem*, in different parts of the city. By this time *Soliman* having reached his camp, at the head of 15,000 of his best troops, which had accompanied him from *Lycia*, ordered the whole army to appear before him without arms or accoutrements, and caused them to be surrounded by those 15,000 men, whilst himself stood mounted on his imperial throne, elevated high enough to be seen and heard by them all. Then looking about on all sides, with eyes and a *Soliman's* countenance full of indignation, after a considerable silence, *speech to* made them a long and reproachful speech, the substance of *the mutineers.* which was to this effect: "I could never have thought that those from whom I expected the greatest services, could have betrayed their want of duty on an occasion which they well knew I had most at heart. It is now near 200 years since a famished handful of knights, driven out of their homes, have perched themselves in this island, and have subsisted there chiefly by the rapines which they have committed upon my subjects, thro' the neglect and indolence of my predecessors; and even now that all the Christian powers in *Europe* seek my friendship and protection, and dread the power of my arms, this one single city, situated in the heart of my empire, hath the boldness to resist me, to stop the progress of my victories, to interrupt my commerce, intercept my messengers, rob me of my tribute, and receive into her havens all the enemies of our faith, and all the apostates from it. Even now, when I send you my ungrateful subjects and slaves, who have reaped so many advantages, so much glory and rich plunder, under my government, to rid me of those miscreants, you dare not look them in the face; but because they have surprised the pioneers who opened the trenches before you, both janissaries and spahis, bred up under my standards, are afraid of returning the affront, to the shame and disgrace of my empire. What can I say to such base cowards, and betrayers of my glory? or what can you expect from me

"but the most dreadful strokes of my indignation and contempt?"

"HAD I been now to address myself to soldiers, I should have ordered you to appear armed before me; but since I am to speak to base degenerate poltroons, unable to bear even the mere shouts of an enemy, how can I suffer my arms to be dishonoured by you? I would gladly know whether, when you were sent against this island, you hoped to find those *Rhodian* knights still more pusillanimous than you, and that the dread of your arms would make them lay their own at your feet, and offer their hands and feet to the fetters you designed for them? Ignorant wretches! not to know that you were to encounter the choicest forces of Christendom, men naturally brave, and brought up from their tender years to the trade of arms; cruel and rapacious lions, thirsting for nothing so much as for the blood of the *Mohammedans*, and scorning to yield their haunt to any but a superior force. It was their valour which hath excited mine, and made me look upon them as a conquest worthy of my arms. But how can I expect it from such effeminate fugitives as you, who could flee even before you saw the enemy; and would ere now have turned deserters, had you not been hindered from it by the sea that surrounds you? But, to avoid such a shameful disgrace, I will now make such a severe example of those wretched cowards, as shall be a sufficient deterrent to the rest to follow their steps."

Pyrrus intercedes
for them.

They are
forgiven.

THIS dreadful speech was scarcely ended, before the 15,000 armed men had a signal to draw their scymitars, as if it had been to massacre the rest; upon which they all fell on their faces, crying out for mercy in the most doleful tone; whereupon *Peri*, or *Pyrrus*, and the other generals, approached the throne with the deepest respect, and interceded for them, as having till this time behaved with a laudable loyalty and bravery. After which, the sultan, who only sought to reduce them to their duty, was graciously pleased to tell that general, that at his request he would suspend their punishment, till they had earned their pardon by seeking it in the bastions and bulwarks of their enemies. This stratagem, and seeming severity, mixed with so much clemency, had such an effect upon them, that their greatest strife was, who should soonest be dispatched upon the most dangerous attempts; so that we may from that time more properly reckon the siege of *Rhodes* to have been begun than renewed⁹.

⁹ FONTAN. BOSIO, & al. ubi sup.

It was accordingly carried on with such diligence and Rhodes
 zeal, by the frequent relieving of the soldiery, that the
 trenches were brought quite close to the counterscarp, and
 a stout battery raised against the town, which made a
 constant fire against it, and yet did but as it were graze,
 rather than damage, the battlements of the walls, of which
Soliman failed not to be informed by his spy the Jew-
 ish physician. This traitor farther acquainted him, that
 the besiegers could see all that was done in his camp from
 the top of the steeple of *St. John*, from whence he was in
 danger of receiving some fatal shot, as he rode about to give
 his orders, if he did not forthwith plant a battery, and
 bring it down; which was done accordingly with success.
Soliman, however, finding the whole place in some measure
 covered with stout fortifications, of such height as to com-
 mand all his batteries, ordered immediately an immense
 quantity of stones and earth to be brought, in which so
 great a number of hands were employed night and day
 by turns, that they quickly raised a couple of hillocks, high
 enough to overtop the city-walls. They plied them accord-
 ingly with such a continual fire, that the grand master was
 obliged to cause them to be strongly propped within with earth
 and timber. All this while the besieged, who, from the
 top of the grand master's palace, could discover how their
 batteries were planted, demolished them with their cannon
 almost as fast as they raised them.

HERE they thought proper to alter their measures, and to *St. Nicho*²
 plant a strong one against the tower of *St. Nicholas*, which, ^{as tower} *as we observed in speaking of the former siege*, had resisted ^{battered in}
 all the efforts of the then grand vizier. This the *basia* of ^{vain.}
Romania caused to be battered with 12 large pieces of brass
 cannon, but had the mortification to see them all dismounted
 by those of the tower; to prevent which, he ordered them
 to be fired only in the night, and in the day had them co-
 vered with gabions and earth. This had such success, that,
 after some 500 cannon shot, the wall began to shake, and
 tumble into the ditch; but he was surprised to find another
 wall behind it, well terraced, and bordered with artillery,
 and himself obliged either to begin afresh, or give up that
 enterprise; and yet this last was what *Soliman* preferred, when
 he was told of its being built on a hard rock, incapable of
 being sapped, and how firmly it had held out against all the
 efforts of the vizier *Paleologus*. The next attack was there-
 fore ordered by him to be made against the bastions of the
 town, and that, with a vast number of the largest artillery,
 which continued firing during a whole month, so that the

new wall of the bastion of *England* was quite demolished, though the old one stood proof against all their shot. That of *Italy*, which was battered by 17 large pieces of cannon, was still worse damaged; upon which *Martinengo* advised the grand master, who was always at hand where the greatest danger was, to cause a sally to be made on the benches of the enemy, out of the breach, whilst he was making fresh entrenchments behind it. His advice succeeded; and the 200 men, that sallied out sword in hand, having surprised the *Turks* in the trench, cut most of them in pieces. At the same time a new detachment, which was sent to repulse them, being obliged, as that engineer rightly judged, to pass by a spot which lay open to their artillery, were likewise mostly destroyed by the continual fire that came from it, whilst the assailants were employed in filling up several fathoms of the trench before they retired. By that time the breach had been repaired with such new works, that all the efforts to mount it by assault proved equally ineffectual and destructive.

The Rhodians want powder, thro' d'Amarald's perfidy.

Make it with salt-petre.

UNFORTUNATELY for the besieged, the continual fire they had made caused such a consumption of their powder, that they began to feel the want of it; the perfidious *d'Amarald*, whose province it had been to visit the magazines of it, having amused the council with a false report, that there was more than a sufficient quantity to maintain the siege, though it should last a whole twelvemonth. But here the grand master found means to supply in some measure that unexpected defect, by the cautious provision he had made of a large quantity of salt-petre, which was immediately ground, and made into gunpowder, though he was at the same time obliged to order the engineers to be more sparing of it for the future, and to make use of it only in the defence of such breaches as the enemy should make. In the mean time the *Malta*, being informed that the peasants were employed by *Martinengo* in repairing those that were made on the ramparts, raised some cavaliers against them, on which he planted a great number of able marksmen, to shoot them with their arquebusses, against whom that engineer soon raised batteries of small cannon on the battlements of the houses, which made a much greater havock among them; but this did not recompense the loss of so many useful hands, the enemy being better able to bear the loss of 50 such than they that of one; so that they now began to fear they should not be able to hold out much longer, unless they received some considerable succours from *Europe*, or the hardness of the

the approaching winter obliged the enemy to retire from the island.

ALL this while the *Turks* had not gained an inch of ground; and the breaches they had made were so suddenly either repaired or defended by new entrenchments, that the very rubbish of them must be mounted by assault. *Soliman*, *Soliman* therefore, thought it now advisable to set his numerous orders for several miners at work, in five different parts, in digging of mines, mines to be dug; each of which led to the bastion opposite to it; some of which were countermined by a new-invented method of which are counter-min.d. *Martinez*, who, by the help of braced skins, or drums, could discover where the miners were at work. Some of these he perceived, which he caused to be opened, and the miners to be driven out by hand granadoes; others to be smothered or burned by setting fire to gunpowder; yet did not this hinder two considerable ones to be sprung, and doing a vast deal of damage to the bastion of *England*, by throwing down above six fathoms of the wall, and filling up the ditch with its rubbish; upon which the *Turks* immediately climbed up sword in hand to the top of it, and planted seven of their standards upon the parapet; but, being stopped by a traverse, the knights, recovered from their surprise, fell upon them with such fury, that they were obliged to abandon it with great loss. The grand master, who was then at church, quickly came to the place with his short pike in his hand, and attended by his knights, encouraging all he met with, burghers, soldiers, and others, to fight bravely in defence of their religion and country, and arrived time enough to assist in the taking down their standards, and driving down the enemy by the way they came up. In vain did the vizier *Mustapha* endeavour to prevent their flight, by killing some of the foremost with his sword, and driving the rest back; they were obliged to abandon the bastion, and, which was still worse, met with that death in their flight, which they strove to shun, from the fire-arms which were discharged upon them from the ramparts. Three sangiacs lost their lives in this attack, besides some thousands of the *Turks*; the grand master, on his side, lost some of his bravest knights, particularly his standard-bearer.

SEVERAL mines were again sprung at other bastions, which we have not room to mention, especially as the enemy reaped but little benefit by them. The attacks were almost daily renewed with the same ill success and loss of men,

* BOSIO, & al. sup. citat. BOURBON siege de Rhodes, p. 25. & seq.

A great
attack
made by
Pyrrus,

who is re-
pulsed.

every general striving to signalize himself in the sight of their emperor. At length the old general *Peri*, or *Pyrrus*, having harassed the troops which guarded the bastion of *Italy* for several days successively, without intermission, caused a strong detachment, which he had kept concealed behind a cavaleer, to mount the place by break of day, on the 13th of *September*, where, finding them overcome with sleep and fatigue, they cut the throats of the sentinels, and, sliding through the breach, were just going to fall upon them. The *Italians*, however, quickly recovered themselves and their arms, and gave them an obstinate repulse. The contest was fierce and bloody on both sides; and the basha, still supplying his own with new reinforcements, would hardly have failed of overpowering the other, had not the grand master, whom the alarm had quickly reached, timely intervened, and, by his presence, as well as example, revived his *Rhodians*, and thrown a sudden panic among the enemy. *Pyrrus*, desirous to do something to wipe off the disgrace of this repulse, tried his fortune next on an adjoining work, lately raised by the grand master *Carètti*, where his soldiers met with a still worse treatment, being almost overwhelmed with the hand-granadoes, melted pitch, and boiling oil, which came pouring upon them, whilst the forces which were on the adjacent flanks, made as great a slaughter of those that fled; insomuch that the janissaries began to resume their old murmuring tone, and cry out, that they were brought thither only to be slaughtered.

Mustapha
and Ach-
med make
separate
attacks
without
success.

THE grand vizier *Mustapha*, afraid lest their complaints should reach his master, agreed at length, as the last resort, to make a fresh attempt on the bastion of *England*, whilst, to cause a diversion, the basha *Achmed* sprung some fresh mines at an opposite part of the city. This was accordingly executed on the 17th of *September*, when the former, at the head of five battalions, resolutely mounted, or rather crept up, the breach, and, in spite of the fire of the *English*, advanced so far as to pitch some standards on the top; when, on a sudden, a croud of *English* knights, commanded by one *Bouk*, or *Durk*, sallied out of their entrenchments, and, assisted by some other officers of distinction, obliged them to retire, though in good order. *Mustapha*, provoked at it, led them back, and killed several knights with his own hand; and, had his men supported him as they ought, the place must have been yielded to him; but the fire which was made from the adjacent batteries and musquetry disconcerted them to such a degree, that neither threats nor entreaties could prevent their abandoning the enterprize, and dragging him

him away with them by main force. The *Rhodians* lost in that action several brave knights, both *English* and *German*, and, in particular, *John Burk*, their valiant commander; but the *Turks* lost above 3000 men, besides a good number of officers of distinction. Much the same ill success having attended *Achmed* with his mines, one of which had been opened, and the other only bringing some fathoms of the wall down, he was also obliged to retreat, his forces, tho' some of the very best, being forced to disperse themselves, after having borne the fire and fury of the *Spanish* and *Auvergnian* knights as long as they were able.

THREE days after this fresh advantage over the *Turks*, the *A Jewish Jewish* traitor, formerly mentioned, being caught shooting *spy* ^{discovered and} an arrow from the ramparts, with a letter of intelligence, over to the enemy, was seized; and, upon being put to the ^{put to} torture, confessed that he had been hired by the late sultan *Selim* to reside at *Rhodes* as his spy, and that this was the fifth letter he had sent over by the same way. He was immediately condemned to be broke upon the wheel, and died penitent, and in appearance a Christian, though probably with no other view than to save his life, or procure a milder sentence.

By this time the sultan, ashamed and exasperated at his ill success, called a general council, in which he made some stinging reflections on his vizier, for having represented the reduction of *Rhodes* as a very easy enterprize; to avoid the effects of whose resentment, the subtle *Mustapha* declared, that hitherto they had fought the enemy as it were upon equal terms, as if they had been afraid of taking an ungenerous advantage of their superiority, by which, said he, we have given them an opportunity of opposing us with their united force where-ever we attacked them. But let us now resolve upon a general assault on several sides of the town, and see what a poor defence their strength, thus divided, will be able to make against our united one. The advice ^{A general} was immediately approved by all, and the time appointed for ^{assault re-} the execution of it was on the 24th of that month, and ^{solved on.} every thing was ordered to be got ready against that day. The town was actually assaulted accordingly at four different parts, after having suffered a continual fire for some time from their artillery, in order to widen the breaches; by which the grand master easily understood their design, and that the bastions of *England* and *Spain*, the post of *Provence*, and terrace of *Italy*, were pitched upon for the assault, and took his precautions accordingly.

THE

Rhodes
 attacked in
 four places.

THE morning was no sooner come, than each party mounted their respective breach with an undaunted bravery; the young soltan, to animate them the more, having ordered his throne to be reared on an eminence, whence he could see all that was done. The *Rhodians*, on the other hand, were no less diligent in repulsing them with their cannon and other fire-arms, with their melted lead, boiling oil, sink-pots, and other usual expedients. The one side ascended the scaling ladders, fearless of all that oppose them; the other overturns their ladders, and sends them tumbling down headlong into the ditches, where they were overwhelmed with stones, or dispatched with darts and other missile weapons. The bastion of *England* proves the scene of the greatest slaughter and bloodshed, and the grand master makes that his post of honour, and, by his presence and example, inspires his men with fresh vigour and bravery, whilst the continual thunder of his artillery makes such horrid work among the assailants, as chills all their courage, and forces them to give way: the lieutenant-general, who commands the attack, leads them back with fresh vigour, mounts the breach at the head of all; immediately after comes a cannon ball from the *Spanish* bastion, which overturns him dead in to the ditch. This disaster, instead of fear and dread, fills them with a furious desire of revenging his death; but all their obstinacy cannot make the *Rhodians* go one step back, whilst the priests, monks, young men and old, and even women, of every rank and age (V), assist them with an uncon-

(V) The historians of this siege give us several instances of this female courage and zeal; we shall only mention one, which happened upon this very bastion, where a *Grecian* woman of singular beauty assisted, with other women, the knights that defended it, till she had seen her lover fall among the rest of the slain, after a most gallant defence; the sight of which so affected her, that she went to her two children she had with these pathetic words; *It is better for you, my dear children, to die by my hands, than by*

those of merciless infidels, or, which is infinitely worse, to be reserved for their most infamous pleasures.

This said, she killed them with a knife, and threw them into the fire; immediately after which she returns, puts on the cloaths of her lover, still reeking with his blood, girt his sword about her, ran into the thickest part of the combat, where she killed a *Turk*, wounded some others, and still kept fighting to the last moment of her life (28).

(28) *Vid. Jac. Fonten. de Rel. Rhod. l. ii. p. 159. edit. Frankfurt. Bask. Randon, l. ix. c. 8. Vertot, & al. ubi sup.*

more ardour and firmness, some in overwhelming the enemy with stones, others in destroying them with melted lead, sulphur, and other combustibles, and a third sort in supplying the combatants with bread, wine, and other refreshments.

THE assault was no less desperate and bloody on the bastion of *Spain*, where the knights, who guarded it, not expecting to be so soon attacked, and ashamed to stand idle, were assisting the bastion of *Italy*, which gave the *Turks* an opportunity to mount the breach, and penetrate as far as their intrenchments, where they planted no less than 30 of their standards on them. The grand master was quickly apprised of it, and ordered the bastion of *Antwerp* to play against them; which was done with such diligence, and such continual fire, whilst the *Rhodians* enter the bastion by the help of their casemates, and, sword in hand, fall upon them with equal fury; so that the *Turks*, alike beset by the fire of the artillery, and the arms of the *Rhodian* knights, were forced to abandon the place with a considerable loss. The aga with great bravery sallies them afresh, and brings them back, by which time the grand master likewise appeared. The fight was renewed with greater fierceness; and such slaughter was made on both sides, that the grand master was obliged to draw 200 men out of *S. Nicholas* tower to his assistance; these were commanded by some *Rhodian* knights, who led them on with such speed and bravery, that their very appearance on the bastion made the janissaries draw back, which *Soliman* observing from his eminence, caused a retreat to be sounded, to conceal the disgrace of their flight. In these attacks there fell about 15,000 of his best troops, besides several officers of distinction. The loss of the besieged was no less considerable, if we judge from the small number of their forces; but the greatest of all to them was that of some of their bravest and most distinguished knights and commanders, many of whom were killed, and scarce any escaped unwounded. But the most dreadful fate of all had like to have fallen on the favourite vizier *Mustapha*, who had proposed this general assault; the ill success of which had so enraged the proud sultan, that he condemned him to be shot with arrows at the head of his army; which dreadful sentence was just ready to be executed, when the old basha, by his intreaties, obtained a suspension of it, in hopes that, when

*A dreadful
ful-
brave-
work made
of the
Turks.*

* Vide FONTAN. de Bell. Rhod. lib. ii. edit. Francfort. Bo-
nio, & al. sup. citat. BOURGON, Siege de Rhodes, p. 30, &
seq. † Ibid. ibid.

his fury was abated, he should likewise obtain his pardon w.

Soliman
renews the
attack.

SOLIMAN, however, was so discouraged by his ill success, that he was on the point of raising the siege; and would have actually done so, had he not been diverted from it by the advice which he received from an *Albanian* deserter, some say by a letter from the traitor *d' Amarald*, that the far greater part of the knights were either killed or wounded, and those that remained altogether incapable of sustaining a fresh assault. This having determined him to try his fortune once more, the command of his forces was turned over to the basha *Achmed*; and, to shew that he designed not to stir till he was master of the place, he ordered a house to be built on the adjacent mount *Philermo*, for his winter quarters. *Achmed* marched directly against the bastion of *Spain*, which had suffered the most, where, before he could open the trenches, his men fell thick and threefold by the constant fire both of small and great guns from the bastion of *Auvergne*. He lost still a much greater number in rearing a rampart of earth to cover the attack, and give him an opportunity of fapping the wall; and, as soon as he saw a large piece fall, ordered his men to mount the breach. They were no sooner come to the top but they found a new work, and entrenchments which *Martinengo* had reared; and there they were welcomed with such a brisk fire from the artillery, that they were glad to recover their trenches with the utmost precipitation, and after having lost the much greater part of their men. The attack was renewed, and a reciprocal fire continued with great obstinacy, till a musquet-shot deprived that indefatigable engineer of one of his eyes, and the order of his assiduous services for some time. The grand master, having ordered him to be carried to his palace, took his place, and kept it till he was quite cured, which was not till 34 days after, and continued all the time in the intrenchments with his handful of knights, scarcely allowing himself rest night or day, and ever ready to expose himself to the greatest dangers, with an ardour more becoming a junior officer than an old worn-out sovereign, which made his knights more lavish of their own lives than their paucity and present circumstances could well admit of.

Martin-
engo shot
in the eye.

THIS bastion being almost ruined and lost, *Achmed* pursued his attacks on those of *England*, *Provence*, and *Italy*, with equal vigour and loss, meeting every-where with the same obstinate opposition from the few surviving knights,

▼ *Auct. supra citat*

who

who now sought for a glorious death, being quite exhausted with fatigue, and too much overpowered by numbers to hope to drive the enemy away; yet were they, even in this very extremity, timely succoured by the grand prior of *Naxos*, who with his troop renewed the combat, and forced once more the *Turks* to retire with considerable loss. These continual repulses would most probably have discouraged the proud sultan from going farther, had he not received constant advices from the traitor *d'Amarald*, of the dreadful condition to which the place and garrison were reduced, without being so much as suspected of so horrid a treason. But *d'Amarald* about this time a servant and confidant of his, being obliged to shoot an arrow with a billet over to the enemy, was forthwith seized and brought before the council, where his *treason* *discovers*. *discovers*. His illusory and contradictory answers having increased their suspicion, he was immediately applied to the torture, where he confessed that he had sent frequent advices to the enemy, by the same way, of the weakest and most proper places for them to attack; and added, that he acquainted them, in his last letter, of the small number of knights that were left, and that they began to be in want of powder, ball, and other warlike stores, as well as of all kinds of provisions for the mouth; notwithstanding which, the sultan must not expect the grand master to surrender the place till he was reduced to it by force of arms. *D'Amarald* was forthwith seized, and confined to the tower of *St. Nicholas*, where his servant's deposition was read to him; and soon after at his public trial, where he was charged with the whole treason by him, and accused as the person by whose order and direction he had acted what he did. Several other corroborating evidences also appeared against him, which confirmed the servant's deposition, and, among other things, his formerly saying, that *Isle Adam would be the last grand master of Rhodes*. All this he eluded with the utmost confidence; and, when he was himself put to the torture, endured it with most surprising constancy, and without owning any part of the accusation, except what he had said at the election of the grand master, which he pretended was spoken partly out of resentment at seeing him preferred to himself, and partly out of diffidence of his competitor's martial capacity. This did not hinder his and his servant's being adjudged guilty, and condemned to death, him to be degraded, and stripped of the habit of the order, and his servant to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

THE sentence was accordingly executed, first on the domestic, and on the day following on the master, who was carried

carried in a chair, on the 5th of *November*, to the place of execution, and beheld the whole apparatus of his death with surprizing unconcern, and a constancy which made many people believe him innocent; and yet *Fontanus*, an author often quoted in this section, who was not only cotemporary and an eye-witness, but one of the judges, plainly intimates, that he was guilty (W); in which he perfectly agrees with other writers of that time, particularly with *Peter Gemellina del Campo*, the commander, *Bourbon*, and others, who were then at *Rhodes*. But, whatever some people may have inferred from his constancy, it is plain that he shewed in these last moments as little sign of devotion or religion as he did of repentance, and died more like an abandoned traitor than a suffering innocent *.

The dismal condition of Rhodes. By this time *Rhodes* was reduced to the last extremity; the pope, emperor, and other crowned heads, had been long and often importuned by the grand master for speedy assistance without success; and, as an addition to all the other disasters, those succours which were sent to him from *France* and *England* perished at sea. The new supply which he had sent for of provisions from *Candia* had the same ill fate; so that the winds, seas, and every thing, seemed combined to bring on the destruction of that city and order. The only resource which could be thought on, under so dismal a situation, was, to send for the few remaining knights and forces which were left to guard the other islands, to come to the defence of their capital, in hopes that, if they could save this, the others might in time be recovered, in case the *Turks* should seize upon them. On the other hand, *Soliman*, grown impatient at the small ground his general had gained, gave him express orders to renew the general attack with all

* BOSIO, GEMEL. DEL CAMPO Hist. Rhod. FONTAN. ubi sup. BAUDOUIN, l. ix. c. 8. VERTOT, t. ii. l. iii. p. 355, & seq. & al.

(W) We say intimates, because, in the account which he gives of his trial and execution, he only says, without naming him, that God had reserved the last person of the triumvirate for a more shameful death, and such as he had richly deserved; alluding, doubtless, to his having been one of the three knights who were appointed to see the magazines well stored for the siege; which trust, as we have elsewhere shewn, he had most shamefully betrayed, both with respect to the warlike provisions and those for the mouth (29).

(29) Fontan. ubi sup. Pet. Gemel. del Campo. Bourbon, Bauduin, & al.
imaginable

imaginable speed and vigour, before the succours, which he apprehended were coming from *Europe*, obliged him to raise the siege. *Achmed* instantly obeyed, and raised a battery of 17 large cannon against the bastion of *Italy*, and quickly after made himself master of it, and obliged the garrison to retire farther into the city. Here the grand master was forced to demolish two of the churches, to prevent the enemy's seizing on them, and, with their materials, caused some new works and entrenchments to be made, to hinder their proceeding farther.

THE *Turks*, however, gained ground every day, though they still lost vast numbers of their men: at length the 30th of *November* came, when the grand master, and both the besiegers and besieged, thought the last assault was to be given. The basha *Pyrrus*, who commanded it, led his men directly to the intrenchments, upon which the bells of all the churches sounded the alarm. The grand master, and his few knights, troops, and citizens, ran in crouds, and in a confused disorderly manner, to the intrenchments, each fighting in his own way, or rather as his fear directed him. This attack would have proved one of the most desperate that had yet been felt, had not a most vehement rain intervened, which carried away all the earth which the enemy had reared to serve them as a rampart against the artillery of the bastion of *Auvergne*; so that being now quite exposed to their continual fire, they fell in such great numbers, that the basha repulsed could no longer make them stand their ground, but all precipitately fled towards their camp. This last repulse threw *The Turks* *repulsed* *with great* *loss.* the proud sultan into such a fury, that none of his officers dared to come near him; and the shame of his having now spent near six whole months with such a numerous army before the place, and having lost such myriads of his brave troops with so little advantage, had made him quite desperate, and they all dreaded the consequences of his resentment.

PYRRUS at length, having given it time to cool, ventured to approach him, and propose a new project to him, which, approved, could hardly fail of success; which was, to offer the town a generous capitulation; adding, that in case the stubborn knights should reject it, yet being now reduced to so small a number, as well as their forces and fortifications almost destroyed, the citizens, who were most of them *Greeks*, and less ambitious of glory than solicitous for their own preservation, would undoubtedly accept of any composition that should secure to them their lives and effects.

THIS

A capitulation offered to the Rhodians.

The grand master refuses to treat.

THIS proposal being relished by the soltan, letters were immediately dispersed about the city in his name, exhorting them to submit to his government; and threatening them at the same time with the most dreadful effects of his resentment, if they persisted in their obstinacy. *Pyrrus* likewise dispatched a *Genoise* to approach as near as he could to the bastion of *Auvergne*, and to intreat the knights to take pity of so many of their Christian brethren, and not expose them to the dreadful effects which must follow their refusal of a capitulation, so generously offered them at their last extremity. Other agents were likewise employed in other places, to all of whom the grand master ordered some of his men to return this answer: That his order never treated with infidels, but with sword in hand. An *Albanian* was sent next with a letter from the soltan to him, who met with the same repulse; after which, he ordered his men to fire upon any that should present themselves upon the same pretence, which was actually done. But this did not prevent the *Rhodians*, from listening to the terms offered by the *Turks*, and holding frequent cabals upon that subject, in which the general massacre of a town taken by assault, the dreadful slavery of those that escaped, the rape of their wives and daughters, the destruction of their churches, the profanation of their holy relics and sacred utensils, and other dire consequences of an obstinate refusal, being duly weighed against the soltan's offers, quickly determined them which party to take. The grand master, however, proving inexorable to all their intreaties, they applied to their *Greek* metropolitan, who readily went and represented all these things to him in the most pathetic terms, yet met with no better reception; but was told, that he and his knights were determined to be buried under the ruins of the city, if their swords could no longer defend it, and he hoped their example would not permit them to shew less courage on that occasion. This answer produced a quite contrary effect; and, as the citizens thought delays dangerous at such a juncture, they came in a body to him by the very next morning, and plainly told him, that, if he paid no greater regard to their preservation, they would not fail of taking the most proper measures to preserve the lives and chastity of their wives and children *.

THIS resolution could not but greatly alarm the grand master; who thereupon called a council of all the knights, and informed them himself of the condition of the place;

* BOSIO, FONTAN. BOURLEON, BAUDOIN, VERTOT, & al. *ubi sup.*

who all agreed, particularly the engineer *Martinengo*, that it was no longer defensible, and no other resource left but to accept the sultan's offers; to which all the rest unanimously agreed; adding at the same time, that though they were all ready, according to the obligations of their order, to fight to the last drop of their blood, yet it was no less their duty to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, who, not being bound by the same obligations, ought not to be made a sacrifice to their glory. It was therefore agreed, with the grand master's consent, to accept of the next offers the sultan should make. He did not let them wait long; for the fear he was in of a fresh succour from *Europe*, the intrepidity of the knights, and the shame of being forced to raise the siege, prevailed upon him to hang out his pacific flag, which was quickly answered by another on the *Rhodian* side; upon which the *Turks*, coming out of their trenches, delivered up the sultan's letter for the grand master, to the grand prior of *St. Giles*, and the engineer *Martinengo*. The terms offered in it by *Soliman* appeared so advantageous, that they immediately exchanged hostages, and the knights that were sent to him had the honour to be introduced to him, and to hear them confirmed by his own mouth, though not without threats of putting all to fire and sword in case of refusal, or even delay. Two ambassadors were forthwith sent to him, to demand a truce of three days, to settle the capitulation, and interests of the inhabitants, who were part *Greeks*, and part *Latins*; but this was absolutely refused by the impatient monarch, out of a suspicion of the rumoured succour being near, and that the truce was only to gain time till it was come.

He therefore ordered the hostilities to be renewed with fresh fury, in which the *Rhodians* made a most noble defence, considering their small number, and that they had now only the barbican, or false bray of the bastion of *Spain*, left to defend themselves in, and once more repulsed the enemy; at which the sultan was so enraged, that he resolved to overpower them by numbers on the next day; which was, after a stout defence, so effectually done, that they were forced to abandon that outwork, and retire into the city. In the mean while the burghers, who had but a day or two before raised a fresh uproar against the grand master, under pretence that he was going to give them up a prey to an infidel who regarded neither oaths nor solemn treaties, perceiving their own danger, came now to desire him to renew the negotiations, and only begged the liberty of sending one of their deputies along with his, to secure their interests in the

capitulation. He readily consented to it; but gave them a charge to shew the basha *Achmed* the treaty formerly concluded between *Bajazet* and his predecessor *d'Aubusson*, in which the former had entailed a dreadful curse on any of his successors that should infringe it. This was done, in hopes that the shewing it to his master, who valued himself so much upon his strict observance of his law, might produce some qualm in him which might lengthen the agreement, for they were still as much in hopes of a succour from *Europe* as he was in fear of it; but, to their great surprise, *Achmed* had no sooner perused than he tore it all in pieces, trampled it under his feet, and in a rage ordered them to be gone. The grand master found no other resource than to send them back to him by the next day; when that minister, who knew his master's impatience to have the affair concluded, quickly agreed with them upon the terms, which were in substance as follows:

The negotiation resumed.

Articles of capitulation.

1. THAT the churches should not be profaned.
2. THAT the inhabitants should not be forced to part with their children, to be made janissaries.
3. THAT they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion.
4. THAT they should be free from taxes during five years.
5. THAT those who had a mind to leave the island, should have free leave to do so.
6. THAT if the grand master and his knights had not a sufficient number of vessels to transport themselves and their effects into *Candia*, the sultan should supply that defect.
7. THAT they should have 12 days allowed them, from the signing of the articles, to send all their effects on board.
8. THAT they should have the liberty of carrying away their relics, chalices, and other sacred utensils, belonging to the great church of *St. John*, together with all their ornaments, and other effects.
9. THAT they should likewise carry with them all the artillery with which they were wont to arm the galleys of the order.
10. THAT all the islands belonging to it, together with the castle of *St. Peter*, should be delivered up to the *Turks*.
11. THAT, for the more easy execution of these articles, the *Turkish* army should be removed at some miles distance from the capital.

12. THAT

12. THAT the aga of the janissaries, at the head of 4000 of his men, should be allowed to go and take possession of the place.

THESE articles were hardly signed and sealed by both sides, before a numerous fleet was perceived making all the sail they could towards the island, and was immediately supposed by both parties to be that which had been so long expected from *Europe*; but, upon their nearer approach, they proved to be a *Turkish* armament, with a fresh reinforcement of troops, which the sultan had purposely sent for from *Persia* to relieve those who were quite spent with the fatigues of so long and bloody a siege. Had these arrived a few days sooner, the sultan would not in all probability have granted the besiegers such a favourable capitulation. These articles, however, did not prevent the rapacious janissaries from entering and plundering the churches, and even the tombs of the grand masters, and committing many other outrages against them, particularly in the noble infirmary, where they turned out all the sick and wounded, and seized upon all the plate, which, as was formerly hinted, the patients used to be served in; but upon the grand master's complaining of it to *Achmed*, he sent the aga word, that his head should answer for the breach of the capitulation, if every thing was not punctually restored.

In another conference which that basha had with him, he signified to him, that his young master had an extreme desire to see him, and that it would be looked upon as an high affront if he left the island without paying his respects to him. The grand master easily foresaw the danger either of complying with or declining the invitation; yet, rather than give him a pretence for retracting any of his concessions, he chose to run the hazard of waiting upon him; but such was the barbarous affectation of *Turkish* grandeur, that they kept that venerable old sovereign and his attendants at the tent-door, without any refreshment, during a whole snowy and frosty day, before he was admitted into his presence. At length, towards the evening, both he and his knights were presented with rich vests, and other garments, fit to appear in before him. Upon their admission, *Soliman* was struck with the magnificent appearance of so old a gentleman; and, receives to comfort him under his present misfortune, ordered his *grand interpreter* to tell him, that *the conquest and loss of empire* ^{master} was a mere common game of fortune: "You see, said he ^{with great} to him, how all your hopes in your Christian friends and ^{courtesy}."

"allies have been frustrated; but, could you be once prevailed upon to exchange your religion for ours, there is no honour or preferment that I would not gladly bestow upon you." To this he answered with his usual piety and politeness, That such an apostasy would rather render him most unworthy of his least regard; forasmuch as it would be the highest dishonour to so great a prince, to be served by such a traitor and renegade; and that all the favour he had to request of him, was, that his retreat and embarkation might not be molested by any of his men. To which request he condescended to give him his royal word, and his hand to kiss, assuring him, moreover, that if the term granted him proved too short, he would readily grant him a longer. Some days after, when he came to take a view of his new conquest, in which he was received at the grand master's palace with all the honours due to so great a conqueror, he gave him several fresh marks of his esteem; and, upon his going out of his palace, he bid his interpreter tell him, that it was not without some reluctance that he obliged so brave a Christian at his years to abandon his habitation.

The grand master, &c. embark in the night for Candia.

SOLIMAN resolving to depart for his capital two days after, the grand master, fearing he might not meet with the same generous usage from his ministers, being determined not to tarry behind, gave orders for their embarkation; which was done in the night-time, and not without great clutter and confusion, considering that, besides those of his order, he was followed by above 4000 inhabitants, whom he saw safely on board; and was the last of the whole company that left the shore (X), after having taken his last farewell of the

(X) The grand master was not a little grieved that he could not bring with him the young *Amurat*, the son of the unfortunate *Zizim*, as he had agreed to do in some disguise. This young prince had been left under the care and protection of the order when his father was conducted into *France*. We do not find that any mention was made of him in the capitulation, both *Soliman* and the grand master might have their reasons for not doing it; and as the latter would never have consented to deliver him up to

the former, nor he have agreed to any articles if he had not, we may reasonably suppose, that each had formed his project concerning him; the one to convey him in some disguise on ship-board, and the other to have him so closely watched as he accordingly was, that he should not escape him. The unfortunate young prince, finding himself thus unhappily beset, had no other way left but to conceal himself among the ruins of the houses which the cannon had overthrown, and wait for some favourable opportunity

the soltan. They set sail soon after for the island of *Candia*, leaving him in possession of that, and of all the other islands which had belonged to the order, as well as of the castle of *St. Peter*, or *Bidrou*, on the coasts of *Curia*; to the governors of which he sent express orders, by a felucca, to abandon the place, and to embark with the whole garrison, and sail after him for *Candia*. After having suffered the shock of a most violent storm, he at length came in sight of the island: he did not however immediately make for the haven, but staid riding in the road in his great carack, waiting for the rest of the vessels, which, having been separated by the tempest, came gradually one after another to join him.

As soon as they were all landed, he took a melancholy review of them: some of the vessels, having been overladen, he was informed, were sunk; the rest that came safe on shore amounted to about 5000 souls, most of them in such a forrowful and languishing condition, as drew tears from his eyes. His first care was, to send for provisions for them, cloaths, linen, and other necessaries, at his own charge, from the neighbouring countries, and he strove to comfort them all by his pious discourses and example. By this time the governor of the island, and other principal officers, attended and gave him a grand reception, which, though no other than was due to his character and dignity, was however received with no small reluctance; nor could he forbear expressing his resentment against the ungenerous policy of the *Genoese*, who, though they had above sixty gallies riding in the harbours of that island, yet could suffer that of *Rhodes* to be surrendered to the *Turks*, without lending him the least assistance; neither would he stay longer there, not-

*Complaints
against the
Genoese.*

portunity of gaining the seaside, where a vessel or two were waiting to convey him away. But *Soliman*, who was resolved to have him at any rate, gave such strict orders to have him sought out, that he was quickly discovered and brought to him, with his two sons and two daughters. *Soliman*, who highly valued himself upon the character of a just prince, being unwilling to put him to death without some

plausible pretence, asked him what religion he was of? To which he readily answered, that he was a Christian; upon which he condemned him and his two sons to be put to death for apostasy; and, to prevent any impostor being trumped up in their name, caused them to be strangled at the head of his army, and the daughters to be sent to *Constantinople*, and shut up in the seraglio (31).

(31) *Euseb. Baudouin, lib. x. c. 2. Fonten. & al. Vid. & Varior. t. iii. l. x. p. 403, & seq.*

withstanding the governor's earnest invitation to him to wait at least till the winter was over; but, as soon as he had got his fleet refitted, resolved to sail for *Italy*, in order to consult the pope about a new settlement. In the mean time, the *Latin* metropolitan of *Rhodes* arrived there with all his clergy, whom *Soliman* had been obliged to send away, out of complaisance to the *Greeks* and *Rhodians*, who could not brook to have any *Latins* live among them. The grand master, to indemnify him for his loss, assigned him a pension out of the common treasury, admitted him into the order, and appointed him prior of their church, a dignity which gave him a seat in council, and the next to that of the grand master; and this prelate it was who informed them of the sad catastrophe of prince *Amurat* and his sons, mentioned in the last note².

Sails for
Italy.

THE fleet was no sooner refitted than they set sail for *Italy*, about the beginning of *March*, after having dispatched some other vessels to carry the melancholy news of the loss of *Rhodes* to the pope, and other *European* powers. He had indeed no great hopes of that pontif's assistance, who had always acted as the same servile creature to the emperor as he had been before his election to the pontificate, yet, without a particular bull from him to confirm all the antient privileges and institutes of the order, and restoring the antient discipline, he easily foresaw it would be next to impossible to reunite them into one body or settlement; and this was what he sent a previous embassy to him to solicit at the court of *Rome*, and what that pontif readily complied with. His next care was, to apply to the Christian powers for some proper sea-port where to reunite the members, and enable them to resume their pristine discipline and employment; without which, he reflected, they would quickly be dispersed, beyond the possibility of their being rejoined again; for if, whilst they reigned absolute sovereigns in *Rhodes*, he and his predecessors found it so difficult a task to keep them up to their respective duties, and to a due regard to their authority, as we have had frequent occasion to observe thro' this section, how much more unlikely was it that they should do so under his present circumstances? The pope had indeed granted him the desired bull, by which he obliged all the knights of the order to continue still under the authority of their exiled chief, under the severest penalties; and his ambassador had already sent it to *Messina*, to be delivered to

Obtains a
bull from
the pope.

² BOSIO, FONTAN. BOURBON, BAUDOUIN, lib. x. c. 2, & seq. VETOT, ubi sup. t. iii. l. ix. p. 404, & seq.

him at his arrival, that being the place where he had appointed his fleet to land; but there being no Christian power to apply to for a fixed settlement, after they had so unanimously abandoned him in his greatest extremity, was a consideration that afforded him but a most hopeless prospect; yet did not this hinder him from taking with him all his *Rhodians*, who, being mostly sick and languishing, were all shipped on board a number of proper vessels, which he himself vouchsafed to accompany in a galley belonging to the order; and, for their better conveniency, he chose to sail from coast to coast, rather than to venture them on the wide sea; and this, joined to some bad weather they met with, so much retarded his arrival at *Messina*, that the caraccas and other galleys of the order, which had taken the shorter route, had reached that port long before him. Their apprehensions and vast concern for him were such as may be better imagined than expressed, not only from the violent storms which they themselves had experienced in their passage, and might, they justly feared, have proved more fatal to him nearer the land, but likewise from the multitude of *Turkish* and other corsairs which swarmed along those coasts.

At length, after a long and impatient expectation, during *His land-* which that considerate old gentleman had safely landed his *ing and re-* *Rhodians* at *Otranto* on the *Adriatic* gulf, they had the in- *ception at* *preffible* satisfaction to see him safely arrive at that of *Mes-* *Messina.* *sina* with his small fleet, not now with the usual flag of the order, but with one that bore the image of the blessed Virgin, with her divine Son in her arms, and with this motto under her, *Afflictis spes mea rebus*. He was immediately surrounded with all the nobility and principal officers of the city, attending the *Sicilian* viceroy, who came to receive him on his landing, and whose eyes were all intently fixed on his venerable person, now no less to be admired for his firmness under his present misfortune, than for the glory which he had gained by the noble defence of the city of *Rhodes*. The viceroy, Count *Monte Leone*, immediately after the first compliments, offered him that port, in the emperor *Charles V.*'s name, to serve for a retreat and settlement to him and the knights of the order. The archbishop, and the rest of the nobility, expressed an uncommon satisfaction at the proposal, though it was answered only by a compliment of thanks on his part; after which they accompanied him to the palace in a silent and mournful procession, suitable to so great and so irretrievable a loss.

THE regret of having been forced to deliver up so considerable an island into the hands of the enemies of Christianity,

*Tries the
grand pri-
ors for ne-
glect.*

*Is recon-
ciled.*

*His speech
to them.*

*A plague
in his camp.*

in which his predecessors had reigned with so much glory, as we have seen, during the space of near 220 years, displayed itself plainly in all his words and actions, as well as in his looks: but, to prevent its occasioning the least diminution of his authority, his first care, after providing all proper accommodations for the sick and wounded, was, to call all the priors and commanders, who had been tardy in their duty, to a severe account. The first of those that were summoned before his council were the grand priors of St. Stephen and Barletta, who, in their own justification, produced a vast quantity of corn, arms, and other provisions, besides a great number of volunteers, which they had got ready to sail to Rhodes, but which had been unhappily kept back by violent storms and contrary winds during the two last months, insomuch that none of the captains or commanders had the courage to venture out, except the English chevalier Nieuport, who, being resolved at all hazards to convey a supply to the place, was driven back by the tempest against a rock, where his ship and whole cargo were sunk and lost. Several others from Spain, Portugal, Catalonia, France, and England, made it likewise appear, that the succours which they had severally got ready were retarded by the same unavoidable cause; all which was so fully proved, that the grand master intirely acquiesced, and could only utter these words, *Blessed be God, who, in the midst of all our disasters, hath given me this satisfactory evidence, that they were not owing to the neglect of my religious brethren; after which, having tenderly embraced them, he added, It was highly necessary, for the honour of our order and your own, that such a strict examination should be made of your conduct; which will now testify to all the European powers, as well as to posterity, that if Rhodes could have been saved by the sole force of our order, we should not now bewail that bulwark of Christendom being in the hands of infidels* *. But neither this, nor his other pious exhortations, could have prevented the greatest part of them from dispersing themselves, if he had not caused the pope's bull, which expressly forbid it, to be read before them, and mixed with his gentle threats some comfortable assurances of speedily obtaining perhaps a more safe and convenient one than that which they had lost.

IN the interim a pestilence, which began to rage in Messina, soon spread itself among his small Rhodian fleet, and obliged him, with the governor's leave, to remove them to Baia, where, by his care to have their camp well intrenched

* Vide Anct. sup. citat.

against the insults of the corsairs, as well as supplied with proper medicines, and other necessaries, together with the change of air, they gradually recovered; so that, after a month's stay in it, he found them all fit to reembark, and *He sails to* sailed with them for *Civita Vecchia*, where they safely arrived *Civita* soon after; and he took the direct road to *Rome*, impatient *Vecchia* to consult the pontif about a new settlement for his order. This being just about the time that *Adrian VI.* was going to sign a shameful league with the emperor, the king of *England*, and the duke of *Milan*, against *France*, the pontif was obliged to put off giving him audience till that ceremony was concluded, being ashamed to have it performed in his presence; but received him afterwards with all the pomp and marks of esteem due to his merit and dignity. Having given him all the just praises that were due to his conduct and bravery, he assured him, that he would do all that lay in his power to preserve an order in every respect so useful and advantageous to Christendom; and, at his parting from him, honoured him with the title of the great defender of the Christian faith, and other such pompous epithets*, which he could more readily spare than the succours which he had so often begged of him in vain. The pope dying soon after of a violent fever, the guard of the conclave, which proceeded to a new election, was committed to him, and the knights that were then with him.

ADRIAN was succeeded by *Julius de Medicis*, a knight of their order, and the very first that was ever elected to that dignity, to the no small joy of the grand master and the whole order, who might now more safely depend upon his assistance and friendship, than on all the fair promises of his predecessor, for their happy re-establishment. They were not disappointed; for never did a pontif before *Clement VII.* which was the name he took, express more zeal or esteem for the order than he did; to which the account which was given him in a full consistory, by the grand master and chancellor, of the siege and defence of *Rhodes*, by 600 knights against 200,000 *Turks*, did not a little contribute. It was *The order* immediately agreed, that the order should settle at *Viterbo* settled at till a more convenient place could be thought upon; whilst *Viterbo* their gallies and other vessels continued at *Civita Vecchia*. To all these favours the new pontif was pleased to add another, that the grand master should hold the first place on the right of the throne in the papal chapel, and march alone before his holiness in all future cavalcades.

* Bosio, ubi sup. l. ii. p. 20. VERTOT, p. 426, & al. ib.

*The isles of
Malta
and Goſa
propoſed.*

FROM this time the pontif and he held frequent conferences about the moſt proper place for the order to be ſettled in. Several of them were propoſed, againſt which ſome material objections were ſtarted by one ſide or other; and, in the concluſion, the iſland of *Malta* was agreed on as the ſtrongeſt by nature, moſt conveniently ſituated, and having the moſt convenient ports; to which that of *Goſa*, contiguous to it, was to be joined, as a bulwark to the greater. We have deſcribed them both at the beginning of this chapter, and hinted, that they both belonged to the emperor *Charles V.* as king of *Sicily*; who had expreſſed a great readineſs to grant it to them, on condition they ſhould engage themſelves in the care and defence of the city of *Tripoli*, which he had lately made himſelf maſter of, as we have ſeen in a former volume, but which being ſo unhappily ſurrounded on all ſides by infidels and barbarians, would have coſt more to keep it than it could be worth to them. There was ſtill another no leſs conſiderable danger to be apprehended, *viz.* leſt that politic monarch ſhould take occaſion, from his grant to the order, to bring it into ſome kind of ſubjection to him. The pope therefore, having cautioned the grand maſter to be careful not to give him any handle for it in their ſubſequent negotiation, three of their ableſt knights of the order were ſent on an ambaffy, to treat with that prince about a grant; theſe were the grand prior of *Caſtile*, the famed engineer *Martinengo*, ſo often mentioned in this ſection, and the commander *Bofio*, the beſt and moſt exact author of the hiſtory of that order, of which he was then chaplain.

*Hard
terms of-
fered by
the empe-
ror.*

THESE three, being arrived at *Madrid*, where the emperor then was, requeſted him, in the name of the whole order, to make them a grant of thoſe two iſlands, free from all manner of ſubjection to any but to their grand maſter and ſovereign. This they did likewise without making the leaſt mention of *Tripoli*; and only repreſented to him, that ſuch a generous grant would make him eſteemed as the ſecond founder of an order which had proved, during ſeveral centuries, the moſt effectual bulwark of Chriſtendom; and that the knights would be thereby put in a condition to ſuppreſs the ſwarms of *Mohammedan* corſairs, and ſecure his dominions, the iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the kingdom of *Naples*, and coaſts of *Italy*, from their outrageous incurſions. But to theſe propoſals the crafty emperor reſuſed to aſſent, unleſs *Tripoli* was included in the treaty; and inſiſted moreover, that the whole order ſhould acknowledge him, and take the oaths to him as their lawful ſovereign, without at the ſame

same time engaging himself to furnish them with any corn from his *Italian* dominions, which was in fact the most effectual means of starving them into his subjection, seeing they could not possibly subsist without such a supply †.

THESE hard terms, which the ambassadors well knew would never be accepted, obliged them to dispatch the commander *Bosio* to *Viterbo*, for new instructions, whilst the other two continued at the imperial court. By that time he was arrived at *Viterbo*, the grand master had received a proposal much more glorious and advantageous, made to him, of recovering the island of *Rhodes*, and which could not but make those of the emperor still more distasteful. The proposal was sent to him by that very basha *Achmed* who had had the greatest hand in the conquest of that island from them; but who, being now in open rebellion against soltan *Soliman*, offered to assist him in the recovery of it. However, as it would have been dangerous to reject the emperor's offers, considering what a number of rich priories they had in his dominions, which he perhaps would have been glad of any pretence to have seized to his own use, the grand master thought it more politic to defer giving a positive answer, till he had made a proper inquiry into *Achmed's* proposal; but to amuse the emperor whilst that was doing, he begged leave to send a number of commissioners to go and take an exact view of the two islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, and city of *Tripoli*, that, upon the report they made of them, he might take his measures how far he could comply with his terms. But whilst he was negotiating in this procrastinating manner with the court of *Madrid*, an accident happened which determined him to prefer the attempt to regain their antient seat to the emperor's harsh conditions.

ONE of the knights of the order had met a *Rhodian* ship at sea, whose company made grievous complaints against the tyranny they were under, and expressed an ardent desire to see themselves again under the milder and happier government of their ancient masters; assuring him at the same time, that the regaining of the island would not prove a difficult task at this time, when the fortifications continued still for the most part unrepaired, the garrison weak, and the aga, who commanded under the soltan, a renegado, who would be glad to efface his crime, by his timely assistance in an enterprize so advantageous to Christianity. These men, being some of the richest merchants and citizens of that island, were gladly prevailed upon to go and pay their respects to the grand

† Vide *aucl. sup. citat.*

master; and the knight accordingly brought them to him, where they confirmed to him all they had said before. The grand master dismissed them with all the caresses and encouragement they could wish; and, having acquainted the pope with the matter, they agreed that the commander *Bosio* should be dispatched thither with all possible haste and secrecy, who arrived there safely in the disguise of a merchant, and had by that means all the opportunity he wanted to inquire into the condition of the city, and how far the renegado age might be wrought upon to assist in the affair. At the first opening of the matter to him, he seemed quite confounded; but, having recovered himself, gave *Bosio* the most satisfactory tokens of his remorse, and readiness upon any terms to be reconciled to the church, and expiate his apostasy by his future services to the order. He engaged to admit the grand master's forces into every place under his command, provided they were able to maintain themselves in them; and a sufficient quantity of arms and provisions was sent, to put the *Rhodians* in a condition to join with them. All this hopeful prospect was, however, unexpectedly quashed by the death of *Achmed*, whose head was sent to *Constantinople* by *basba, Ibraim*, as we have formerly shewn; at the news of which the aga was greatly alarmed, as well as the commander *Bosio*, who with great difficulty and danger got away from that island, and brought an account of his ill success, through the defeat of *Achmed*, and the discovery of his project against *Rhodes*, which had by that time hung too long in suspense, and been intrusted to too many persons to continue longer a secret: so that *Soliman* had notice of it timely enough to take all proper precautions to render it abortive.

The design frustrated by Achmed's death.

BUT whilst *Bosio* continued at *Rhodes*, another proposal had been made to him by two other renegadoes, who had in a great measure the chief command of the maritime fortresses of *Modon* in *Morea*, taken from the *Venetians* by *Bajazet*, anno 1498. These two men engaged to surrender the place to the order, out of a deep remorse for their apostasy, and represented that enterprize as much easier than that against *Rhodes*; and *Bosio*, upon a nearer inquiry into it, found many other conveniencies in it, which we pass over, because the project was over-ruled, and came to nothing, notwithstanding the many arguments which that commander offered in favour of it.

FOR by this time, the commissaries, sent to take a survey of the islands of *Maltha* and *Gosa*, and city of *Tripoli*, being

^a Vide auct. supra citat.

^b Lib. iii. c. 5, 6.

returned,

returned, gave such an advantageous account of those two islands, the city, towns, haven, &c. as well as its strong situation by nature, command of those seas, and due distance from the *Turks*, as quite determined the pope and the order to prefer it to all others; in case the emperor could be prevailed upon to part with them upon more moderate terms; to obtain which, the pontif readily offered his interposition. We shall refer our readers, for the fuller account of those two islands, to the description we have given of them at the beginning of this chapter; but the report which they gave concerning the city and castle of *Tripoli* was vastly different. Its distance of 80 leagues from *Maltha*, the town being almost without fortifications, and situate on a sandy ground, on which no new ones could be reared; the castle quite out of repair, and commanded behind by a high hill; the whole place surrounded by the king of *Tunis's* dominions, who would never suffer it to continue long in the hands of the Christians; the barrenness of the soil round it, which produced nothing but dates; the danger of its being invested and famished: these, and such-like discouragements, did no less deter the council from taking the care of it upon them. And here the pope was likewise desired to interpose his good offices, to obtain a release from it¹; but the pontif had but little sway with that monarch at this time, forasmuch as he was then negotiating a league with *England* and *Venice*, to maintain the liberty of *Italy*, after the famous battle of *Pavia*, and the imprisonment of *Francis* of *France*. We have elsewhere observed to what a degree of jealousy the grand master's voyage to *Marseilles*, to confer with the queen regent at that pontif's request, had raised at the imperial court, which at once seized on all the revenues of the order in *Italy*. On the other hand, his affected delays of coming to a resolution about accepting the emperor's offers of *Maltha* and *Tripoli*, had so far raised the resentment of *Charles*, that he sent a haughty embassy to the order at *Viterbo*, requiring a speedy compliance with his proposals, and threatening those that should oppose it with the highest marks of his displeasure. This high tone did not fail of alarming the council, especially those of it that were his subjects; yet did not this produce any other effect than a fresh representation to him of the importance of the matter in question, and of the necessity of proceeding in it with the utmost caution, especially as the grand master was then absent, without whose consent, and the participation of the pope, they could come to no

¹ Bosio, tom. iii. l. ii. p. 32.

resolution. They concluded with assuring him, that they would forthwith dispatch expresse to them both; adding that they were informed, that the former was actually gone to the imperial court, in hopes of obtaining some abatement to the conditions insisted upon by it, particularly with respect to that of swearing fealty to the imperial crown. They accordingly sent the commander *Bosio* to the grand master, who, being apprised by him of the sequestration above-mentioned, delayed sending an answer to them, and ordered him to follow him to the imperial court.

UPON his arrival, as he had brought with him the prince of *Alençon*, according to the queen regent's desire, and had by that means saved the emperor a great deal of ceremonial, he was readily admitted to treat with him about the two islands in question. The extreme politeness and address with which he complained of the sequestration in *Malta*, quickly obtained a reversion of it; and the arguments used to convince that monarch of the impossibility of knights of such an order as his, which is composed of subjects of several princes and states, owning subjection and fealty to any other than their own, failed not to make a deep impression upon him. But, lest that should prove too short-lived, he artfully interlarded the proposal that had been made to him of recovering the isle of *Rhodes*, the first party he had in its capital, whose inhabitants would be glad and ready to receive him again, as soon as they could be supplied with a sufficient number of arms in lieu of those the *Turks* had taken from them; and, with his majesty's leave, ordered the commander *Bosio* to come in, who confirmed the whole affair, as being the principal person employed in negotiating it. They farther assured him, that the sum of 50,000 or 60,000 crowns was all they wanted, to hire about 4000 men, and furnish the inhabitants with arms; upon which the emperor, who seemed to relish the enterprize, told them, that in case the duke of *Alva* thought it practicable, he would readily contribute 25,000 crowns towards it. Before his departure, he obtained leave to pay a visit to king *Francis*, and was conducted thither by one of the emperor's guards to his narrow prison, where he assured that prince of his best endeavours and good offices towards obtaining his liberty, and mediating a peace between them; and he applied himself to those two grand points with great assiduity and success. He was no less mindful of those that related to his order, in favour of which he got a clause in-

The emperor approves their new design upon Rhodes.

^a Vide auct. sup. citat.

^b *Ibid.*

ed in the treaty between those two monarchs, by which both engaged to solicit the pope for a new crusade against the infidels. Before he left *Spain*, he not only obtained a redress from the king of *Portugal* for some injuries made on the privileges of his order, with regard to the bestowing of some priories, together with a promise not to interfere any more in such matters, but likewise a sum of 15,000 crusadoes towards the holy war against the

his ambassadors to *Henry VIII.* had not so good success as the like complaint. Though backed by a pressing recommendation from the *French* king, they could obtain no relief from him for the much more considerable sequestration he ordered on the lands and revenues of the order; so from that, he absolutely forbade any money or effects belonging to it to be carried out of *England*. This measure being apprehended to proceed from a resentment of the *English* monarch, on account of the grand master's not having paid him the ceremony of a visit, as he had to those of *France* and *Spain*; upon which he resolved to pass over into *England*, and sent the commander *Bosio* thither before him. Accordingly went into that kingdom, and met with a noble reception from that monarch, through the interest of his favourite minister the cardinal *Wolsey*^{*}; all that we need remark here is, that king *Henry* highly applauded his design of conquering the island of *Rhodes*, and promised to contribute 20,000 crowns towards it, the value of which he actually paid afterwards in cannon, and other fire-arms. Many civilities passed between them before the grand master's departure from *England*; and he was on his journey to *Italy* highly satisfied with his success, when he heard the mortifying news of the civil war raised by the emperor's partisans in the heart of the pope's dominions, in revenge of the league which that pontiff had made against him, which war soon after spread itself over the greatest part of *Italy*, and not only reduced *Clement VII.* to the greatest difficulties, dangers, and indignities, but obliged him to submit to the most shameful conditions.

THE grand master spared no pains, after his return to *Malta*, to mediate a peace between the emperor and the pope, as the only means to renew either his attempt on the island of *Rhodes*, or his negotiations about those of *Malta* and *Gozo*. The former was earnestly pressed by the Greek patriarch *Eutymius*, who, having deeply embarked in that

The grand master's voyage to England.

His hopes defeated by the war in Italy.

* Vide auct. supra citat.

progress, and in continual apprehensions of its being discovered, was most earnest with him for the speedy execution of it. On the other hand, as the necessary supplies for were slow in coming, and the grand master not yet determined which of the two to fix on, the commander *Bosio* was dispatched thither a second time, to inquire into the state of the island, the people's dispositions, and to keep up the hearts of the inhabitants; whilst he assembled a grand council of the order at *Viterbo*, to consult about that important alternative. But as he had entrusted his design upon *Rhodes* but to very few, the majority quickly declared for *Malta* provided it could be obtained without the irksome clog of subjection and fealty. Upon which new ambassadors were dispatched to *Madrid*, to treat about it; but these, to the great surprise, found the emperor as cold as he had been before for their settlement in these islands. New jealousies were started in his mind at this juncture, lest the grand master, who was a *Frenchman*, might pay too great regard to the king his master; and the majority of the order, who were attached to the pope, should shew the like partiality for him. This made him prolong the negotiations with them, and still insist upon the former terms; whilst the grand master, keeping his views intensely towards *Rhodes*, was in as little haste to come to a determination about the one, till he had tried what could be done to obtain the other, which could hardly be done before a peace was effectually concluded between the contending powers.

The project
against
Rhodes
discovered.

THE dismal and melancholy condition *Italy* was in at that time, the close imprisonment the pope was kept in by the emperor, and the motives which at length induced that monarch to offer him his liberty, though on such hard terms, forced the pontiff upon the stratagem which he made use of to escape out of his confinement, all these gave the grand master but a hopeless prospect of an accommodation between them; and, what was still worse, his project upon *Rhodes* had by this time been wholly disconcerted; the sultan, to whom the secret had been betrayed, had now changed the garrison and its officers, and put to death all those who were suspected to have been concerned in the treason, both Christians and *Turks*. There was therefore no other way to obtain a speedy establishment, than the enterprize which *Bosio* had proposed against the city of *Modon*, or accepting of the islands of *Malta* and *Gozo* upon the harsh conditions insisted upon by the emperor. *Bosio* was still very pressing for the former; but the grand master was more inclined to the latter, provided that monarch could be prevailed upon to recede from

from some of his demands. All this time the peace was still negotiating between him and the pope, and was at length concluded the 29th of *June*; upon which *Bosio* was dispatched to beg the pope's interposition in favour of the order, who readily engaged to obtain a free grant of the two islands from the emperor, at their next interview at *Bononia*, where he was to give him the investiture of *Naples*. He did so accordingly; and with such a true zeal and affection for the order, of which, as we observed before, he was a member, that the emperor, who at such a juncture proved more pliable than he would yet have been at any other time, granted him whatever he asked; *Maltha* and the treaty was signed at *Castel Franco*, on the 24th of *March*, to the great joy of the grand master and of the whole order. *Bosio* was ordered to bring it immediately after its being signed. *1530.*

THEIR joy, however, was not a little allayed, by finding the city of *Tripoli* still tacked to the grant, which they were in hopes the pope's interest would have got off; but that which most sensibly affected them was the unfortunate loss of their brave and worthy ambassador *Bosio*, of which they were informed by the very person who brought the grant to them, who acquainted them at the same time with the double disaster that occasioned it, in his return from the emperor. The impatience he was in, he told them, to deposit that so long-desired instrument in the hands of the grand master, made him drive with such speed, that his coach was overturned, by which accident he was dangerously hurt; an unskilful surgeon, being brought to let him blood, chanced to wound the artery, upon which his arm immediately swelled, and the gangrene followed which put an end to his life. He had, however, time and presence of mind enough, before he expired, to intrust all his papers into the hands of a faithful *Rhodian*, named *Staticogulo*, and to convey them to *Viterbo*. He likewise charged him to communicate his dying request to the grand master, and to press him earnestly to keep up an intelligence with his private friends at *Modon*, from which he was fully persuaded the order would in time reap some considerable advantages. The *Rhodian* gentleman faithfully executed his commission, and was sent by him with some considerable presents to the two renegadoes, whom he found still firm in their first resolution, and ready to undertake any thing for the service of the religion or the order. The next thing the grand master had to do, was, to send some of the principal knights on an embassy of thanks to the emperor; and another set

*Bosio's
disaster
and death.*

of them into *Sicily*, to take the usual oaths to him before his viceroy, in his and the order's name; after which, he sent six others, as his commissaries, to take possession of *Maltha* and *Gofa*, and to secure the liberties and privileges of the inhabitants in his name, and in the usual form. He likewise dispatched some of his galleys, with a number of knights, on the same errand, to *Tripoli*, together with the commander *Sanguetti*, whom he appointed governor of that city. With these he sent a good number of workmen, and materials for the repairing of the castle of *St. Angelo*, which was almost gone to ruin, together with a fresh supply of arms and ammunition; all which being gone before, he was preparing to set out himself with all the knights of the order, to take possession of his new dominions, after having been obliged to wander several years both by sea and land, without any settlement, and often in danger of seeing his flock dispersed through the world, and his order intirely ruined, and in continual fear lest his old age and fatigues should carry him off before he could have the pleasure of seeing them possessed of a settlement.

New difficulties raised by the viceroy.

THERE were, however, two unforeseen difficulties started, which obliged him to delay his voyage; the one was, that when he came to ship away the corn which he had caused to be bought in *Sicily*, the viceroy insisted upon its paying the usual duty which other vessels did: the other was about the privilege of coining money in his new government, which it was pretended the emperor would never allow, unless it were with his own stamp, and by his own officers. These unexpected proceedings not only caused a great surprise, but was like to have occasioned a general murmuring through the whole order, some of the warmest among which immediately proposed to the council to send back the deed of gift to the emperor, as being granted to them with no other view than to insnare them into a downright subjection to him, and, instead of those islands, to turn all their effort against *Moden*, where the order would be out of all danger from the ill designs of an ambitious and equivocating monarch, who, under the clearest and plainest expressions, was known still to reserve some latent ill meaning, ready to break out upon the first occasion. Their resentment gradually arose to such a height, that the far greater part declared themselves against having any thing to do with those two barren islands, or rather rocks, where they must at his pleasure either be starved or enslaved, and which consequently were not worth the parchment which the grant was written upon. Thus vehemently did the major part of the knights then

then present inveigh against that hypocritical monarch, and his ensnaring treaty ; and insisted upon its being openly broke, and his grant rejected.

BUT here the grand master interposed with his usual calmness and prudence ; and though he could not directly confute what was objected against both, yet greatly blamed their imprudent warmth, and represented to them the danger of such an open and violent rupture, at least till they were well assured that the proceedings of the viceroy were directed or countenanced by the emperor. To know which with greater certainty, he thought fit to send a fresh embassy, to represent to him the unreasonableness of that minister's demand, seeing both the *Maltese* and *Tripolitans* could not be looked upon in any other light than as *regnicole*, and ought of course to be as exempt from paying any duty on the corn that was sent thither for their subsistence, as they had been hitherto, since neither of their territories are capable of producing any either for the garrisons or natives ; the former of which spent, *communibus annis*, above 340,000 livres in that one article. And as to the privilege of coinage, it was no less unreasonable to deny it to a free republic, as they had been hitherto, and as they thought his imperial majesty had continued them. But when the ambassadors came to represent these things to him, they not only found that his viceroy had done nothing but by his order ; but that he was fully determined to refuse them these two privileges, in spite of all their remonstrances, and, with respect to the last, he haughtily told them, that he would never consent to have money coined in *Malta*, nor any but his own to go current in it.

THIS inflexible denial must have infallibly been followed by the total breach of the treaty, if the ambassadors had kept close to their instructions ; but they rather chose to send an express to acquaint the grand master with it. The whole council was more than ever inflamed at that monarch's behaviour, it being now visible that he had no other design than that of enslaving them to his own will. The grand master had much ado to pacify them ; yet at length his advice so far prevailed, that they agreed to wait till the pope had made a further trial of his interest with him, on condition that, if he did not succeed, the grant should be immediately sent back, and the order should seek for another settlement either at *Modon*, or at any other place, rather than where *Charles V.* had any title or pretence. The pope, having readily agreed to try once more his good offices on

*This order
embark for
Maltha.*

that important point, immediately sent orders to his nephew *Salviati*, who then resided at the emperor's court, as ambassador from the grand master and the whole order, to use his utmost efforts in his name, and as chief protector of it; and that minister executed his commission with such zeal and address, that he at length obtained a fresh treaty from him, in which those two privileges were included. All difficulties being now happily removed, the grand master ordered his two large caracks, the gallies of the order, and a good number of other transport-ships, laden with great quantities of arms, ammunition, and troops, to be got ready to sail for *Maltha*; he and his knights embarked in the former, with all the effects, records, and treasure, belonging to the order; and the rest in the latter. In their passage they suffered very much by a violent storm, in which one of their gallies split against a rock, and one of the caracks was run aground by the violence of the waves, after having broke her three anchors; and stuck so fast, that they expected every moment to see it split in pieces, when, by good Providence, a contrary wind disengaged her, without any farther damage, which was universally looked upon as a lucky omen; after which they all arrived safe at that island on the 26th of *October*. The grand master and principal officers landed at the chief port, which we have already described; and went thence directly to the church of *St. Lawrence*, to return thanks for their new settlement and happy arrival; then they proceeded to the poor town or borough which is situate at the foot of the castle of *St. Angelo*. Here they were forced to take their first lodgings in poor fishermen's huts. The grand master went and made his residence in the castle, with the principal knights, where he found the accommodations were somewhat better, tho' very mean, and out of repair. Three days after which he went to take possession of the city, which, from the beginning, bore the name of the island, but was since called the *notable city*, which the reader will find described at the beginning of this chapter, and, after that, of the whole island, from which the order thenceforth assumed a new name, and the knights have ever since stiled themselves, and been known by the name of, knights of *Maltha*.

S E C T, IV.

The History of the Order of Maltha, from their first Settlement in that Island.

THEIR first care, after having settled their authority *The grand master provides better lodgings for the order.* through the two islands, was to provide some better accommodations for the present, and to chuse a proper place where to fix their habitation. But as the island had no other defence than the old castle of *St. Angelo*, and lay so open on all sides that it would have required greater sums than their exhausted treasure would at present allow of to put it in a thorough state of defence, he was obliged to content himself with surrounding that borough above-mentioned, wherein he had ordered new buildings to be reared for the present habitation of his knights, with a stout wall, to prevent its being surpris'd by the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs. His design, indeed, was not at this time to have fixed the abode of the order in that bare and defenceless island, but to have followed the brave *Bosio's* last advice, which was to stay only in it till he had got a sufficient force to attempt the conquest of *Modon*, which was not only a populous and opulent place, but did moreover lie more convenient for a future attempt, whenever fortune threw an opportunity in their hands, to recover the island of *Rhodes*, their antient seat, from the *Turks*, which the barrenness and naked condition of this, together with the rudeness of the inhabitants, made him and the whole order cherish a constant desire after. However, this did not hinder his taking all the proper measures for securing of this as well as that of *Gaza*, and laying out a proper plan for securing them from attacks, in case their design against *Modon* should fail^a. In the mean while, as the superstition of those times reigned equally among those of the order, the grand master, among other precious relicks which they had brought away from *Rhodes* into this island, caused the arm of *St. Catharine*, a favourite saint of the *Italian* tongue, to be carried in a grand procession to the cathedral church, it being then her festival day. Whilst they were on their march, one of the centinels gave

^a Bosio, tom. iii. l. iv. & seq. BAUDOUIN, l. x. c. 1, & 2. VERRIER, tom. iv. l. x. p. 2, & seq.

them notice that a large *Turkish* merchantman was wrecked on that coast. The grand master immediately dispatched some of his knights and other soldiers thither, who, among the rest of the passengers that had gained the shore, took particular cognizance of two, viz. *Isaac* the patron of the ship, who was a native of *Modon*, and of one *Maurithafala Nocher*, an excellent engineer, whom the grand master retained in his service, and whom he immediately employed in the new fortifications of the place, in which he shewed a more than common skill and diligence^b; all which was looked upon as a good omen of their future establishment.

*Incurſions
of the ga-
riſon of
Tripoli.*

ABOUT the same time, Mr. *Sangeſſe*, the knight who had been sent governor of *Tripoli*, having received some fresh reinforcements from *Malta*, was making frequent incurſions on the territories of the adjacent cities of *Gienzon* and *Tachora*, which had lately revolted from the king of *Tunis*, from whence he brought both plunder and slaves, in such quantity as obliged the inhabitants of the first of those cities to buy their peace from him, with the grand master's consent, by a small tribute, which they engaged to pay yearly to him^c; whilst that of the latter, scorning to be tributary to the order, continued making reprisals on the *Tripolitans*, which ended in a bloody war between the states of *Barbary* and the Christian powers, and in which the knights of *Malta* signalized themselves no less than they had hitherto done against the *Asiatic Turks*, as we have formerly seen in the several histories of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, and as we shall have occasion farther to shew in the sequel of this chapter.

*The ſiege
of Modon
miſcarried.*

THE grand master was hardly well settled in *Malta*, before the emperor and other *European* princes endeavoured to engage him in a war against these *Barbary* infidels, and to enlarge his dominions there, especially as the city of *Tripoli* could hardly subsist long in their hands within the narrow territory to which it was confined. But the enterprize on *Modon* at this time appearing to him more considerable, his first care was to furnish himself with a sufficient number of troops and shipping; the command of which, as it was not expedient for him to leave the island, he gave to two of the bravest and most expert commanders; a considerable number of other knights embarked with them for that expedition; and the whole fleet set sail for *Modon* on the 27th of *August* 1531. We shall not enlarge on the particulars of that unsuccessful enterprize, which ended so little to the honour of

^b BAUDOIN, ubi supra.
VERTOT, ubi supra.

^c BOSIO, t. iii. c. 5. BAUDOIN,

the order ; but only observe upon the whole, that tho' every thing seemed to promise a more happy event, the two renegades not only continuing true to their promise, but even impatient to signalize themselves by their zeal and bravery, yet the attempt miscarried through the baseness and avarice of the *Maltese* forces, which were privately conveyed thither in the night, and who, instead of waiting for any farther orders, dispersed themselves through the town, and began to pillage it, and to commit the most cruel outrages, which drove the greatest part of the inhabitants into the castle, where the governor resided, with a small garrison. As soon as he was informed of the matter, he forthwith caused arms to be distributed amongst them, and marching at their head with some of his regular troops, fell upon these stragglers, before they could re-unite, and made a bloody slaughter among them, though they quickly rallied, and made an obstinate defence against him.

In the mean time, the signal which had been given to the galleys, that stood off the small island of *Sapienza*, to approach, which was by the firing of a cannon, not being perceived by them, the sound being carried off by a contrary wind, they did not move towards the city till they were fetched by a shallop, which was sent to them by young *Salviati*, the son of one of the two renegades ; so that they did not approach the place till about noon ; by which time the governor had ordered matters so well, and received such strong reinforcement from a neighbouring camp, designed for the war in *Hungary*, that they saw themselves obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having lost some of their bravest knights, and a good number of their troops. The worst of all was, that the grand prior of *Rome*, who commanded in chief, having blocked up the gates of the castle, into which the governor had been obliged to retire, did not cause the retreat to be sounded till he had seen his *Maltese* troops glutted with the richest plunder, in which the knights and chief officers of the order carried off the most considerable share, and among other spoils, above 800 women and virgins captives into their vessels ; all which sailed back to *Malta* without opposition or disaster.

The galleys come too late to their assistance.

THE news of this disappointment gave the grand master the most sensible displeasure, which yet he endeavoured to dispel, by looking upon it as a sign that Providence designed their fixed settlement to be at *Malta* ; from which time he bestowed his whole care in fortifying it*. This mortification

* Bosio, & al. ubi sup.

Bosio recommended to the see of Maltha.

was soon followed by another, which did not less affect him. The episcopal see of that island being become vacant, the chapter immediately named three persons, one of whom was, according to agreement, to be nominated to that dignity by the emperor. Among these was *Thomas Bosio*, vice-chancellor of the order, and brother to the late commander of that name, so often mentioned in the last section, whom the grand master more particularly recommended, both to that monarch and to the pope, as the person whose nomination to that see would be esteemed as a singular favour both by him and the whole order. The emperor accordingly declared him bishop of *Maltha*, and gave his diploma to the *Malthese* ambassador, who sent it with all speed to the grand master by an express, whose arrival caused an universal joy. The grand master in particular, to testify his gratitude to the pontif, sent an extraordinary ambassy to thank him for his concurrence in the choice, together with *Bosio* to receive his consecration from him. But how thunder-struck were they both, when, upon their first audience from him, they were told in a haughty tone by him, that the see of *Maltha* was already filled up by cardinal *Ginucchy*, whom he had nominated to it, and who was then sending his vicar thither to take possession of it in his name. The ambassador tried in vain to represent to him, that the choice of a *Malthese* prelate was wholly invested in the emperor, according to the treaty between him and the order; but he was answered in the same tone, *It belongs to us, and not to the emperor, to provide for the church; since the island is now passed into other hands.* Immediately after which they were both dismissed.^f

The contest not ended till after the pope's death.

If the news of the pope's proceedings affected the grand master and the order, they did much more incense the haughty monarch, who is said to have vented the first effects of his resentment in the most bitter invectives against that artful pontif. Sundry conjectures have been made concerning the motives which induced him to so sudden and surprising a change, which we have no time to dwell upon. As to the grand master, he was not at that time in a condition to oppose that politic and arbitrary proceeding; he therefore thought it the wisest way to leave it to *Charles* to dispute the matter with him; which he accordingly did, and left no stone unturned that could induce him to desist from his nomination of that cardinal. *Clement* not only insisted upon his having the right to it, to his death, but even in his last moments charged the cardinal *Caraffa* to press his successor, whoever he was, to

^f *Auct. sup. citat.*

follow the same interesting tract, and insist upon the validity of *Ginacchy's* right to that see. But as he died soon after, his successor *Paul III.* who had other interests in view, was easily prevailed upon to yield to the emperor, and the matter was easily compromised in favour of *Bosio*.

ABOUT this time it was also that *Diego de Toledo*, grand prior of *Castile*, obtained a division of that rich priory in favour of his two nephews; from which time they were called the grand priories of *Castilia* and *Leon*.

ALL this while the emperor and new pope were making *The Mal-* great preparations against the *Turks*, according to the league *these fleet* which the former had made with the predecessor of the lat- *joins that* ter. The grand master failed not to be earnestly invited by *of the em-* both to join his forces to theirs, which his obligations to them *peror.* made him readily comply with. He accordingly equipt the great carack of the order, to which he joined as large a number of his gallies and other vessels as he could spare; on board of which he sent some of the best commanders and bravest knights of the order. These quickly joined the confederate fleet, commanded by the famed admiral *Doria*, on the 8th of *August* 1532. The event of which was, that the expedition of this united fleet was successful, and would, in all likelihood, have been attended with the conquest of *Madon*, if the soldiery, discouraged by the ill success of the last attempt against it, had not openly murmured, and obliged the admiral to turn his forces against *Coron*. The *Malthese* com- *Their ex-* manders would indeed have been much better pleased to *pedition* have displayed their valour against the other; but the disaap- *against* pointment did not hinder them from acting with their usual *Coron.* zeal and bravery against this. Never did men mount to the assault with greater courage, and maintain their post with *The brave-* more intrepidity, against the fire, darts, melted lead, and *ry of the* other destructive efforts of the besieged, or more quickly fill *knights.* up the places of those that were killed, till they had the very first of all planted the standard of the order on the walls: a circumstance which had such an effect both on the besiegers and besieged, that, whilst the former were inspired with fresh courage by their example, the others were so disheartened that they immediately displayed the white flag, and hastened to capitulate ⁱ. Before the winter came on, the *Malthese* *The place* fleet sailed along the same coast, where they made themselves *capitu-* masters of the castle of *Ardinel*, and some other fortresses situ- *lates.* ated upon it, whilst *Doria* did the same by the city of *Patras*;

ⁱ Auct. sup. citat.

by which time the weather obliged them to separate, and each to return to their respective homes *.

*A second
successful
expedition
against the
Turks.*

THEY were all obliged again, in the next year, to appear before *Coron*, which had been invested by the *Turks* by sea and land. The *Maltese Caracca* was placed in the front of the confederate fleet, and by its height made a dreadful havoc amongst the *Turks*, whilst *Doria* was endeavouring, under the covert of the fire and smoke on both sides, to convey some vessels through those of the enemy, with fresh troops into the place † but the attempt was so ill-managed, that a great number of them were lost; yet the *Maltese* galleys coming in time to their assistance, gave a sudden turn to the engagement, and the *Turks*, who had boarded some of their vessels sword in hand, and thought themselves masters of them, had the mortification to see themselves loaded with those chains which they had designed against the order, and to be carried away prisoners to *Malta*; for their fleet was quickly recalled by the grand master to the defence of the island, which was now threatened with an invasion by the famed *Turkish* corsair *Barbarossa*, who ranged those seas at the head of above fourscore galleys. At their arrival, the council were of opinion, that, as the island had hardly any other fortifications than the castle of *St. Angelo*, the grand master should transport himself from thence into *Sicily*, with all the relics, church-ornaments, and treasure of the order.

*The grand
master's
noble reso-
lution.*

But the brave old gentleman rejected the proposal with a becoming firmness; telling them at the same time, that *as he had never yet fled from the enemies of Christianity, so neither would he now consent to give such an ill example to the order, merely to preserve the short remains of a weak and worn-out life.* This said, he immediately ordered the fortifications to be forthwith carried on with all possible speed, both in the borough and city, and all the inhabitants of the island, and a new chapter of the order, to be summoned from all parts of *Europe*, into which the major part of them were dispersed †.

*Abuses
rectified.*

THIS last step was the more necessary at this time, though the *Turkish* corsair had taken a different route, in order to call in all the responsions, arrears, and other revenues, of the order, to supply the expence of these fortifications, maintain their army and fleet, and such-like exigencies, but likewise to rectify a number of other abuses which were crept in during the eight years of their wandering without a settlement. Thus

* BOSIO, & al. sup. citat. † BOSIO, ubi sup. lib. vi. & seq. BAUDOUIN, ubi sup. c. iv, & seq. VERTOT, t. iv. l. x. p. 35. & seq.

he had all things been carried on to the satisfaction of the grand master, and the more sober and zealous part of the order; when, on a sudden, a scuffle happening between a young *A duel be-* Florentine secular, belonging to the grand prior of Rome, and *tween two* a young French knight, in which the latter was run through, *young gen-* had like to have proved of the most dangerous consequence, *tlemen oc-* and hastened the grand master's death. For the commander *casions a* *Servier*, of the *Provencial* tongue, suspecting that the Flo- *dreadful* *tumult.* rentine had killed his nephew by some foul stratagem, sought him out with a full design of revenging his death; and having found him out, accompanied with some of his young countrymen, attacked and wounded some, and put the rest to flight; the quarrel soon became universal, in which some knights declared for the one, and others for the other side. The whole order and city was up in arms, and such a dreadful uproar ensued as had never been known since the foundation of the order.

THE grand master, respected as he was by them all, in vain interposed his authority to oblige them to retire; his commands were now disregarded, and each party listened only to the dictates of their fury. The intervening night rather increased than allayed the tumult and mutual hostilities; in-
somuch that the council were obliged to oppose the grand master's coming out to them, lest he should meet with some random shot in the dark; in whose stead they sent one of their number, named *Manosc*, a person highly revered for his years and merit, who, by his address and persuasions, prevailed upon both sides to lay down their arms, and retire to their respective quarters, where they had time to cool, and reflect on the sad effects of their seditious madness. The *Offenders* result was, that the grand master found himself obliged to *punished.* make a severe example of a few of the most desperate offenders; some of whom, refusing to acknowledge their crime, were ordered to be thrown into the sea, and about a dozen of the rest to be publicly degraded, and stripped of the cross and other ornaments of the order^m. This disaster, joined to the mortifying news he received at that time, of what our king *Henry VIII.* was doing in *England*, threw the old gentleman, already worn out with age and fatigues, into a violent fever, of which he languished till the 21st of *August* 1534, on which he expired, to the great loss and regret of the whole order, by whom he was so justly and universally *The grand* beloved and respected. He died in the 70th year of his age, *master dies.*

^m BOSIO, & al. ubi sup. BAUDOUIN, l. xi. c. 5, & seq. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 5.

and 14th of his grand masterhip. In justice to his great merit, the following epitaph was ordered to be engraved over his tomb: *Here rests Virtue victorious over Fortune.* Before he died, he caused a noble palace to be built in the castle of *St. Angelo*, for himself and successors, and another in the old city of *Maltha*, besides other edifices for the order, and several necessary fortifications both in this island and that of *Gofa*. He likewise obtained several very considerable grants and privileges, both before and after the loss of *Rhodes*, from the popes, the emperor, the kings of *France* and *Spain*, in favour of the order, which we have not room to repeat ^a.

43. Perino de Ponte. HE was succeeded by *Peter*, al. *Perino de Ponte*, a native of *Ast* in *Italy*, and uncle to pope *Julius III.* on the 26th of the same month, being then absent on his bailiwick of *St. Euphemia* in *Calabria*. He received the news of his election from *T. Bosio*, the new bishop of *Maltha*, with the greatest regret; but upon his receiving a new express from thence, with an account of the wars that reigned in *Tunis*, and the danger *Tripoli* and *Maltha* were in from the formidable and successful *Barbarossa*, who was by this time become master of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, he made all the haste he could to his new government, where he arrived on the 10th of *November* following.

*Sends an
ambassy to
the emperor;*

His first care, after having dispatched a strong reinforcement into *Tripoli*, was to send an ambassy to the emperor, to desire him to equip a powerful fleet against that corsair, without which it was impossible for that city, even with a much stronger force and garrison, to make any long opposition against him. *Charles V.* received about the same time another ambassy from *Muley Hassan*, the deprived king of *Tunis*, much to the same effect; and both these took care to represent to him the danger which his dominions in *Naples* and *Sicily* would be in, if he did not quickly send a superior force to suppress those of the *Turkish* corsair, now king of *Algiers*, and in possession of *Tunis*. The emperor was, upon these motives, as well as to suppress the corsairs, which quite interrupted the commerce of those seas, easily prevailed upon to carry his arms into *Africa*, especially as soon as he found that his double artifice against the corsair had been discovered, and his private ambassador put to death by him ^p.

*who resolves on a
war in
Africa.*

As soon as the grand master and order were assured of that monarch's designs and preparations for a war in *Africa*, they ordered four of their best gallies to be equipped, together with their large carack, which of itself is almost equivalent

^a De his vid. NABERAT, ubi sup. in fin. l. ii. & init. l. iii. privileg. ^p MARM. Afric. l. vi. BOSIO, l. vii. & al. sup. cit.

to a squadron, which were attended by eighteen brigantines of different sizes and uses. A considerable number of the bravest knights went on board this fleet, which was commanded by the brave *Aurelio Botigella*, an old experienced officer, whilst the knight *De Grotee* was made captain of the great carack, and the whole furnished with a proportionable number of troops, and with all necessary provision for such an expedition, fit to join the emperor's armament, which consisted of 300 sail, 25,000 foot, 2000 horse, and a very great number of volunteers of the best families in *Europe*; all which that monarch resolved to command in person. We shall not here repeat what hath been related at full length in some former volume, of this long expedition; but as our present subject is confined to the history of *Malta*, we shall only observe, in justice to the valorous knights, such instances in which they signalized themselves most by their bravery and services.

THE first was at the siege of *Goletta*, which was the first place the imperial fleet attacked with success. In this one of the knights of the order, named *Couverfa*, an excellent engineer, found out a stratagem to come almost close to the

Goletta besieged.

main tower, by means of a *Barcalonga*, armed with long cannon, and filled with musketeers, and which, by its continual plying it with broadsides, kept battering with strange success, whilst the small-arms destroyed, by the same constant fire, all the *Turks* that appeared on the breach, and prevented their defending or repairing it, till it was become wide enough for the assault, which it quickly was, by the large artillery which cannonaded it, not only from that but from the rest of the vessels, and more particularly from the great carack, which was situated behind all the rest, and, by its advantageous height, could fire over all the others, and made a most dreadful execution against the place. The breach

was hardly made wide enough to be scaled, before the knights of *Malta* jumped out of their galleys into the long-boats, and thence into the sea, with their swords in their hands, and waded through the water above their girdles, it being too shallow for boats to approach the shore. The standard-bearer of the order was the first that jumped into the water, and led the rest to the attack, they claiming every-where, as has been often hinted, the post of honour, and, through volleys of terrible firing and missile weapons, gained the shore, and quickly after the top of the breach, where they planted their great standard. A great number lost their lives, and scarcely one of them came off unwounded; and the emperor did them that justice, upon his being congratulated on the taking

*Signal
bravery of
the
knights.*

taking that important place, that it was chiefly owing to the valour of the *Maltese* knights. He made the same acknowledgement to the grand master, who, upon his return, sent him a congratulatory embassy on his great success in *Africa*. The city of *Tunis* soon followed the fortrefs of *Gazetta*; after the surrender of which, the emperor, designing to return into *Europe*, took his last dinner on board the great carack, where he was magnificently entertained, and gave the surviving knights the greatest encomiums, and marks of his esteem and gratitude to the order. These he accompanied with considerable presents, and with two new grants; by one of which they were permitted to send for what corn and other provisions they wanted from *Sicily*, without duty or demurr; and by the other he engaged that none of the order should be permitted to enjoy any of the estates or revenues of the order, throughout all his dominions, unless they were lawfully authorized thereto by the grand master and his council, or till the originals had been examined and registered by himself, or such ministers as he should appoint to that purpose.^u The fleet sailed for *Malta*, where, at their arrival, they received the melancholy news of the grand master's death, on the 17th of *November*, before he had enjoyed that dignity a whole year.

The grand
master
dies.

44. Didier
de Jalle.

He was succeeded by *Didier de Tolon de St. Jalle*, in *Latin*, *Desiderius de Tollone de Sancta Jalla*, a native of *Provence*, and then grand prior of *Thoulouse*, where he resided at the time of his election. The noble conduct and bravery which he had formerly shewn in defence of *Rhodes*, had gained him long ago the esteem, and now the majority of votes, of the order. The present juncture required a person of his experience and merit at this time, in which the *Turkish* corsairs, quite tired with the dreadful havock which *Botigella*, grand prior of *Pisa*, who seldom quitted the sea, and never failed out without sinking or making some considerable prizes on them, had agreed to enter into a strong confederacy, either to surprise the city of *Tripoli*, where his retreat was, or, if that failed, to lay close siege to it by sea and land; in either of which they were sure of all the assistance of *Barbarossa*, and *Hayradin*, the then lord of *Tagiara*.

Hayradin
makes an
attempt on
Tripoli.

This last had undertaken the command and conduct of the whole enterprize; but had not carried it on so secretly, but the governor had timely notice enough of it to be able to give him a warm reception. *Hayradin* accordingly came thi-

^u BOSIO, t. ii. l. viii. BAUDOUIN, l. xi. VERTOT, t. iv. l. 10. p. 64, & seq.

ther in the dead of the night with his whole force, and began to scale the walls, where he imagined them to be most defenceless. They no sooner appeared at the foot of them, but the garrison, which had been kept up in arms, poured down such streams of wild-fire, boiling oil, melted lead, and such volleys of stones, whilst the small and great guns annoyed those that stood farthest off, as quickly gave them to understand how they were ready prepared for them. Yet did not this discourage them from following the attack with great fury and vigour, till *Hayradin*, who was foremost in one of the escalades, was knocked down by a musket-shot from the top of his ladder. He fell down into the ditch below, and was taken up breathless by his troops, which threw them into such a panic and confusion, that they immediately dispersed themselves, leaving a vast number of their slain at the foot of the walls *.

*Defeated
with great
loss.*

THE governor, however, rightly judged that this would not be the last visit that *Hayradin* would pay him; and as the walls of the city were quite out of repair, and defended by no bulwarks, whilst that *Turkish* corsair held the strong tower of *Alcaid* on that coast, whence he could at any time make some fresh attempt upon it, he immediately sent an express to *Malta*, to propose to the council the fortifying of the one, and the demolishing of the other. His advice being approved of, the commander *Botigella*, now general of the galleys, was forthwith dispatched thither with a sufficient force, who, having landed his men at *Tripoli*, immediately marched with his troops, and a body of horse of hired *Arabs*, towards the tower above-mentioned, and without staying to open the trenches, or any other covering than his gabions, levelled his artillery against it. *Hayradin*, being informed of it, came at the head of his *Turks* to its defence; but was intercepted by a stout detachment of *Maltese* knights, at the head of the hired *Arabs*, and repulsed with loss; so that all he could do was to convey about 50 or 60 *Turks* into the place, and to annoy the Christians with some slight skirmishes. *Botigella*, perceiving that his cannon did not make so quick a dispatch as he wished, sent for some of his galleys, under the shelter of which he quickly sprung a mine, which brought part of the wall down, and buried the greater part of the corsairs under it; whilst the rest, hardly recovered from their fright, seeing the *Maltese* mount the breach with sword in hand, laid down their arms. The tower was forthwith razed to the ground; after which *Boti-*

*Tripoli
newly forti-
fied.*

* Bosio, & al. sup. citat. Vide & MARM. Afric. l. vi. c. 44.

gella, at the head of his little army, marched towards the town of *Adabus*, whence he drove *Hayradin*, who had intrenched himself in it, and gave the plunder of the place to the *Arabs*.

Takes a In his return to *Maltha*, he attacked a large galleon com-
rich prize. ing from *Egypt*, richly laden, and commanded by a brave
Turk, named *Ardor*, who gave him a very warm reception;
 notwithstanding which his gallies made their way up to him
 through all his fire, and boarded it sword in hand. This
 prize was reckoned worth 160,000 crowns, besides 200
Turkish prisoners, with which he entered the harbour, and
 was received with the loud acclamations of the whole order,
 who came to meet him on his landing, and to congratulate
 his success. Their public rejoicings were greatly damped,
 not only by two till then unheard-of crimes, committed by
 two young persons belonging to the order (B), but, what was
 still more afflicting, by the news which was soon after brought
 of the death of the new grand master, who fell ill on his way
 to *Maltha*, and died at *Montpelier* on the 26th of *September*,
 about ten months after his election.

*The grand
 master
 dies.*

1536.

45. John
 de Ho-
 medes.

THE chapter soon proceeded to a new election, which the
 generality hoped would fall either on the brave and hitherto
 successful *Botigella*, or on *Goleo* bailliff of *Lango*, both intitled
 to it, not only by seniority, but much more by their singular
 merit, and the important services they had done to the order;
 when, to their great surprize and mortification, the electing
 members, by the artifice and cabals of *Garcia Cortez*, of the

(B) The first of these crimes was the stripping of the image of the Virgin *Mary* of *Philermo*, brought away from the island of *Rhodes*, of every thing which the devotion of these times had enriched it with, and were esteemed of immense value; which theft was committed by a young novice, named *Diacon*, who was a candidate for a chaplainship of the order.

The other was a murder committed by one of the knights, a native of *England*, upon a *Maltese* woman, with

whom he was desperately in love, and upon a slight suspicion, in a mad fit of jealousy, he had stabbed her to death with his own hand.

They were both apprehended, and, by order of the grand master's lieutenant, turned over to the secular court, where they were both condemned, and soon after executed, about a mile from the haven, to which place they were conveyed, sewed each in a sack, and flung alive into the sea *.

* *Besio*, ubi sup. t. iii. l. viii. *Baudouin*, l. xii. c. 1. *Verriat*, t. iv. l. 2. p. 100, & seq.

tongue of *Arragon*, gave their votes in favour of *John d'O-medei*, or *de Homedes*, of the same tongue, and bailiff of *Cajse*, who had formerly signalized himself likewise, and had lost an eye in the defence of *Rhodes*. *Botigella*, in spite of his high merit, not only lost the election, but quickly after the command of the *Malttese* gallies, that post being bestowed upon a younger knight, named *Leo de Strozzi*, then grand prior of *Capua*, who had received that dignity, together with the habit of the order, from his uncle pope *Clement VII.* some time before. This young admiral, though as yet neither soldier nor sailor, quickly signalized himself at the head of his four gallies, in the first expedition he made under the famed *Andrew Doria*, against about a dozen of stout *Turkish* ships, commanded by the warlike *Ali Zelif*, at the head of a number of as desperate janissaries as perhaps ever appeared on these seas.

DORIA, who had no less than 34 gallies, besides the four *Malttese* commanded by *Strozzi*, met the *Turks* on the channel of *Corfu*, with a kind of confidence of obtaining an easy victory; but met with a most obstinate repulse, vast numbers falling on both sides; and the *Turks* attacked the *Malttese*, their antient enemies, with such fury, that the knight *Operto*, who commanded the *Capitana*, was killed in defending it. They were just ready to board it sword in hand; when *Strozzi* ordered a culverine to be levelled against them, which had the good-fortune to sink both them and their galley. The *Malttese*, thus happily disengaged, bent their whole force against the *Capitana* of the *Turks*, where a more bloody fight began, wherein the *Turks* could not prevent the knights from boarding it, although they defended it as long as there was a man left alive in it; so that *Strozzi* made himself master of it without making one single prisoner. This made the victory incline towards the Christians, tho' it proved a dear one both to the imperial and *Malttese* squadrons, by the loss of some of their best officers.

DORIA, resolving soon after to attack the squadron which was conducting the *French* ambassador to the *Porte*, *Strozzi* withdrew with his *Malttese*. In his way, he had the good-fortune to chase and take two large corsairs, and a small galley, in which were about 400 Christian slaves, on the coast of *Calabria*, from whence he brought them all safe to *Maltha*, where he met with the congratulations of the whole order, on his having so gloriously concluded his first expedition, and on the

His reception at Maltha.

✓ *Auct. supra citat.*

great hopes which this happy beginning gave them of his future services to the order. They had indeed no small reason to commend his singular bravery, of which he gave in the sequel so many signal instances; the misfortune was, that being quickly after apprised of his father's being taken prisoner in a battle against *Cefmo de Medicis*, and on the point of being tried and condemned as a rebel, he was obliged to quit the island, and pass into *Italy*; by which the order lost one of the bravest and best commanders of the age.

The grand master sets out for Malta.

WHILST these things were transacting, tidings were brought to the new grand master of his election; at which the *French* court was so little pleased, that the king could not forbear asking the commander *Trevoux*, what could induce the order to make such a choice? to which he could not think of a better answer than saying, that there had been always a strict friendship between him and the late worthy *Isle Adam*. Upon which that prince readily ordered his safe-conduct to be sent him, together with a permission to take with him what assistance he thought necessary for the service of the order out of his dominions. However, he was obliged to embark for *Malta* without the great carack, and usual escorte of *Maltese* galleys, which were commonly sent to fetch his absent predecessors; which, whether done out of disrespect, as was pretended, because they could not at that juncture be spared without imminent danger to the island, he was glad to dispense with. Certain it is, Soltan *Soliman* was then equipping a fleet of 300 sail with all expedition, which made the council think it unsafe to venture them out, when they did not know how soon they might be attacked by the *Turks*.

An ambassy from Tunis.

ABOUT the same time arrived an ambassy from the king of *Tunis*, whom the *Turks*, since the departure of *Charles V.* who had, as we have elsewhere seen, restored to him his dominions, had stripped of several towns and fortresses along the coasts, and scarcely left him any other port but that of *Tunis*. The ambassadors further complained, that *Barbarossa* had put a stout garrison in *Tachora*, under command of his best captains, who was expected with a powerful fleet upon some design against *Tripoli*, or his own capital, neither of which would be able to oppose him, unless a speedy succout was sent to both. To all this he added, that the sea-port town of *Susa*, which had lately revolted from him, would not fail joining forces with the *Turkish* admiral. *Susa* being then a very strong fortress, about eight or nine leagues from *Tunis*, the council thought proper to dispatch *Paul Simeoni*, who had now succeeded the brave *Strozzi* as admiral of the *Maltese* galleys, and had signalized himself at the taking of *Tunis*, to join

join the marquis de *Terra Nova*, sent thither from *Sicily*, and assist the *Tunisian* monarch to cover that important place, whilst they sent to the emperor for some succours to secure these coasts against the *Turks*.

THESE two accordingly laid close siege to the place, the *Susa* by land, and the *Maltese* by sea; but the former *sieged*. being unhappily betrayed by a renegado, who, under pretence of having deserted the *Turks* out of a sincere remorse, gave him a quite contrary account of the fortifications to what he afterwards found them, spent his forces and ammunition against the strongest part of it, till they were both exhausted. A great number of knights, who mounted the breach against the incessant fire of the place, not without a considerable loss, were strangely surprised, when they had gained the top, to discover new bulwarks and fortifications behind, which would require a still greater force to reduce; they therefore made the best retreat they could. The marquis found his mistake when it was too late, and was forced *The siege* to raise the siege for want of men and ammunition; and the *raised*. *Maltese*, after having lost a great number of their bravest knights and best forces, retired to their own island, not a little dissatisfied with the emperor for committing the management of that siege to such an unexperienced general ^b.

ABOUT the same time arrived the brave *Botigella* from his *Bad state* government of *Tripoli*, in which he had been succeeded by *of Tripoli* two experienced commanders, and represented with no less warmth the injustice which that monarch did to the order in committing the care of that place to them, without giving himself any trouble about repairing the fortifications, or about the maintenance of a sufficient garrison; whilst the *Moors*, out of enmity to the Christians, joined all their forces to make themselves masters of all the places they held along that coast. From all which miscarriages he plainly told the council, that it would be impossible for them to keep *Tripoli* much longer in their hands against such united force, unless speedy care was taken by the emperor to put the place into a better condition, which had already cost them so much to preserve. The council, before they would apply to that monarch, resolved to have those matters examined by some of their most expert officers and engineers, suspecting perhaps the account which *Botigella* gave of them to be exaggerated, out of dislike to the grand master; but as soon as they found it verified by such able judges, they instantly dispatched the commander

^b BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. xii. c. 2. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 114, & 69.

Groleo to the imperial court, with orders, if possible, to persuade that monarch to demolish the city, and blow up its castle, as costing more to keep than it was worth; and, if not, to have the fortifications repaired with all possible speed, and the place supplied with all necessaries for a siege. The former of these expedients the emperor would by no means listen to, but promised to send express orders to the governor of *Sicily* to set about the second with all possible diligence; declaring, at the same time, his resolution to drive all the *Turkish* corsairs out of *Africa*; and that he should be much obliged to the order, if they would let their gallies act jointly with the fleet he was equipping for the *Mediterranean*.

Unsuccessful
expedition
into
Africa.

We have formerly seen that he made a powerful alliance with the pope, the king of *France*, and some other Christian powers, against *Soliman*. The gallies of the order, commanded by the knight *Simoni*, had been ordered to convey that pontiff to *Nice*, where these two monarchs met and concluded it with him. The grand master, in consequence of it, ordered four of his gallies to join the confederate fleet at *Messina*, which was wholly to be commanded as before by *Andrew Doria*, whom the emperor soon after found means to engage intirely in his own service, to the great regret of the *French* monarch. We shall not repeat here the result of that expedition, of which the reader will find a full account in a former volume; neither was there any occasion for the *Maltese* to signalize themselves in a war in which the two admirals *Doria* and *Barbarossa* played so artful a game between them. The emperor had no better success in his *Hungarian* operations; the care of which he turned over to his brother, in order to pursue the project he had so long formed against the corsairs of *Africa*, in which he at this time hoped to meet with better success, whilst *Barbarossa* was absent, consulting measures with *Soliman* at *Constantinople*. But tho' the juncture was so favourable to him in that respect, yet the season of the year was too far advanced for any considerable enterprise. Yet that did not discourage the *Maltese* knights; whom he had earnestly invited to his assistance, from offering themselves in such vast numbers, that the grand master was obliged to quell their untimely zeal, and reduce them to 400, who accordingly set sail in four of their gallies to join him at the head of his fleet. The emperor, too much flushed with hopes at the sight of so powerful a force under his command, to listen to the wholesome advice of *Doria*, the only one who dared to represent to him the danger of those boisterous seas at that time of the year, resolved upon the siege of *Algiers*, in spite of the entreaties, and even tears, of that old experienced

exceed admiral; and *Simeoni*, who commanded the *Maltese* galleys, tho' no less sensible of the danger, yet made no demur to follow him thither.

THE ill success of that expedition need not be repeated here, nor the extreme danger that monarch was in both by sea and land, from the last of which it is much questioned whether he could have escaped, had not the *Maltese* knights repulsed the *Turks*, who had dared to attack even the imperial quarters, with an incredible fury, and pursued them to the very gates of the city, in hopes of entering the place after those fugitives. They were, however, disappointed, by the governor's ordering them to be shut up, even before the *Turks* were all got in; at which the standard-bearer of the *The Mal-* order, who was one of the foremost in the pursuit, was so these *per-* exasperated, that he left his dagger closely stuck into the *form work-* gate, and retired with the rest in good order. His danger *ders.* was still greater, as we have elsewhere seen, upon his re-imbarkation, by the furious storm which shattered most of the fleet, and the strenuous efforts which the *Moors, Turks, and Arabs*, made to take or sink as many of their vessels as they could. Here again the *Maltese* knights proved of special use in repulsing them, as they were better acquainted with those seas, and more frequently employed in these kinds of exercises. On both occasions they behaved with such courage and intrepidity, that the rest of the allies could not sufficiently admire or commend them. The misfortune was, that the loss they suffered both of men and ships, and especially of some of their best commanders, more than equalled the glory they gained. The emperor, before they parted from him, gave them the most ample testimony of his satisfaction and gratitude, as far as words and encomiums could go; and with these the *Maltese* commander set sail with the small remains of his order in three shattered vessels, and arrived safely at the port of *Malta*, about the end of *November 1548* [†].

WHILST the *Maltese* were employed in that unfortunate *The admi-* expedition, the island was so terribly annoyed with the *Turkish* *raiscours* and other corsairs, that the port was in some measure blocked *the seas of* up by them, whilst the coasts both here and of *Gosia* lay ex- *Turkish* posed to their frequent insults and depredations, and often *corsairs.* to the loss of their inhabitants. This obliged the great bailly *Simeoni*, at his return from *Algiers*, to cause his shattered galleys to be refitted with all possible speed, in order to clear the chanel of that pernicious vermin; which he did with such surprising success, that he took several of them, and their

[†] *Auct. supra citat.*

Rais, or captains, and brought them home in chains. This quickly spread the terror of his arms all over those seas, so that scarce any of them dared to shew themselves in the chanel. Being obliged by the weather to put in at *Tripoli*, the governor informed him, that he had just received an express from the king of *Tunis*, to acquaint him that *Barbarossa* was making the most pressing complaints at the *Porte* against the *Maltese* knights; whilst his lieutenant *Morat Haga* was making great preparations at *Tachora* for the siege of *Tripoli*, which he doubted not would be soon followed by that of *Tunis*, where *Hassan* was become odious to the *Turks* and *Moors*, on account of his alliance with the emperor, after whose late defeat a great number of towns in that kingdom had revolted from him, and a much greater number of his subjects had put themselves under the protection of the *Algerine* monarch, who was expected shortly from *Constantinople* at the head of a powerful fleet, whose arrival would be quickly followed by the sieges of *Tripoli* and *Tunis*.

A new but
ineffectual
ambassy
sent to the
emperor.

THE admiral lost no time to bring these unwelcome news to the grand master; for tho' the emperor had promised him so solemnly that he would order the fortifications of *Tripoli* to be repaired and enlarged, yet nothing had been done to it since; so that it was impossible for it, in the condition it was in, to hold out any time against such powerful force. The council being assembled upon it, agreed that a fresh ambassy should be sent to the imperial court, to renew their instances for a speedy execution of its engagements; but which succeeded no better than the former. That polite monarch gave them many fair promises of a powerful succour, in case the place was besieged; but neither sent them any supply of men or money, which he pretended he had too great an occasion for in *Sicily* and other parts of his empire. The admiral was sensibly affected with the ill success of the ambassy, as well as the rest of the order; but as he was likewise grand baily of *Germany*, he thought himself obliged to do what he could for the preservation of that place, and caused the crew and slaves of his gallies to dig a pretty large fosse round it, and added some few other repairs and outworks, which, tho' done in haste, could not but be better than none, and saved, in some measure, the credit of the order. On the other hand, that he might not seem too pressing with the emperor, he prevailed upon the king of *Tunis* to take a second voyage into *Italy*, and solicit for fresh succours from him, which, if he obtained for himself, would be likewise of service to *Tripoli*. *Hassan* accordingly disposed all things for his departure with a grand retinue, and with considerable presents for

for the viceroy of *Sicily*, and the imperial court; and, being safely arrived at *Naples*, dispatched some couriers after the emperor, who was gone to quell some troubles in *Germany*, to beg the favour of an interview with him. We have seen elsewhere the issue of that expedition, which cost that unfortunate prince his eyes and his kingdom, thro' the treachery of his son *Hamida* §.

THIS revolution, which so greatly endangered the city of *Tripoli*, at the same time that it increased the power of the *Turks*, especially of *Barbarossa*, with whom that treacherous prince made a speedy alliance, in order to preserve himself on his throne, failed not to put the order into the utmost consternation. *Tripoli*, at a great distance from *Malta*, surrounded on all sides by enemies, and in so bad a condition of defence, especially as it was commanded all around by high hills, gave its governor such apprehensions of its approaching siege, that he ceased not soliciting the grand master for his discharge till he had obtained it, and another was sent in his stead. This was soon after exchanged for a new one, and the commander *John de Valetta*, of the tongue of *Provence*, a man of great experience, conduct, and intrepidity, who *Valetta* had already signalized himself by a long course of naval expeditions, especially against the corsairs, and a great variety of successes, sometimes conqueror, and at other times conquered, and even laden with chains, and condemned to a severe slavery, or cruel imprisonment; but no sooner released and at liberty, than at sea again in search of new adventures. Such was the character of *John de Valetta*, whom the grand master pitched upon to go and defend that place. He was perhaps the only one that would accept of that commission under such disadvantageous circumstances, wherein so little, if any honour, could be gained.

His first care, upon his arrival at his new government, was to take a review of all his *Moors* and *Arabs*, as well as *Christians*, and to introduce a strict discipline among them, officers as well as soldiers. Next to that, he applied his time, and the small quantity of money which the grand master had intrusted him with, in repairing the old and adding some new fortifications to the place; and more than these he would have caused to be made, had not the famous *Dragut*, a mortal enemy of all *Christians*, and especially of the *Maltese*, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some foregoing chapters, seized, some time before, upon one of their gallies, which a storm had separated from the squadron,

§ *Auct. supra citat.*

in which was the sum of 60,000 crowns, designed for the service of the place. The last precaution the new governor took, was to send all useless mouths out of it; after which, he ordered a plan of all the coasts of *Barbary* to be taken, which, with that of the city, and the account of its present condition, he caused to be sent to the emperor with all possible expedition.

Dragut
succeeds
Barba-
rossa.

By this time *Dragut*, who had obtained from *Soliman* the government of the *Turkish* fleet in the room of *Barbarossa*, lately dead at *Constantinople*, thro' his excessive debaucheries, had made himself master of the sea-port of *Africa*, al. *Mahadia*, on those coasts, by the vilest of treacheries, designing to make it his place of arms and rendezvous. This roused at once the emperor's attention to that side. He engaged the pope and the grand master to assist him to wrench that place out of his hands, without which no part of *Italy*, *Sicily*, or other adjacent islands, could be safe from his bloody incursions. The grand master, no less interested in that expedition, readily furnished his usual squadron of four galleys, under the command of the baily *De Sangle*, since then grand master of the order, who had under him 140 knights, and a battalion of 400 men in the *Maltese* pay. Young *Daria*, the nephew of the admiral of that name, who commanded the emperor's fleet, sailed straightway to *Cape Bone*, where he landed his forces, and made himself master of the fortrefs of *Gahbia*, supposed to be the *Clypea* of the *Romans*, from which he advanced towards *Monaster*, both which had submitted to *Dragut*. At their approach to the place, the *Turks* and *Moors* made a large sally, not so much to engage as to reconnoitre them; but the *Maltese* knights, who marched in the front, and were supported by a third part of the *Spanish* forces, rushed out upon them with such speed and fury, that they killed a great number of them, and followed the rest with sword in hand into the town. This was soon abandoned by the inhabitants, most of whom retired with the governor into the castle. This refusing to surrender upon the first summons, was immediately cannonaded with such force, that a breach was quickly made, tho' scarcely wide enough for an assault. But our young admiral, above minding such a circumstance, ordered his forces forthwith to mount, which occasioned the attack to be more fierce and bloody, and, which was still worse, the loss of the greatest part of the *Maltese*, who had the post of honour. The inhabitants would have been glad to have capitulated; but the governor, an old experienced corsair, rejected the proposal, and held his post on the top of the breach, till a musket-
ball

A great
number of
the knights
slain.

ball put an end to his fighting and life. The rest, quite *The place* discouraged by his death, surrendered at discretion, and *surrenders.* were made prisoners of war ^k.

AFTER this successful expedition, *Doria*, having been promised a vast reinforcement from *Naples* and *Sicily*, resolved to make his next attempt on *Africa*, whilst *Dragut* was out at sea with his squadron; and, to prevent his throwing any *Doria* forces into the place whilst the succours were coming from *blocks up* *Italy*, went and posted his fleet at the *Conigliari* or *Cumiliary* *Africa* *Islands*, almost over-against it, and by that means kept the place in some measure blocked up. About that time he received advice from the viceroy of *Naples*, importing, that the succours designed for him were not quite ready, and desiring him to come to him at *Drepano* in *Sicily*, the place of their rendezvous. This request (which could not be complied with without giving *Dragut* an opportunity, which he was not likely to neglect, of throwing some fresh succour into *Africa*) highly disconcerted the young admiral; but, as he had been charged not to undertake any thing without the advice of *Don Juan de Vega*, an old experienced general, he was obliged to go and consult him at *Palermo*, from which he sailed away to *Drepano*, where the *Neapolitan* and *Maltese* fleets were already arrived. Unfortunately the former was commanded by young *Don Garcia*, the viceroy's son, who, from thence, claimed a privilege of the sole direction of the siege, to the great mortification of young *Doria*, who expected to have had the sole glory of it. The contest lasted some time, and was likely to have been attended with some ill consequence, when the *Maltese* admiral *De Sangle* undertook to interpose, and, by his address and superior sagacity, after several conferences with the two contenders, brought the matter to a compromise, in which it was agreed, that, when they were at sea, *Garcia* should pay a due regard to the imperial admiral; and, at land, they should each command their own troops, and the council of war direct the attacks, and other measures relating to the siege, in the name of the emperor, as if he was really there present^l.

THERE was now nothing more to do, but to sail away for *Africa*, and to form the siege of it; but *Dragut* had *Africa be-* taken such care, during *Doria*'s absence, to supply the place *sieged,* with brave and expert officers, fresh troops, and other ammunition, that he should have nothing to do but to scour the sea with his squadron, and intercept all the provisions that were sent to the besiegers. On the other hand, the grand

^k Vide ant. sup. citat.

^l Ibid. ibid.

master, sensible of the loss of so many of his knights at the last siege, took care to send a fresh supply of them; whilst the emperor, on his part, sent express orders to the governor of *Goletta*, an old experienced commander, to come and assist at the siege. We have given, in a former chapter, a full account of the most material transactions of it; to which we shall only add here, as more nearly relating to the history of *Maltha* we are upon, that the admiral of it, *De Sangle*, mindful of the religious as well as martial duties of his order, caused an hospital and infirmary to be erected in his camp, under a sufficient number of tents, in which the sick and wounded of the imperial army were taken all due care of, and were served by the knights under his command by turns; a conduct which made their charity no less conspicuous and admired than their valour, especially as the number of the unhappy objects was so considerable, and their condition for the most part deplorable and desperate without such a timely and extraordinary assistance*. But their intrepid bravery displayed itself more eminently upon the signal being given for the general assault, at which, as usual, they claimed the privilege in being foremost in mounting the breach. Finding the water too shallow to bring them close to the shore, they waded through the sea up above their middle, with their swords drawn, and through the continual volleys of small shot, arrows, and other missile weapons, as well as thro' streams of melted lead, boiling oil, stink-pots, &c. they gained the top of it, and planted the standard of the order on the wall with such surprising speed and undaunted courage, as quite astonished the besieged. The standard-bearer, named *Gaon*, was instantly killed by a musket-shot; but the standard was as quickly seized by the commander *Copier*, who, in spite of all the fire and smoke from within, kept it still displayed, without losing an inch of his ground, during the whole time of the attack, though he saw a vast number of knights, and other brave volunteers, that fought under it, fall down dead on each side, by the continual fire of the artillery, without being able to make the *Turks* give way. At length the commander *Guimerano*, who continued still at the head of the rest, looking about on all sides, and perceiving something like a narrow path leading into the place, though some say it was the fragments of a gallery which had been demolished by the cannon of the besiegers, opened himself a way, and led the rest through all the rubbish into the heart of the place, where they made such a ter-

* VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 182, & seq.

rible havock of all that opposed them, that happy were they who could get farthest from them, and gain the adjacent plains with what they could save out of their houses; so that it was intirely owing to the intrepid bravery of the order that this important place was carried, in spite of all the force, art, and stratagems, of *Dragut*, to prevent it^o.

THE plunder of the place was immense; *Dragut* kept all his treasure in it, as one of the strongest fortresses in all *Africa*, and a great number of corsairs and merchants, *Turks*, *Moors*, and others, made choice of it as the surest repository of all their wealth; to say nothing of the opulence of the inhabitants, who were mostly become very rich by the vast piratical commerce which was carried on, as well as by the great concourse of the piratical crews, who made it their principal mart. The young Don *Garcia* vainly strove to attribute the whole glory to himself, whilst the rest of the officers more justly gave the palm to the *Malthese*. *Dragut*, in particular, shewed his resentment against them in the most public manner, by the complaints and misrepresentations he sent against them to *Soliman* immediately after the taking of the place. His well-instructed agent easily convinced both him and the divan of the danger of suffering them to continue longer in their new settlement, from which they had not only suppressed the naval commerce of his subjects, but had assisted the emperor in making such conquests on the *Barbary* shore as must one day endanger his dominions in *Egypt* and *Palestine*; for the re-conquering of which last, they need but apply to their sure friend the *Roman* pontif for a new crusade, to engage all Christendom to assist them with men and money, and whatever else they wanted for such an enterprize. He moreover represented to that sultan how vain and fruitless it would be for him to attempt the retaking of *Africa*, *Monastee*, *Tripoli*, and other places along that coast, so long as that order was continually ready to traverse and obstruct every such attempt by their desperate courses from *Maltha* and *Tripoli*, in which, though few in number, they still multiply to such a degree, that nothing can succeed that is undertaken against the Christians, until those knights are totally exterminated by fire and sword.

SOLIMAN was easily convinced by these arguments, as well as his divan by *Dragut*'s presents, of the necessity of entering into a war against the *Malthese*; and ordered that corsair, whom he had honoured with the title of general, to give him the greater credit, to gather up all the corsairs he could

*Soliman's
armament
against
Maltha.*

^o Vide auct. sup. citat.

meet with in the *Levant* under his standard against the *Maltheſe*, whilst he ordered a most powerful fleet to be equipped for the same service. The news of this armament quickly alarmed the whole order, as well as the imperial court; and as *Dragut* was justly suspected to be the first mover of it, the emperor ordered *Doria* to sail with his fleet in search of him, and to try all possible means to rid him of so dangerous an enemy. The grand master was earnestly desired to join his gallies of the order to the fleet, which he readily complied with, though against all good politics, and the opinion of the council, who loudly declared how imprudent and dangerous it was to send their ships abroad at a time when the island was threatened with a powerful invasion. But the grand master, who, as a *Spaniard*, was a mere creature of *Charles V.* stopped their mouths by pretending, that he was sufficiently informed that the *Turkish* armament was designed to assist *France* against the emperor; but, to amuse the most discontented, he gave express orders to the admiral, in case he found that the *Turks* should take their route towards *Maltha* or *Tripoli*, to separate immediately, and sail back to *Maltha* with all speed ^P.

HE was scarcely sailed away for the rendezvous at *Messina*, before news was brought by the chevalier *de St. John*, who had been scouring the coasts of *Morea*, that the armament was universally reported to be designed either against *Tripoli* or *Maltha*. Presently after came a letter from the commander *Villegagnon*, lately arrived from *France* at *Messina*, to acquaint the grand master and the rest of the order, that the armament in question was solely intended against them. This gentleman, who was in the highest esteem both at the court of *France* and among the *Maltheſe*, had no sooner received sufficient information about what he wrote, than he earnestly begged leave to carry the news to *Maltha*; and only stopped in *Sicily* to acquaint the viceroy with it; and to represent to him the defenceless state of that island, as well as of the town of *Tripoli*, in order to obtain some speedy succour for both; during which time he dispatched the above information to the order, that they might take all proper precautions against the threatening danger. At his arrival at *Maltha*, being asked by the council from whom he had his information, he readily told them, that the constable *Montmorency*, out of his singular regard to the order, had assured him of it, when he took his leave of him; and that *Soliman* was so exasperated

^P BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, ubi sup. VILLEGAGNON Comment. in Bell. Melitenf.

at the part which the *Maltese* had acted at the taking of *Africa*, that they must expect to see speedily his whole force turned against them⁹. This greatly alarmed the major part of the council; but *d'Omedes*, having dismissed him with cold thanks for his zeal, and the *French* prime minister for his care, told some of the principal members of it with a scornful smile, as soon as he was gone, *Either this Frenchman is the high constable's dupe, or he wants us to be his*; after which, assuming a more serious tone, he said, it was absurd to suppose so great an armament could be designed against such barren rocks as *Maltha* or *Gosa*, or even *Tripoli*, which, put together, could never answer the 10th part of the cost. But that they were sure enough designed to assist the *French* against the emperor, the former of whom was politic and rich enough to compensate all that expence by some new conquest in *Italy*; so that, upon the whole, he did not think it proper to put the order to such extraordinary charges, till he received more positive news about it. In consequence of this parsimony, he obtained from the *Sicilian* viceroy about 200 *Calabrians* for the defence of *Tripoli*, most of them raw and undisciplined, but which the grand master palliated with saying, that they would soon be made fit for business when they were once come to that garrison. The difficulty was, to make them embark, the greatest part of them having concealed themselves, and the rest complaining that he sent them thither only to spare his own knights; whereupon he was obliged to put about 25 of them at their head, who were of the younger sort, and, having been confined some time for misbehaviour, could easily be spared^r.

THIS was all they had been able to persuade him to do for the preservation of *Tripoli*, and the islands of *Maltha* and *Gosa*, when news was brought that the *Turkish* fleet had appeared along the coasts of *Sicily* on the 13th. of *July*, and was supposed to be in full sail for *Maltha*, without raising the least apprehension in him, till he beheld it from his own window making towards it with a favourable wind. *Sinan*, the head commander of this armament, was ordered by the sultan to attempt the islands of *Maltha* and *Gosa*, if he found it practicable; if not, to sail directly to *Tripoli*, and lay siege to that place. He was moreover enjoined to consult *Dragut* in every thing, who was best acquainted with those sea-coasts, and all their fortresses. According to which order, the *Othman* fleet came directly before the bay called

⁹ VILLEGAGNON, Comment. de Bell. Melitens. & al. sup. citat.

^r Idem, & al. ubi sup.

Musket, which is divided from the great bay only by a long and narrow slip of land, or rather solid rock, named *Scerberas*. It is easy to imagine the dread and consternation which the sight of such a powerful fleet caused, both among the order, and much more among the poor inhabitants. The knights, however, having soon recovered their usual presence of mind, agreed to divide themselves into two different bands according to the present exigence; and whilst one body was employed in securing the women and children in the borough and the town of *Malta*, or notable city, and others in arming the men, and placing them in different posts, others were taken up in running along the coasts, to descry the extent of the enemy's fleet.

*Sinan sails
into the
port.*

AMONG these the *Spanish* commander *Guimerano*, with 100 other knights on foot, and 300 musqueteers, gained the top of the rock *Scerberas* above-mentioned, where they lay concealed with their bellies close to the ground, whilst *Upton*, an *English* commander, and one of the bravest, at the head of 30 more of the order, and 400 of the inhabitants, stood boldly on the sea-coast, just before the borough, to prevent the *Turks* making a descent on that side. *Guimerano* quickly perceived the *Turkish* admiral in his capitana, making up towards the great port, attended with a small number of gallies, to look out for a proper place to make a descent. The capitana was no sooner got within gun-shot of the *Scerberas*, than he was saluted with such a brisk discharge, as threw the whole crew into the utmost confusion, and made them abandon their oars; which so exasperated the proud *Turk*, that he swore he would destroy them all, for daring, such a handful of men as they were, to make their first fire on his ship. He accordingly disposed all things for landing; but *Guimerano*, contented with the affront he had given him, got all his men on board their vessels, and quickly gained the borough without the loss of one man. *Sinan* fought for them a while, wondering how they had escaped him; at length getting up to the top of *Scerberas*, whence he could descry the castle of *St. Angelo*, and observing its situation and bulwarks, he cast an angry look at *Dragut*, *Is that*, said he to him, *the castle which thou didst represent to the sultan as a place so easy to be reduced? surely no eagle could have chosen a more craggy and difficult place to make her nest in. Dost thou not see that men must have wings like them to get up to it, and that all the artillery and forces of the universe would not be able to take it by force?* To all this an old *Tachoran* officer added, whether to curry favour with the general, or out of hatred to *Dragut*, "Seest thou that
"bulwark

"bulwark which juts out into the sea, and on which the
 " *Maltese* have planted the great standard of their order ?
 " I can assure thee, that, whilst I was a prisoner with them;
 " I have helped to carry part of the huge stones of which it
 " is built on my shoulders ; and am pretty sure, that, before
 " thou canst make thyself master of it, thou wilt be over-
 " taken by the winter-season, and probably likewise pre-
 " vented, by some powerful succour from *Europe*, from
 " going any farther." These words threw the old corsair,
 who never thought any place too dangerous or difficult, into
 a violent passion. He endeavoured in vain to convince *Sinan*.
 how easy it would be, after demolishing the castle with his
 artillery, to spread as it were his net over the borough, and
 take the grand master and his knights prisoners, seeing the
 place where they had imprudently shut themselves in had
 no other defence than that of the old castle. *Sinan*, more
 diffident and cautious, called a general council, in which he
 represented the siege of the borough and castle as a long-
 winded work, which would prevent his passing over into
Africa, where he would much better answer the intentions
 and orders of *Soliman* ; for here, said he, when we have de-
 stroyed all these fortifications, our work is hardly half done,
 we have still a vast number of desperate knights to encounter,
 who must be all destroyed to a man before we can enter either
 of them.

His opinion was at first approved of by the majority of
 the council ; but, *Dragut*, whom the loss of *Africa*, his *Dragut's*
 treasure, and numberless slaves, still fired with an insatiable *advice to*
 desire of revenge, proposed, that, before they left the place, *besiege the*
 they should at least lay siege to the capital of the island, where *capital.*
 all the inhabitants had shut themselves up with all their
 wealth, and which they would find without any fortifica-
 tions, or any other garrison than a parcel of armed peasants,
 ready to abandon it upon the very first appearance of the
Turkish standards ; after which they might safely plunder
 both that and the rest of the island, and carry away a vast
 number of prisoners. *Sinan*, not daring to oppose too far *Malta*
Dragut's advice, which the sultan had enjoined him to fol- *besieged.*
 low, consented to the siege : immediately after which, the
 forces were ordered to land, and the artillery to move to-
 wards the place. This last they found a most difficult task ;
 the carriages falling in pieces as they went over these hard
 rocks, obliged them to stay whilst new and stronger were
 made, which met with the same mischance as they moved
 farther on ; so that they were forced at last to have them
 drawn by slaves, which took up some days before they could

raise their batteries against the town. Whilst these preparations were making, the *Turks*, who had dispersed themselves over the whole island, put all in their way to fire and sword, and covered with fire and smoke not only the houses, but also the trees, hedges, and fields, from one end to the other. After having destroyed all the corn, fruits, and every kind of sustenance, they repaired to the siege of the place. *Malta* had then above 13,000 persons of both sexes in it, and but few soldiers to defend it, except the peasants whom the governor had armed for that purpose, but who now murmured against him, and were ready to abandon the place; so that it was with the greatest difficulty that they consented to stay, and submitted to be distributed into companies, and taught how to handle their weapons.

The governor sends for succours to d'Omedes.

IN the mean time the brave baily *Adorno*, who commanded in the place, found means to dispatch an express, in the dead of the night, to acquaint the grand master with the dangerous condition it was in, and to desire him to send some regular troops to him, and as many knights as he could spare, more especially the commander *Villegagnon*, an old experienced officer, to assist and direct him. But how great was his surprize, when the messenger came back without being able to obtain any supply from him, except the brave commander above-named, whom *d'Omedes* permitted to go thither, for no other motive than to be rid of a person who had the interest and honour of the order too sincerely at heart to forbear making frequent and pressing complaints to the council against his strange proceedings. Before he dismissed him, however, he told him, that, having the highest idea of his conduct and bravery, he was now sending him to the defence of their capital, which he looked upon as sufficiently guarded by the number of citizens and peasants that were in it, who he knew were capable of being made good soldiers, provided they were commanded by an experienced officer, who might supply the governor's absence where-ever his duty could not admit of his being present.

HERE *Villegagnon*, with his usual modesty, replied, that he was willing to obey, pursuant to the strict obligations to which the profession of his order bound him; but begged of him to consider, that the defence of the city did not depend upon a multitude of undisciplined citizens and peasants, whom the first appearance of danger would put to flight, but upon such brave and intrepid leaders, who, from a prin-

• VILLEGAGN. BAUD. NICHOL. & al. ubi sup.

ciple of honour and religion, may inspirit and encourage, and, by their example, inspire them with that bravery to which they are naturally strangers; so that if he really designed to have the town preserved against so powerful an enemy, he could send no less than an hundred knights to assist them in defending it. To this he was coldly answered, that it had been decreed by the council, that the knights should be reserved for the defence of the castle; but that, rather than see him go alone, he would obtain leave to send six more to accompany him; but, upon his offering to represent the small service which that number would be of in such an emergency, *d'Omedes* told him, in a higher tone, that he expected in those of the order less reasoning and greater compliance; and that if he was afraid of the danger of obeying, he would soon find a number of others that would be proud of exposing themselves to it. "Sir," replied the commander, "I will quickly convince you, that fear never made me shun any danger;" so saying, he immediately took the road to the capital with the six other knights; and, upon their giving the signal, they were drawn up with cords into the place, without being perceived by the enemy. Their arrival was welcomed with the universal shouts of the people, and a discharge of all their musquetry; which gave the besiegers room to conclude, that some considerable reinforcement had been conveyed into the place in the dead of the night. *Villegagnon* made the inhabitants believe, that they were the forerunners of a much more considerable body of forces which were in full march to their relief; but privately acquainted the governor with the grand master's inflexible behaviour, that they had nothing to depend upon but their own bravery, and must resolve to make such a defence as might procure them the greatest glory, and the enemy the greatest loss. Accordingly, the walls of the city being found too weak to stand long against the besiegers artillery, they agreed to make as many intrenchments within-side as might oblige them to fight inch by inch, and in this men, women, and all hands, fell to work, under the direction of *Villegagnon*.

WHILST this was done within the walls, a lucky stratagem was contrived without by the general receiver of the order, which had all the success that could be wished: it was a letter written by himself, and directed to the grand master, from *Messina*, informing him of a powerful armament ready to sail with the first fair wind, out of that port, for *Malta*, under the command of the famed admiral *Doria*, the terror of the *Othman* forces, who had been dispatched

from *Spain*, to raise the siege of *Malta*, or give the enemy battle. The letter farther added, that he had detached that bark to bring timely advice to the order, that they might be ready to act in concert with him at his arrival. The project succeeded to admiration; the vessel was seized by some of the *Turkish* ships, and the letter conveyed to the camp. This fiction, which was chiefly designed to intimidate and create an uneasiness in the *Turkish* army, wrought much more powerfully on the mind of the admiral than was expected. He caused it to be read before a council of war; and, as he had undertaken the siege merely in compliance with *Dragut's* advice, he now expiated much on the danger of pursuing it, without hazarding either his fleet or army, and, if it was not speedily raised, all the artillery he had with so much labour brought before the place. To all which he added, that *September* would soon be at hand with its usual storms, which would not fail to prevent their making their intended and more important descent on *Tripoli*; all which was received and applauded by the greatest part of the officers, and the raising of the siege readily agreed to.

Sinan
raises the
siege.

HOWEVER, to satisfy the insatiable greediness of the *Turks* after plunder, and thereby prevent any complaint being sent to the *Porte* against him, he abandoned the island of *Gosa* to their mercy, which, being in a much worse condition of defence, met with a severer fate. They immediately crossed the narrow chanel which divides it from *Malta*, ravaging it all the way. The inhabitants were retired into the castle with their families; and told the governor, that if he would stand by them, they would defend it to the last; but he no sooner saw the enemy present themselves before it, than he retired into the inmost of his apartments, and kept himself shut up for some time. This was the young knight, on whose bravery the grand master pretended to put so much confidence, that he rejected the proposal of blowing up the castle with great indignation: his name was *Galatian de Sessa*, a young swaggering beautiful blade, without courage or thought; and his shameful conduct on this occasion did not a little discourage the small garrison, as well as inhabitants.

Gosa's
castle be-
sieg'd.

Bravery of
an English
gunner. They were however kept in heart for a while by a brave *Englishman*, who, pointing a piece of cannon (the only one in the place, and which had been with much difficulty brought thither since the siege of *Malta*) against the enemy, killed several *Turks*, and kept the rest from approaching the walls; but he being soon after killed by a shot from the enemy's battery, none of the rest had the courage to take his place.

GALATIAN,

GALATIAN, afraid of exasperating the *Turkish* general, *The castle* continued inactive all the while, but sent a monk to him, *capitu-* with offers to surrender the place, on condition that the *lates.* lives, liberties, and effects, of the inhabitants, were granted to them. *Sinan* sent him for an answer, that, if he did not immediately abandon the place to him, he would cause him to be hanged at the gates of it. The monk returned quickly to him, with a new promise of delivering it up, provided the governor, with 200 of the chief inhabitants, such as he pitched upon, were allowed to go off unmolested; but *Sinan* refused to grant him above 40; and told the monk, that if he dared come a third time, he would cause him to be slayed alive. This answer so terrified the cowardly governor, that he ordered the gates to be forthwith opened, and the *Turks* made no less speed to take possession of the castle. His apartment was the first that fell a prey to them, who, to shew their contempt of him in the most mortifying manner, obliged him to carry some of the lumber of it on his shoulders, quite into their ships. *Sinan*, instead of giving him leave to chuse the number of inhabitants agreed on, pitched upon 40 of the oldest, whom he immediately discharged, telling the governor with a contemptuous smile, that the most aged ought to be accounted the chiefest. All the rest, *Governor,* to the amount of 6,300, of every age and sex, were ordered &c. *put* to be loaded with irons, and himself at their head, and to *in irons.* be conveyed on ship-board, and carried into a miserable slavery (F).

THIS dreadful catastrophe of the *Gasans* produced the loudest murmurs and complaints against the grand master, especially among those of the *French* tongue, who insisted, that his cowardly governor should be forthwith tried, and sentence passed against him; but this *d'Omedes* evaded, with

* VILLEGAGN. NICHOL. BAUDOIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi supra.

(F) We are told, that a wealthy *Sicilian*, who had been settled some time with his family in this island, seeing it reduced to so dreadful a state, and preferring death to so dishonourable a slavery, in a fit of jealousy and despair, first stabbed his wife and two daughters to death, then rushing armed among the thickest of the enemy, killed and wounded some of them, expiring soon after of the wounds which he received from them (8).

(8) *N. Nicolai Relat. l. i. c. 15. edit. 1568. Baudoin, l. xii. c. ult. ad fin. Vertot, tom. iv. l. ii. p. 232, & seq.*

his usual coldness; under pretence that the accused was not now in his hands, but in those of the *Turks*; and that he could not lawfully condemn him, till he had heard his defence; so that, to prevent the dishonour of so shameful an action affecting the whole order, they all, except the grand master's creatures, unanimously agreed to send an account of it through all *Europe*; but he took what care he could to be beforehand with them, dispersing a very different one in his favour, in which it was pretended, that he fought with incredible fury at the head of the *Gosans*, till he was shot by a cannon-ball; upon which these, being quite disheartened at the loss of their brave commander, and desirous to save the honour of their wives and daughters from the known brutality of the *Turks*, agreed to an honourable capitulation; but which the treacherous *Sinan* made no scruple to violate, as soon as the place was delivered up into his hands *.

THESE opposite reports met with different credit in *Europe*, according as people were biased either for one or the other nation; but the animosity which reigned at this time in *Maltha* between the *French* and *Spaniards*, will hardly give us room to doubt that they had been greatly exaggerated on both sides. We shall meet with other instances of it during the grand mastership of this *Spaniard*, which will hardly fail of convincing our readers of the more than probability of our conjecture. However, that part of it which related to the young governor's being killed, passed current for some years, that is, till he had by dint of money gained his liberty, and had the imprudence to appear again at *Maltha*, where he was immediately seized, and put in arrest. His trial came on soon after, where, whether by the intrigues of his friends, or remissness of his prosecutors, he was acquitted of the crime of cowardice, and restored to his dignity, and had several considerable commanderies bestowed upon him †.

Sessa tried
and ac-
quitted.

SINAN had no sooner left the island of *Gosa*, in the miserable condition we have related, than the council agreed to send a new governor thither, with some few troops, to repair the breaches of the castle, together with some other commanders, to ascertain the lands of those who were either killed or carried away captives, either to them or their relations, in order to have it the sooner colonised and manured. All this while the grand master could not be persuaded that the *Turkish* armament was intended for any other design

* BAUDOIN, VILLEGAGN. VERTOT, & al. ubi sup. † BAUDOIN, l. xiv. c. i. VERTOT, l. ii. tom. iv. p. 233, & seq.

than to assist *France* against the emperor; and his surprise as *Sinan* well as mortification was inexpressible, when the news came, ^{sails for} that, instead of *Toulon* or *Marfeilles*, *Sinan* had sailed di-^{Tripoli.} rectly to *Tripoli*, with full design to lay siege to it both by sea and land. About the same time arrived at *Maltha* the French ambassador *d'Aramont*, in his way to *Constantinople*, whither he was now sent the second time by the court. In his audience with *d'Omedes*, whom he was ordered to assure of his master's inviolable friendship for him and the whole order, he expressed a more than ordinary concern that he had not come a little sooner, and prevented, by his mediation and good offices, the hostilities which *Sinan* had committed in those two islands. To this *d'Omedes* answered, that he was arrived time enough, if the commission with which he was charged by his court could but permit him to take *Tripoli* in his way, and make use of his and his master's interest to dissuade the *Turkish* basha from besieging *Tripoli*: "and" this, added he, is what I conjure you for God's sake, and "the honour of your royal master, to do; and, if you can" not prevail with him, that you will use your utmost efforts to prevail on soltan *Soliman* to countermand it."

D'ARAMONT faithfully promised him all the good offices that were in his power; and, leaving two large vessels in the port, embarked in a brigantine belonging to the order, and sailed away for *Tripoli* with such expedition, that he arrived before *Sinan* had opened the trenches before the place. As he had formerly contracted an acquaintance with the *Turkish* basha during his residence at the *Porte*, he met with a most obliging reception from him, especially as he had taken care to have his visit preceded with some considerable presents; after which, he communicated to him the occasion of his coming; and used all the pressing arguments he was master of to prevail upon him to desist from his enterprise against an order so highly and justly respected by the king his master, and by the powers of *Europe*. The *Detains* answer which *Sinan* gave him was, that he had received ex-^{the} French press orders from *Soliman* his master to wrest that place out ^{ambassa-} of their hands, and that he could not act contrary to them ^{dor.} without endangering his head; upon which the ambassador offered to take his leave of him, with a design to try what he could do with his master. But *Sinan*, who quickly perceived his drift, which, if he succeeded in it, would deprive him of the glory of reducing the place, plainly told him, that he could not suffer him to go till the conclusion of the siege; and accordingly caused the *Maltese* brigantine, and his own two galleys, which had joined him by that time, to

be secured, and, without any regard to the law of nations detained him, and all his retinue, though in other respects he caused him to be used with all the honour due to his character, and immediately ordered the trenches to be opened *.

WE shall not repeat here the particulars of that famous and obstinate siege, whereof we have given a full account in a former chapter, as far as relates to the surrender of the place to the *Turks*, and the dreadful disgrace it brought upon the governor, the brave commander *Gaspar de Valier*, of the tongue of *Auvergne*, then grand marshal of the order; and a person of such known experience and valour, that he was marked out by the major part of the order as a fit person to succeed the old *d'Omedes* in the grand mastership. Whether this very consideration, it being common for persons in such high rank to look upon their presumptive successors with an envious eye, or any other pique, whether national or personal, was the cause of the extreme ill-will which *d'Omedes* bore to him, is not easy to know with any tolerable certainty, from the various accounts we meet with in the writers upon this siege, every one being apt to lean to the side of his own nation; though they seem all to agree in one main point, that the misunderstanding that reigned between those two great men, the one a stiff old *Spaniard*, and the other a highly distinguished *Frenchman*, was the chief cause of the former's so obstinately refusing to take the proper precautions to have that important place put in a due state of defence, and consequently of all the disorders, murmurs, and cabals, that happened during the siege of it, and hastened its being surrendered, in the manner we have formerly described.

D'Omedes an enemy to the governor.

WE come now, according to our promise, to relate what happened at *Maltha* upon the return of the governor and garrison to that island. It is not to be doubted that the just complaints, which even the most impartial and bravest officers of it made against the grand master, and his unaccountable behaviour towards them during the whole time of the siege, had as highly exasperated him, as the consciousness of his own neglect and misconduct had affrighted him. The dread he had cause to be in of the emperor's resentment made him industrious to hear every report that was made both for and against him, in order to take his measures accordingly. Among other things that were reported by some of his servile creatures, one was, that the *French* ambassador would not have shewn such diligence to sail to *Maltha*, if he had

* Vide auct. supra citat.

not had some private design or instructions to confer with the *Turkish* basha about some other affair, very different from that he pretended; and that his real errand thither was, to hasten, instead of preventing, the siege, that the *Turkish* fleet might have time enough, after its surrender, to go and assist the king of *France* against the emperor; and consequently that the governor was inexcusable for having ventured to capitulate without the grand master's leave. Whether or no these reports were not hatched by him or his emissaries, we will not pretend to say; however that be, he relished them so well, that he built his plan upon them of ruining him, and of having him publicly tried for it, as soon as *d'Aramont* was failed away, who might otherwise have proved too powerful an evidence in his favour. In the mean time, to let the order see that he suspected those flying reports to have some foundation, the ambassador making towards the port with his two gallies some time after sun-set, instead of giving him admittance, he refused to have the chain taken down, caused the guard of the castle to be doubled, and took the same precautions as if the *Turkish* fleet had come back to make a second attempt upon the island; and on the next day he caused the report to be spread abroad by his private agents, that *Tripoli* had not fallen so easily into the hands of the *Turks*, if there had not been a private intelligence between the basha and the ambassador, and if the governor had not been weak enough to follow the perfidious council of that *Frenchman*. He went still farther, and caused the same report to be spread through all parts of *Europe* by the knights of his cabal, who, in their letters to their acquaintance, added, that the castle of *Saint Angelo* would have undergone the same fate with *Tripoli*, had it not been for the wise precautions which the grand master had taken to prevent it. *Spreads accusations against him.*

D'ARAMONT was soon apprised of these flying rumours, who immediately demanded an audience; which being granted to him in full council, instead of taking notice of, or going about to confute them, he addressed himself to *d'Omedes*, at whose right hand he sat, and reminded him that he did not sail into *Africa* till earnestly intreated to it by him; and assured him, that, after his arrival, he had not ceased his good offices, and was fully resolved upon going to try the effects of them at the *Porte*, when he found them ineffectual at the camp; after which, he acquainted the council how he had been detained by the basha till the conclusion of the siege; in which, he added, he had been so happy, however, as to become security for so many brave knights, whom *The ambassador's speech to the council.*

whom he had brought away in his gallies, in consideration of an equivalent number of *Turkish* slaves, which he had engaged to carry back in exchange, and which he hoped should now be delivered into his hands, in order to discharge himself of that engagement, to which he pledged his word and honour to the *basha*. To this *d'Omedes* coldly answered in few words, that he was obliged to him for his care and kind offices; but, as to the slaves he spoke of, they were the property of those knights that had taken them, and that he had no power to dispose of them; that he must apply to them, and, if they refused to surrender them, the governor *Valier* must be answerable for them to the *basha*. *D'Aramont* might have justly told him, that he had still a more expeditious way of doing it, by delivering up the *Spanish* knights into his hands, who were the chief cause of the capitulation and surrender of the place; but, being above such low recriminations, he chose rather to leave the island, and sail away for *Constantinople*, which he did a few days after.

Orders for
trying the
governor.

D'OMEDES, now at full liberty to pursue his design against *Valier*, called a new council, in which he declared *how inconsistent it would be with his and the order's honour to forego the loss of so important a place, without obliging the governor, and such of the knights as had the greatest hand in that capitulation, to give an account of the motives that induced them to it, in order, as he artfully worded it, to clear the innocent, and punish the guilty, if any should be unhappily found to be such*^d. The motion being readily agreed to, three knights of three different tongues were immediately appointed to draw up the indictment against them, all of them being in the grand master's interest. But as the crime, if proved, was of a capital nature, and consequently out of their cognisance as a religious order, they appointed at the same time a secular assessor, who should be authorized to pronounce sentence against the guilty, according to the nature of their crime. The governor was accordingly clapt into a dark and dismal dungeon, and an express prohibition was published against any of the order's interceding in his favour. To this was added, an order to the commissaries to reject every objection which the accused should offer against any of the witnesses; and to hear every deponent that offered himself, without the usual formality of confronting, cross-examining, &c.^e. This was looked upon as a strange way of proceeding; but the grand master's party was by that time grown too powerful

Unjust
prosecution
against
him.

^d VILLEGAGNON, NICHOLAI, BAUDOIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi sup.

^e lid. ibid.

to be withstood, and the judges so much his creatures, that they admitted men of the most scandalous characters, renegades, fellows forsworn on record, deserters, and others of the like stamp, to be the chief evidences against the accused, that is, against the governor and three other knights, named *Sousa*, *Herrera*, and *Fuster*, who had the greatest hand in negotiating the capitulation.

THIS did not, however, prevent the *French* tongue from making loud complaints against these proceedings; amongst them, *Villegagnon*, whom we have already mentioned on some other occasions, made no scruple to say, that the place having been lost through the negligence and avarice of those whose duty and business it was to have fortified it both with proper outworks and a sufficient garrison, it was highly strange and unjust to call the governor to an account for other people's crimes: he had moreover above 60 unexceptionable witnesses ready to produce against those who had deposed against him; when the grand master bethought himself of a new stratagem to destroy their credit abroad, by causing letters to be sent as before, giving an account, that the *French* knights, apprehensive that his conviction would cast an infamy upon their tongue, had taken arms, and actually kept the grand master prisoner in the castle of *St. Angelo*. Whilst this news flew abroad, he was privately hastening the trial of the four knights, which concluded at length in this sentence, which was pronounced in full council, by the grand provost, to this effect:

"THAT, in the loss of *Tripoli*, there had happened no-*The go-*
 " thing that could be deemed treasonable: that the whole *governor and*
 " disaster was owing to the cowardice of the mutinous *Ca-* 3 *knights*
 " *labrians*; and that though there were no imperial laws *condemned*
 " or constitutions that ordained any punishment in such a *to be de-*
 " case either against a governor or his officers, nevertheless, *graded.*
 " as it was enacted by the statutes of the order, that any
 " governor, who should abandon a place which had been
 " committed to his care, should be expelled, they, pursuant
 " to that statute, had condemned the said governor, and the
 " three knights, *Sousa*, *Herrera*, and *Fuster*, to be deprived
 " of the habit and cross of the order, as accomplices in the
 " loss of the city of *Tripoli*."

THIS sentence was so far from satisfying the grand master, that it disconcerted all his measures, it being his chief design to have the governor alone punished, and not the other three, two of whom were *Spaniards*, whom he had caused to be joined with him in the accusation, merely to avoid the suspicion

suspicion of national partiality against the *French*. He therefore declared the sentence to be too precipitate; and that, in condemning them all alike, they had not duly weighed the difference there was between the guilt of the three knights and that of the governor; and that though they ought to stand to the sentence adjudged against the latter, yet that against the former might be justly suspended, in order to their being each separately tried, according to the nature of their respective crimes. The judge, or provost, finding that he had disoblged the grand master, was shameless enough to own his pretended error, and to offer to retract it, by substituting a milder punishment for them; but the council crying out shame on him, and some of them protesting they should fare all alike, *d'Omedes* desired to be heard, and then insisted upon the great guilt incurred by *Valier* and *Fuster*, and also upon that of the two *Spanish* knights, alleging, that the former being of a capital nature, the council ought to refer it to the secular judge, who had already given such proof of his impartiality; but the council crying out against him, he thought proper to put off the matter to another time, and so dismissed the assembly.

The
French
king com-
plains of
d.Ome-
des.

IN the mean time the king of *France*, having been informed of the calumny that had been raised against his ambassador, sent a gentleman, named *Belloy*, who was of his privy chamber, to *Maltha*, with a letter to the grand master, in which he desired him to send him a faithful account of the case, that he might punish *d'Aramont*, if he was guilty; but, if innocent, that he would justify him to the world by an authentic testimony under his own hand. *D'Omedes* was not a little embarrassed at this letter; however, he took the surest measure, and shewed it to the council, who unanimously agreed, that he ought to thank the *French* monarch for the good offices of his ambassador; and to assure him, that they were so far from having the least cause of complaint against him, that they should always gratefully acknowledge the services he had done to the order; and ordered their secretary to write a letter according to that tenor, and to bring it forthwith to be signed by the grand master. *D'Omedes*, vexed at the heart that he had shewn them the letter, took the secretary aside, and told him, that the matter was of too nice a nature to be dispatched in such haste, and that he would take time to consider on the properest manner of word-

* VILLEGAGNON, ubi supra. VERTOT, BAUDOIN, & al. sup. citat.

ing it; bidding him, in the mean time, keep himself out of the way of *Belloy* and *Villegagnon*. Some weeks were already passed, before the secretary put pen to paper, during which time *d'Omedes* had, partly by threats, and partly by promises, induced the secular judge lately mentioned to engage, under the forfeiture of 500 gold ducats, to resume the trial of the governor; and, upon his denying the accusation; to have him put to the torture, in order to extort a confession from him against himself; which confession was to be sent to the *French* king, instead of the answer which the council had ordered to be drawn.

VILLEGAGNON, having, by some means, got information of this hellish plot, boldly challenged the grand master, in full council, either to deliver the answer in question to the envoy, or, if the assembly had changed their minds in that respect, to give him, instead of it, an authentic copy of the judge's process against the accused knight, in which he expressly declares, *that the loss of Tripoli was not owing to any treasonable practice or intelligence with the enemy, but to the cowardice of the Calabrians, which would equally satisfy the king his master.* To this one of the members, a creature of *d'Omedes*, replied, that the king's inquiry being only about his ambassador's conduct in *Africa*, they ought to confine their answer to that. Soon after this, *d'Omedes* asked *Villegagnon*, in a haughty tone, where he had learnt that the order was to give an account to the secular powers of the processes they carried on against any of their members? To which he gave the following answer: "That such a thought had never come into his head; but that he imagined, nevertheless, that as such an account would equally serve to satisfy the *French* king, it might be properly enough communicated to him, since he, *d'Omedes*, had so long declined sending him the answer which the council had agreed on. However," added he, "seeing you seem so desirous to know my motives for pressing this affair as I have done, I will freely acquaint you with them. There goes a rumour, not much to your honour, that you have engaged the judge to renew the prosecution against the governor, and to torture him into a confession of such crimes as he never was guilty of; after which, having condemned and put him to death, this extorted confession is to be sent to the *French* court, instead of the answer which you was to send back by his envoy."

*Answer
sent to the
French
court.*

*The three
knights
pardoned.*

ONE may easily imagine the confusion and astonishment the grand master was in; he asked him, in an angry tone, when he had heard those scandalous reports? To which the French knight calmly answered, that was out of the question at present, which is only whether the reports were true or false. *False as hell*, replied he. *Then all I beg*, said Villegagnon, *is that you will publicly discharge your judge of the sum of 300 ducats, which he hath engaged to pay you, in case he did not condemn the governor to death.* He would stay no longer in the council, but withdrew, and left the assembly in the deepest amazement, who immediately nominated another judge, and ordered the secretary to postpone all other matters, and write an answer to the French king, according to the tenor prescribed to him, and, under the severest penalties, to deliver it signed by the grand master on that very day, either to the French envoy or to Mons. Villegagnon. He did so; but when he shewed it to d'Omedes to sign it, he was ordered by him to alter that clause, which was designed to justify the French ambassador, and, instead of it, to write, *that the council had not as yet been able to make any discovery upon which they might form an accusation against him.* The letter being delivered to Villegagnon, he easily saw thro' the artifice, and complained of it to the council, who forthwith dictated a new one, and, having obliged d'Omedes to sign it before them, ordered it to be delivered into the hands of the French envoy Belloy. Thuanus, who had no hopes of it, tells us, that the French court caused it soon after to be published through most courts of Europe^a; but as it contains nothing but grateful thanks to his most Christian majesty for his singular regard to the order, and a full vindication of his ambassador d'Aramont's conduct, we shall refer our readers for the contents of it to the author last quoted, and to the memoirs which Villegagnon published not long after concerning that whole transaction, wherein we shall not enter any farther into the merits of the cause between the French and Spaniards, but conclude this subject with observing, that, notwithstanding the many foul artifices laid to the grand master's charge, he still maintained his credit, so far as to get the three other knights pardoned and discharged, and the governor Valier to be continued in a cruel confinement, from which he was not freed till several years after, as we shall see in the sequel.

^a Histo. l. vii. ad fin. Vide & MARM. Afric. l. vi. c. 44. BAUDOUIN, l. xiv. c. 13. VERTOT, l. iv. c. 11. p. 276—295.

THE war still continuing between *France* and the emperor, *Ville-Villegagnon*, who had obtained leave to accompany *Belloy* in-
to *France*, was taken with him, in their passage to *Marseilles*, carried
by the imperial squadron, and thence conveyed to *Genoa*, *prisoner*
where he wrote the memoirs above-mentioned in *Latin*, and *to Genoa*.
sent them to the emperor; soon after which he caused them
to be printed at *Lyons*, with a dedication to that monarch.
Some other knights in the *French* service had been likewise
taken by the imperialists, whose liberty the grand master ob-
tained of the emperor, upon his representation of the dan-
ger *Maltha* was in of a speedy visit from the *Turks*. Among
these knights was the famous *Pied de Fer*, or *Iron Foot*, who
brought with him a large company of *Spaniards* into the
island.

MUCH about the same time, the brave *Strozzi*, grand prior *Strozzi*
of *Capua*, of whom we have had occasion to speak, having *denied en-*
been obliged to quit the *French* service, and to save himself *trance into*
in his galley, accompanied with that of his brother, by get- *Maltha*.
ting over the chain that locked the port, by dint of rowing,
sailed directly for *Maltha*, where he was not only forbid to
land by the grand master, but even threatened to be fired
upon, if he did not sail away. This harsh treatment was
highly resented by the majority of the order, especially at such
a time when the island wanted such brave commanders. One
of the knights, however, found means to send him, unknown
to *d'Omedes*, a fresh supply of biscuit, of which he was in
great want; after which he sailed towards the *Levant*, in dan-
ger of being taken either by *Doria's* squadron, or by the
Turkish corsairs, and destitute of a Christian port where he
might retire, or bring any prize into. However, his valour
and conduct were so well known in *Europe* by this time, that
the emperor spared no promises or stratagems to draw him
into his service. Among other favours, he sent him a safe-
conduct, by which he was permitted to come into any sea-
port belonging to his dominions; but *Strozzi*, still unwilling
to engage against *France*, delayed his answer, under pretence
that he could not come to any resolution till he had consulted
the grand master *.

STROZZI, by this time, had been so successful in his cruif- *Sends a*
ing, that he sent to the image of our lady of *Philermo* at *noble pre-*
Maltha, a magnificent present of a church-ornament, on *sent to the*
which he caused these words to be embroidered, *He came to church of*
his own, and his own received him not, John i. 11. The offi- *Philermo*.

* *Memoires de BRANTOME*, tom. ii. BAUDOUIN, ubi supra.
VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 296, & seq.

cer, who carried it thither, was ordered at the same time to acquaint his friends there with his good-fortune, and to inform himself how the rest stood affected towards him. As soon as the grand master was apprised of his design, he declared once more, that, if he offered to return, he should be sure to meet with the same reception he had found before; his main view in it being to oblige him the more readily to engage in the emperor's service, which he knew would be laying a great obligation on that monarch, by whose directions he regulated all his measures. Some of his friends, however, took care to inform him, that, if he thought fit to come, he would find a party strong enough in the council against the grand master; upon which he immediately sailed for the haven, and, landing from his long-boat, marched directly to the palace, attended by a great number of the most considerable knights of the order. *D'Omedes* was not a little surprized at his unexpected appearance, and much more at his being accosted by him in words to this effect: "Sir, being informed by very good hands, that the *Turks* threaten our island with a second invasion, and are making vast preparations for it, I am now come, according to my duty, to offer my services, and to join with the rest of my brethren." For, besides that it disconcerted all his views of obliging the emperor, he had great reason to fear lest the residence of a man of his credit and character among them, should contribute still more to the misunderstanding which his avarice and arbitrary proceedings had occasioned between the council and him. However, having recovered himself a little, he not only gave him an obliging reception, but begged of him, that, as soon as he had rested himself a while from his fatigue, he would take a turn round the island, and make his observations of every thing that was wanting to put it in a state of defence.

Rais's several forts in it. He quickly acquitted himself of his commission, and laid before the council a plan, which, if it could have been executed, would have rendered it almost impregnable; but as the treasury of the order was found by far too much exhausted to supply so vast an expence, they contented themselves with adding some new fortifications in several parts, particularly a new castle on the extremity of the mount *Scorberas*, some bastions and outworks to the borough on that side which was opposite to the castle, where it lay most exposed, and a new fort on mount *St. Julian*, together with some other necessary outworks. Workmen and materials were sent for from *Sicily* with all expedition; and *Strozzi*, who presided over the building of the new castle, since called *Fort*

Fort St. Elmo, in memory of that of *Rhodes*, used such diligence in it, that it was finished in less than six months. That on mount *St. Julian*, since called *Fort St. Michel*, was completed in much the same time by the commander *Lustic*, since then grand master of the order, and the outworks of the borough by the grand balliff of *Germany*. Such life did that noble knight give to every man and every thing, which, in all probability, would have been stagnated or overlooked without him, through the avarice and indolence of the grand master, that every one helped the work forward, not only with their assistance, but with their private purses, the knights selling even their plate and rich furniture, and those who had nothing else, parted even with their gold chains, the only ornament they have to distinguish themselves in time of war, to contribute what they could to the public safety. This warm zeal communicated itself even among the inhabitants of the island, who readily joined in these efforts with the majority of the order; so that *Maktha* wanted now nothing more for its safety than to see *Strozzi* grand master of it¹.

ONE may easily imagine how mortifying these things were to *d'Omedes*, who left no means untried to persuade this new rival to engage himself in the emperor's service; but finding him more and more averse and determined against it, he thought it high time to contrive some stratagem to remove him out of the island, with his own consent. He accordingly communicated to him a project, which he had long ago premeditated, of seizing the fortress of *Zoara*, on the coast of *Barbary*, and in the province of *Tripoli*; the commodiousness of which port drew such a concourse of merchant-men, that it was become exceedingly rich; and, being but poorly fortified, he told him, might be easily surprized by the help of a forest of palm-trees, which extended themselves almost to the very walls. *Strozzi* readily came into the project, and offered himself to conduct the whole enterprize. A small Squadron of gallies, and other vessels, was forthwith equipped, and about 1200 soldiers put on board; amongst whom were near 300 of the bravest knights of the order, all emulous to signalize themselves under such an expert commander.

THE fleet set sail on the 6th of *August*; but, through the mistake of the pilot, landed much higher than they designed, and were thereby obliged to march several leagues through sandy grounds and groves of palm-trees, during the dead of night. They were divided into three bodies, each com-

D'Omedes grows jealous of him.

lands near Zoara.

¹ BAUDOUIN, l. xiv. c. 5. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 309, & seq.

manded by some of the most experienced officers of the order. In their way they observed some fires at a distance, which they supposed to be some hords of wandering *Arabs*, who were now taking their rest; but forbore attacking them, for fear of alarming the town they were going to surprize. Upon their arrival at *Zoara*, they found all things in a profound quiet, and the gates open and without guard; and penetrated, as *Strozzi* bade them, into the very center of the town, without the least opposition, and there collected themselves into one body, and set themselves in battle-array. Their drums and clattering noise soon awoke the inhabitants, whilst the greedy soldiers broke into their houses, seized on what plunder came first to hand, and brought away men, women, and children, bound to the place of arms, to the number of about 1500; when the commander *de la Valette*, who had the charge of conducting them on shipboard, was accosted by a *Moor*, who had formerly served under him, "Do you know, Sir," said he softly to him, "that you are going to be surrounded, and cut in pieces, by those whom you took to be wandering *Arabs*. They are a body of four thousand *Turks*, all expert marksmen, whom *Morat Aga*, governor of *Tripoli*, was sending to the island of *Gelva*, but whom the night had obliged to encamp where you saw them; but being now informed by some of the fugitive *Zoarans* of your having surprized the city, are in full march against you?"

*Is surprized
by the
Turks.*

THE commander having rewarded the faithful *Moor*, went immediately to inform *Strozzi* with the news, who caused a retreat to be forthwith sounded, but which could not be heard through the reigning noise and confusion by the straggling soldiers. *Morat*, who rightly judged that this would be their case, hastened his army to the place, and fell upon them before they were half-rallied, with incredible fury. The contest was most bloody and obstinate on both sides, but especially on that of the *Malthese*, who were indifferently dispersed in platoons in several parts of the town, where chance had thrown them, and fought without any order, for want of proper commanders. Many of the knights defended themselves to the last, and died with their swords in their hands, whilst others, being quite exhausted with fighting, fell down among the dead, and were made prisoners. *Strozzi*, being informed that his young nephew was slain, returned at the head of a numerous troop, whom he was leading to the sea-side, and renewed the fight with greater fury, and forced the *Turkish* horse to retreat; but they, returning in good order, made a furious discharge of their small arms among them.

them, which killed a great number of his men, wounded him in the thigh, and would have quickly dispatched him, had not his knights surrounded him on all sides, and stood like a rampart about him, till a tall stout *Majör can* had taken him in his arms, and carried him from the field into the center of his battalion, and from thence through volleys of the enemy's fire, and through mud and water up to the girdle from the sea-side into his ship.

THEIR next care was how to save their grand standard, in *The standard* which they shewed no less valour and intrepidity. The *ard of the* knights formed themselves into a fresh rampart about its *order de-* bearer, and kept still moving on in spite of the enemy's fire, till *ended* they reached a hard rock on the sea-shore, where was a defile, *with* whence they could see the small vessels that waited for them, *great* but, by reason of the low water, could come no nearer to *bravery.* them. Here they stood some time to breathe, and consult how to gain their ships with the least danger. They agreed to stand firm, and defend the pass, till all the soldiery, especially the wounded, were got into the long-boats. The *Turkish* aga, in a rage to see so many captives escape them, tried in vain to dislodge them from their post, one while by making his horse dismount, and with their scymitars attempt to cut down the pikes which the knights pointed towards them; at another time by making them remount, and annoy them with their small arms. At length the commander *Cassiere*, who had the care of the standard of the order, moved forwards into the sea, followed by the rest of the knights, wading through it with the water up to their middle, and, in spite of the fire of the *Turkish* musketry, gained the long-boats, and were safely received into their galleys, with joyful acclamations, whilst some of their brethren, who had stood firm to facilitate the standard-bearer's retreat, were all destroyed by the enemy's continual fire.

THUS ended that unfortunate enterprize, in which the order lost a great number of their best commanders, and a much greater of their forces. On their arrival at *Malta*, their brave commander *Strozzi* was forced to be carried on a plank from his vessel to his palace, attended by the shattered remains of his knights, the greatest part of whom were in almost as bad a condition as he, though all their mouths were full of encomiums on his extraordinary bravery, conduct, and intrepidity. *D'Omedes* was perhaps the only one in the whole island who secretly rejoiced at his late disaster, and thought him worthy of much better success; and it is not improbable that his strange behaviour towards him on this occasion, was one of the chief motives that induced him to

put again to sea before his wounds were half-healed, and to spend the remainder of the summer in cruising along the *Mediterranean*, as far as the mouth of the *Nile*; in which expedition he succeeded so well, that he not only became the terror of the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs, but likewise of the merchantmen, whole fleets of which he took upon those seas, and brought them to *Malta*, with all their rich cargoes, with which, as well as the number of slaves he made out of both, he restored plenty and opulence to the whole island.

MUCH about the same time the news came of the succession of queen *Mary* to the *English* throne, accompanied with loud encomiums on her for her extraordinary zeal against the protestant religion, and her noble resolution to restore to the church all the lands which her father had taken from it, which filled the whole order with an universal, though short-lived, joy. *The grand master dies.* D'Omedes lived only to share in the first rejoicings that were made on that occasion, and died in the beginning of September following, in the 80th year of his age, and the 17th of his grand mastership. 1553. The great care he shewed during the whole time to enrich his own family, to the prejudice of the public treasury, together with the disposition he made of his own effects, so incensed the greatest part of the council, that some of them proposed turning over the expences of his funeral obsequies to his executors; which, however, was rejected as a disgrace to the order, and he was accordingly interred with the usual solemnity at the public charge.

Why
Strozzi
did not
succeed
him.

WHEN the chapter was convened for the choice of a successor, *Strozzi*, who had so well deserved of the order, had the good wishes of the greatest part of the council, and afterwards of the electors; till *Gagnon*, the great conservator of the order, and one of the elective number, came to give his opinion; who told the rest, that "the interest of the order, at this present time, did not so much require a person of known bravery and conduct, such as the grand prior of *Capua* undoubtedly was, as one who was absolutely free from the spirit of party, which they all too well knew he was not. You are all sensible how far his zeal for the liberty of *Florence* carries him against the house of *Medici*; should he once be chosen head of this order, and have our galleys and naval force at his disposal, what security can you have that he will not, on some pretence or other, turn his arms against that family, and bring us under the resentment of the emperor, who is the protector and founder of that house? Will not *Cosmo* himself, who is at the head of it, try to raise all the enemies he can, both among the Christians, and even among the *Turks*?" and if

"we

"we should be besieged by the latter, what succours could we hope for from the emperor, or any of the powers of Italy?" This speech was thought so just and disinterested by the rest of the electors, that those, who had already declared for *Strozzi*, readily gave up the point; and the choice was quickly after declared in favour of *Claudius de la Sengle*,^{47. Claudius de la Sengle.} of the *French* tongue, then grand hospitaller of the order, and their ambassador at the court of *Rome*, where his election was, by the pope's express orders to the governor of the castle of *St. Angelo*, published by the fire of its whole artillery. Upon his waiting upon the pontif to pay him the usual homage, he had the honour to dine with him, and was dismissed with all the marks of his esteem. The viceroy of *Sicily*, having sometime after invited him to *Messina*, where the *Maltese* gallies, under the command of the grand prior *Strozzi*, were to convey him to *Malta*, sent an express to the emperor, to know in what manner he should receive him; and was answered, that he should not fear shewing too much honour to the head of an order which was the bulwark of his *Italian* dominions^a.

He was accordingly received with all the marks of esteem by the viceroy, and by the emperor's envoy *Acugna*, who was sent thither by that politic monarch, under pretence indeed of congratulating him on his election, but in reality to treat with him on a more important subject; which plainly shewed, however, that the great respect which was paid to him was rather political than sincere. Accordingly, at the audience he had, he proposed to the grand master, in the emperor's name, the removal of the order to the city of *Africa*, lately taken by his forces, which would recompense the loss of *Tripoli*. In consideration of which, added the envoy, and of the expence that such a removal must be attended with, his imperial majesty, who makes no difference between the interest of the order and his own, will engage to pay a perpetual pension of 72,000 livres *per annum*, out of his *Sicilian* revenues. The grand master easily saw through the drift of that proposal; nevertheless, after the usual formality of thanks, he excused himself from engaging further in it without the participation of the council; adding, that if he pleased to accompany him to *Malta*, he should be admitted to all the consultations held about it, and be able to judge of the sincere desire he had of obliging the emperor. The envoy readily accepted the invitation, and embarked with him

^a BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi sup.

1554.

*Eight de-
puties sent
to survey
Africa.*

in the *Maltese* Squadron, which arrived safe at the island on the first day of the new year.

THE ceremonies of his instalment were no sooner over than a general council was called, in which *Acugna* was seated next to the grand master, who, after the first compliments were over, desired him to open the contents of his commission; which he readily did. Upon which it was unanimously resolved, that eight of their antient commanders should be sent to take a full survey of the strength and situation of the place.

THESE, upon their return, made a favourable report of it, so far as related to the condition and fortifications of the city; but objected, that, "being built upon a peninsula, jutting out into the sea, it had no convenient haven to shelter the ships; and that the spacious champaign that surrounded it on the other three sides, being inhabited by *Moors* and *Arabs*, who would not brook to have the order fixed in their neighbourhood, it would cost immense sums yearly to maintain a sufficient force to oppose the continual inroads those infidels would make to its very gates." To all this they added, that, "in case it should at any time be besieged, its great distance from *Europe* would prevent its receiving any succours speedily enough from thence; and that, in such case, they must be obliged to abandon their sea-exploits, and the defence of Christian commerce, to the prejudice of Christendom, and carry their arms into remote parts of *Terra Firma*, in order to keep their neighbours within their boundaries, contrary to the spirit of their order, and the known practice of all their predecessors, even when they were much more powerful and opulent than they now were."

*The council
determine
to stay at
Malta.*

A REPORT like this, made by eight of the most experienced commanders, easily determined the council to stay in the old settlement. Upon which they sent two of their chief members on an embassy of thanks to the emperor, and to apprise him of the motives which obliged them to decline his kind proposal. At the same time, to appease the viceroy of *Sicily's* resentment, who threatened to withdraw his usual supply of corn from them, being informed that the *Turkish* corsairs swarmed upon his coasts, and had appeared before *Palermo*, they dispatched five of their galleys, under the command of *Strozzi*, against them. *Strozzi* made the greater speed to go in quest of them, not only as the sea was become, in some measure, his element, but because he perceived him-

° *Auct. supra citat.*

self to be suspected to have had a hand in the death of the grand conservator *Gagnon*, and two other knights of distinction, who had been poisoned by his chief servants and confidants, soon after they had opposed his election. Upon his arrival at *Palermo*, he received a letter from his elder brother, *Peter Strozzi*, acquainting him, that the *French* king had given him the command of his land-forces in *Italy*, and invited him to take that of his gallies, and to act in constant concert with him. Whatever his resentment might be against the *French* monarch, his affairs at this time easily determined him to sacrifice it to his inveterate enmity against the house of *Medicis*. The difficulty was in the withdrawing himself and fleet out of *Palermo*, without giving some umbrage to the viceroy, who had been ordered by the emperor to keep a watchful eye over him, and, upon the least appearance of his holding a correspondence with his brother, to cause him to be arrested.

To remove as much as possible all suspicion from the vice-Strozzi roy, he entertained him with a long detail of the ill returns *amused the* he had received from the *French* court, and of some projects *viceroy of* which he had formed to be revenged on that ungrateful and *Sicily*. perfidious nation; and acted his part so well, that the viceroy, who wanted to engage him in the emperor's service, instead of suspecting, began to think himself sure of him. They were at dinner together, when a gentleman of *Strozzi's* retinue came and told him, that he had been just taking an airing at sea, and had observed three *Turkish* corsairs in a neighbouring creek, which might be easily surpris'd, with a little good dispatch. *Strozzi* immediately rose up, and, with a pleasing smile, told the viceroy, that "he would bring a good account of them to him before he was risen from table;" and, making all the speed he could, soon gained his gallies, which were all armed, and ready for sailing, according to the directions he had before given to the gentleman above-mentioned (for this was a concerted stratagem); so that he immediately sailed away unsuspected; and when he was got far enough out of sight, he made directly for the island of *Malta*. At his arrival, he resigned his command *Resigns his* of the gallies, in which he was succeeded by the commander *command*, *De la Valetta*; but insisted, that two vessels, being his own property, and a third his brother's, he would go a cruising on his own bottom; in which he was accompanied by a great number of young volunteers. We shall follow him no farther in his other expeditions, having no more relation to the *Maltese* order; but only observe to our curious readers, that being sail'd for *Tuscany*, and going to reconnoitre the place which

Killed by a peasant. which he designed to lay siege to, he was known by a peasant, who lay hid amongst the reeds, and who immediately shot him in the side, whence he was carried to his galley, and died of the wound on the next day ^P. This was the sad catastrophe of that brave commander, who might have been an honour and pillar to the order, had not his inveteracy against the house of *Medicis* misled him into unjustifiable measures.

Succeeded by La Valette. LA VALETTE, his successor in the command of the galleys, proved no less diligent and successful against the *Turks*, whom he quite drove from the coasts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and whose example induced several of the wealthiest commanders to equip vessels at their own charge, by which they kept these seas almost clear of that destructive vermin. Their number and success quickly alarmed the states of *Barbary*, who, as we have formerly seen, lived chiefly by the piratical trade.

THESE, and the merchants who traded towards *Constantinople*, and other parts of the *Turkish* empire, and often fell likewise into the hands of the *Maltese*, went and made such loud complaints at the *Porte* against them, that the sultan promised to drive them out of that island, as he had already done out of *Rhodes*; but tho' he was at this time so taken up elsewhere, that the order was in no present danger from his quarter, yet that did not hinder the new grand master's making all proper preparations against him, by adding new fortifications, and filling his magazines with corn and other provisions, and the arsenals with all warlike stores, against a siege; whilst his admiral, and other commanders, were still bringing in variety of prizes. We are even told, that the former ventured as far as the mouth of the river *Nile*, whence he brought three large vessels laden with corn for *Constantinople*.

A dreadful storm. THUS far every thing went successfully on, when this tranquillity was all at once disturbed by an unexpected calamity, no less dreadful and destructive than it was violent and short-lived. This was a sudden hurricane, which happened on the 23d of *September*, in the afternoon, which blew with such fury, that, in the space of one half-hour it lasted, it threw the sea into such convulsions, that it shattered most of the ships in pieces one against another, overturned four of their galleys, with all their crews, and left them with their keels upwards, by which most of the officers, sailors, and slaves, were drowned, or crushed to death. The houses near the haven were all blown down, and the castle of *St. Angelo* very

^P BAUDOUIN, ubi sup. c. 7, & seq. VERTOT, ubi sup.

much damaged by the violence of the different whirlwinds, which seemed engaged against one another; insomuch that the tree, on which the standard of the order was fixed, was lifted up and carried away near a mile from its place. The *Great loss* vast swelling of the sea, joined to the rains that poured down by sea. in constant streams, seemed to threaten the whole island with utter destruction, and would most certainly have been attended with great disasters, had it continued much longer.

THE calm that succeeded within half an hour after was hardly less terrible to the sight, by the number of shipwrecks and fragments, and dead bodies, that covered the surface of the waves, and the number of houses that were laid in ruins in that short time, and much more so by the night which intervened, and prevented, in a great measure, that speedy succour which might otherwise have been given to those who were still exposed to the greatest danger, both on the water and on the land, and more particularly to those who were in the four overturned galleys above-mentioned; so that the grand master, and the other members of the convent, who were come to give the best orders they could to the assistants, were obliged to stay till the next daylight before they could set them afloat. As soon as that appeared, they made towards them, and caused some of the planks to be pulled up; upon which a monkey started out. They took up as many of the men as they could come at; among whom was the famous *Romegas*, a knight of the tongue of *Provence*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel, and some others, who had remained all night with the water up to their chins. The same assistance was given to the other galleys, some of which were, after great labour and difficulty, set on float, and others, particularly the carack, were quite shattered, and rendered unfit for further service. Some of the men were taken up half-dead, and many more really drowned or stifled for want of air. The loss of both men and vessels was very considerable. The grand master, to shew a good example, caused a new galley to be built at *Messina*, which the pope was so generous as to furnish with a proper number of his own slaves, which were fetched out of several of his jails, to row it to *Malta*. The rest of his wealthiest commanders did the same at their own expences, as did also some *European* princes; so that this great loss was repaired in a very little time.

BUT in the mean while, *Dragut*, their implacable enemy, having been informed of this great disaster, had gathered up

* BAUDOIN, ubi supra, c. 8. VERTOT, ubi supra, p. 367, & seq.

*Dragut
driven out
of the
island with
great loss.*

what corsairs he could, and took that opportunity of making a descent upon the island with seven galleys. He ravaged the whole country, and made a great number of the inhabitants prisoners; but before he could regain his ships, he was so fiercely attacked by the commander *Laslic*, grand marshal of the order, at the head of 300 knights, that he was obliged to retreat with the utmost speed, with the loss of a great number of his men, and of all his plunder. The grand prior of *France* sailed immediately in pursuit of him, and, not being able to overtake him, went and wreaked his resentment on the coasts of *Barbary*, and returned with several considerable prizes from thence; so that the order, in a little time, recovered its pristine superiority at sea by the successes and valour of its commanders. On the other hand, *Dragut*, and the rest of the *Barbary* corsairs, were not wanting in their resentments; and tho' they shunned meeting the *Maltese* galleys at open sea, yet they would now-and-then come and burn some of them in the dead of night in their very harbours.

*New
troubles.*

Soon after they had recovered their loss by the hurricane lately mentioned, another disaster happened, which caused no small uneasiness and animosity in the convent, besides exposing the order to the resentment of the most powerful princes in *Europe*. We have already hinted, that *Strozzi*, after he had laid down his commission of admiral of their galleys, had obtained some of them as belonging to him and his brother; and that this last accordingly challenged and kept them as his own, after his brother's death, though one only belonged to him. The he was obliged to join with some *French* ones, then riding at *Civita Vecchia*; because, being commander of the *French* forces in *Italy*, he could not take the care of them. The ships were then under the command of *Sforza*, grand prior of *Lombardy*, brother to the cardinal of that name; grand *Camerlingo* to the holy see. *Sforza*, soon after quitting the service of *France* for that of *Spain*, in concert with his brother, carried off two of the *French* galleys, whilst a *Piedmontese*, named *Moretto*, did the same by two of *Strozzi's*, which he carried to the port of *Villa Franca*, belonging to the duke of *Savoy*. This treachery occasioned a furious contest between the pope, the emperor, the *French* king, and the duke of *Savoy*; which being foreign to this part of our history, we shall refer our readers to the account which will be given of it in the succeeding part of this work. The grand master was not only

blamed for the share he had in it, by each of the powers concerned in the affair, according to the several views and interests they had in it, but likewise by the members of the convent, in which each tongue took the part of its own nation with such warmth as must have proved of dangerous consequence, had not the matter been timely compromised.

BUT tho' the whole matter had been determined with the greatest prudence and equity, it by no means allayed the dissensions and heart-burnings between the different tongues. The bitter reflections which they continually threw out against each other, and, in many cases, glanced upon the grand master himself, if not chiefly aimed at him, sensibly affected him. The ill offices and exactions of the viceroy of Sicily on the corn which was brought from that island, contrary to the old treaty with the emperor, were interpreted as the effects of that monarch's resentment against him. These and other grating things which occurred, made so deep an impression on his mind, that he might be more properly said *to have languished out than lived the short remainder of his days*. He died on the 18th of August 1557, in the 4th year of his grand mastership, leaving behind him, besides the considerable sums he had spent in the fortifications of the island, above 60,000 crowns in his own coffers, to the public treasury of the order. In gratitude for which generosity, the chapter, which had given him leave to frequent it at his discretion, ordered 12,000 livres out of it to be presented to his niece, as an addition to her dowry, and another sum was ordered to be laid out in some splendid ornaments for the church, on which his name and coat of arms were richly embroidered ^u. Before his death, he caused a farther inquiry to be made into the process intended against the commander Valier, late governor of Tripoli, who had been till then detained in prison, and ordered him to be set at liberty; but whether his fear of disobliging the party of the late d'Omedes, who had prosecuted him with so much rancour, or any other private motive, intimidated him, he did not venture to extend his generosity farther than that; so that this brave officer, who would have been in all probability raised to the grand mastership, had he commanded any-where but in Tripoli, was still forced, after a cruel imprisonment of some years, to live a poor obscure life, suitable to his disgrace, and was not restored to his pristine dignities till the beginning of his successor's government.

^u BAUDOUIN, l. xv. VERTOT, t. iv. l. xi. p. 379, & seq.

48. John
de la Va-
lette.

He was succeeded by the famed commander *John de la Valette*, surnamed *Parisot*, of the tongue of *Provence*, a person of great valour and experience, who had regularly passed through all the other dignities of the order, and who, soon after his election, recovered a great number of responsions, and other revenues, which had been detained or suppressed, both in *Germany* and *Venice*. The former had been alienated during the troubles which the *Hussites* had raised in most of the northern countries, and the latter under pretence that most of theirs were employed in defence of Christianity against the *Turks*. His next care was, after a fresh examination of *Valier's* cause, to do justice to his innocence and merit, by declaring all his former accusations false and unjust, and bestowing upon him the rich bailiwick of *Lango*. By this time the new viceroy of *Sicily*, desirous of signalizing his government by some remarkable service, had laid a project for wrenching the city of *Tripoli* out of *Dragut's* hands, who commanded in chief in it, and had caused the fortifications both of the city and castle to be augmented with fresh outworks, in order not only to make it his place of arms, from whom he sent his corsairs on their usual excursions against *Malthe*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, but also a safe receptacle for all the piratical crews of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, &c. The grand master was easily induced to join in the enterprize, which no less concerned the island of *Malthe* than it did the *Spanish* dominions in *Italy*; tho' he was at the same time apprised from several hands, particularly by the commander *Romegas*, of the vast preparations that were making at the *Porte* to make a fresh descent upon the island: but as he knew also that they would take some time longer before they could be ready to sail, he rightly enough judged that if the expedition against *Tripoli* was carried on with due diligence, the place might be carried before the *Turkish* fleet could come to its assistance; after which the imperial forces might assist him in the defence of *Malthe*, in case it should be attacked by the *Turks*. With this view he sent the commander *Guariman* into *Sicily*, to hasten the armament, which was ordered to rendezvous at *Malthe*, under the command of *John de Lacerta*, duke of *Medina-Celi*, the then viceroy of that island, and the admiral *Doria*, in conjunction with him.

Joins in
the enter-
prize
against
Tripoli.

THE misfortune was, that the two former proved so dilatory in their preparations, that the grand master began to think the season too far advanced for such an expedition, and advised them by his letters to put it off till the next spring: but the young viceroy, afraid lest *Philip II.* who was no great warrior, should alter his mind, and deprive him of the glory he

he promised himself by it, would listen to no delay, and, in spite of the rigor of the season, sailed for *Malta*, and arrived there about the middle of *December* 1559. He was highly pleased at the honours with which the whole order received him, and much more so at the vast preparations of the grand master, and the numerous appearance of so many brave knights that were to accompany him, and who were all men of valour and intrepidity, and not a few of them old experienced commanders; but tho' expressly ordered by the king his master to be directed wholly by *La Valette*, yet he could not be brought to consent to any farther delay than the coming of the remainder of the armament from *Naples* and *Milan*, which being at length arrived about the beginning of *February*, they immediately set about a plan for the operations of the campaign. The grand master, who was perfectly well acquainted with all the fortifications which *Dragut* had caused to be made to the place, and the numerous garrison and plenty of ammunition he had put into it, thought himself obliged to lay an account of all before the council of war, who appeared not a little surpris'd at it, it being what till then they hardly dreamed of. The young *Lacerta*, a better courtier than warrior, appeared so disconcerted at it, that, to avoid exposing himself to so dangerous an enterprize, he immediately propos'd making their first descent on the small island of *Gerba*, which had no other fortifications but an old castle, and was defended only by a few *Arabs*. This the grand master reject'd upon several accounts, and finding him still deaf to all his reasonings, whilst the rest of the council seem'd inclin'd to his opinion, he plainly told him, that he might go and employ his forces where he pleas'd; but that since *Tripoli* was the place to which his master had sent him, he would not suffer one of his own *Maltese* gallies to accompany him on any other expedition but that. This he spoke in so steady a tone, that *Lacerta* found himself oblig'd to yield; and, after having given him the most solemn assurances that he would not go upon any other attempt but that, and having received from him an addition of 200 pioneers, to assist him at the siege, the fleet set sail directly towards *Tripoli* on the 10th of *February*. How the viceroy performed his pro-^{The ill}mise, the ill success, loss, and disgrace, he met with in his ^{succesi of} attempt on the island of *Gerba*, which put an end to this ex-^{that expe-}pedition, we have elsewhere seen, and need not be repeated ^{ditiou.} here; only, with respect to the order, we must observe, that being oblig'd, by their post of honour, to be always fore-

7 Vide Aust. sup. citat.

most in every attack, and the last in giving way, their loss was the most considerable, through the cowardice of the Sicilian general, by whom they were most shamefully abandoned more than once in the greatest danger.

A new
military
order
founded in
Tuscany.

It was much about the same time, that *Cosmo*, duke of Tuscany, instituted his new military order of knights of *St. Stephen*, after the model of that of *Malta*, excepting that he exempted his own from the vows of celibacy, poverty, &c. and obliged them in all other things to conform to those of *Malta*; and, whenever they met with any of their galleys at sea to join themselves to them, and act in concert with them. Four galleys of this new order, commanded by *Baccio Mattelli*, having met with seven *Maltese* ones near the *Cape Lupu*, commanded by *Gonzago* admiral of *Malta*, gave them the first salute, and put himself and squadron under his command. These eleven galleys began to scour the sea with such success, that they took a vast number of *Barbary* and other *Turkish* corsairs, recovered several Christian vessels that had been taken by them, and, at the end of their cruise before they parted, those of *St. Stephen* went and paid the respects to the grand master, from whom they met with a gracious reception. The joint success they had, within the space of about two months, soon induced *Valette* to build two larger galleys more to be built at his own charges; and his example was quickly followed by several wealthy commanders; by which means the order, in a little time, made up the great loss they had sustained at the isle of *Gerba*, and became more powerful at sea than it had ever been since its foundation, not only by the number of their ships, but much more by the valour and experience of their commanders, most of whom were fit to command a whole fleet.

The brave exploits of
Romegas. WE have had occasion to mention the famed *Romegas*, a person of a stern and undaunted disposition, who spent the greatest part of his life at sea, and suffered neither officers nor soldiers to belong to him, but such who were of the same martial and intrepid courage with himself. This commander meeting on the coasts of *Sicily* a galley belonging to a *Calabrian* renegado, named *Izuph Concini*, who was known to be one of the bloodiest tyrants of the Christian slaves, attacked him with such fury, that though he met with a desperate defence, yet he boarded him with some of his bravest knights, sword in hand, two of whom were killed at his side by that renegado, who had then in his vessel 250 soldiers, besides 200 Christian slaves at the oar. But these last, seeing *Romegas* master of the ship, one of them gave him a stroke over the head, which threw him down. The

rest immediately fell upon him with the fury of bull-dogs, and tore his flesh with their teeth, from one bench to another; so that he had hardly any left by that time he was got to the last. *Romegas* gave them their liberty, and clapped the *Turkish* prisoners to the oar, and brought the galliot in triumph to *Maltha*. Many such noble exploits did this brave commander perform, which we have no room to insert, by which he became the terror of all the *Turkish* corsairs.

No long after this, the pope having summoned the council *The grand of Trent*, the grand master was invited to be present at it; *master in-* but he contented himself with sending two ambassadors *vised to* *ther*, viz. the famed *Villegagnon*, formerly mentioned, and *the council* *Royal de Portal Rouge*. The former of these being prevented *of Trent* by sickness and old age from assisting at it, the latter only repaired to that assembly, but met with some difficulty about settling the place and rank he was to hold in it; some of the members objecting against an ambassador from the head of a lay-fraternity's taking place of bishops amongst the ambassadors of crowned heads. The contest was, however, compromised, to the satisfaction of all parties; after which, he addressed himself to the assembly in words to this effect;

"That if the grand master was not there present, or had *His am-* not sent him sooner as his ambassador to them, it was ow- *bassador's* to the vast number of corsairs which infested the *Maltese speech* chanel, and to an apprehension the order was in of being *there* quickly visited by the *Turkish* fleet, which had been long equipping for conquering that island: That if the order was not now in a condition to make head against so powerful a force, or to perform such glorious exploits against the enemies of Christendom, as they had formerly done" (some of the most considerable of which he enumerated), "it was owing to their being deprived of many of their best priories and revenues, not only by those princes who had embraced the reformation, but likewise by others who still adhered to the church, who had, in this respect, openly invaded the rights and privileges of it." He concluded with praying the holy synod to consider the vast and constant services they had done to Christianity ever since their foundation, and to put them once more in a condition of still doing so, by decreeing a restitution of their antient rights and revenues, and by procuring a confirmation of their decree from every catholic crowned head."

* BAUDOIN, ubi supra, l. xv. & ult. xvi. c. i. VERTOT, ubi supra, p. 417, & seq.

Answer to
him.

THE president having, in the name of the assembly, given him a general promise answerable to his request, he presented each of the members with a memorial, in which were mentioned the several privileges of the order with relation to the priories and commanderies belonging to it, and in it a further petition, that "their decree might exclude all persons of whatsoever quality from enjoying them, who had not taken upon them the three vows of the order." But this was too delicate a point for the pope's creatures to meddle with without his participation; and it is more than probable that some of them apprised him of it time enough for him to put a stop to it: for he let them know soon after, that the matter of the ambassador's request belonged solely to him; and that he would himself take proper care of the rights and privileges of that order. This prevented the council's farther proceedings about it; and Pius IV. we are told*, soon forgot his promise, and the services which they had done to religion, particularly to Italy, Sicily, and other parts, in freeing them from the incursions and ravages of the Turkish and Barbary corsairs. This did not hinder other European powers from granting several considerable privileges to the order, particularly Charles IX. king of France, duke of Savoy†, &c.

The Maltese
these assist
the Spaniards.

1564.

THE Spaniards, in the same year, having made a fruitless attempt on the sea-port of *Gomer de Velez*, situated on the Barbary coast, and not above forty leagues distant from those of Spain, resolved to make a fresh one on the next, in which they invited the grand master, among other Christian powers, to assist them, which was readily complied with by *La Valette*, who furnished them with some of his best galleys and commanders, as well as with a considerable number of knights, who greatly assisted *Don Garcia*, who commanded in that expedition, in the taking both that town and *Pegnon de Velez*; the latter of which proved a place of great importance to the Spaniards for some considerable time, as we have elsewhere shewn. The loss of which place, which used to be a sure refuge to all the Barbary corsairs, who were here secure from pursuit by the cannon of the fortress, greatly alarmed the whole piratic crew. *Dragut*, their old and steadfast friend, soon ordered his agent to represent their case to the Porte in such pathetic terms, that *Soliman* gave them an absolute promise of such powerful assistance against the Spaniards and Maltese, that they would have no cause to be longer afraid of either. *Malta* was pitched upon to be the

* VERTOT, ubi supra, p. 425.
Summar. Privileg. in La Valette.

† De his vide NABERST.

first scene of war, against which he caused a powerful fleet to be equipped, and all the other military preparations to be privately made against it; but that which determined that monarch to declare his intentions more publicly, and to hasten his armament, was, a prize which seven *Maltese* gallees had made of two of his largest and richest galleons, which were laden with some of the richest merchandizes of the east.

FIVE of the *Maltese* gallees which belonged to the order *A rich* were commanded by the admiral *Giou*, and the other two be- *galleon* longing to the grand master by *Romegas*, when they met *taken*. with the sultan's galleon between the isles of *Zante* and *Cephalonia*. This last carried 20 large cannon, besides a great number of small ones, and was commanded by *Beiran Ougly*, a brave old captain, who had some of the best officers, and about 200 janissaries, all excellent marksmen, on board. Most of the favourite sultanas, and other great ladies in the seraglio, had a share in the lading of it: the vessel belonged to one of the chief eunuchs of it, who was the master of that monarch's pleasures. *Giou* fired a gun to bring her to; but was answered by a loaden one from *Ougly*, who immediately hoisted up the flag of defiance. The two *Maltese* governors had wisely agreed to attack him by turns, so as to keep a constant fire against him; but *Giou*, willing to carry off the greatest share of the glory, was rash enough to push his gally quite under the stern of the *Turk*, whence he saw himself immediately surrounded with wild-fire, and his men overwhelmed with volleys of large stones, which obliged him to draw off with speed, and with the loss of a great number of his men. *Romegas* advanced next with his two gallees, and with his usual intrepidity, but received a shot which overthrew his wale, and killed 20 of his men. A second, which immediately followed it, threw another score of them into the sea, and obliged him likewise to withdraw, to avoid being sunk by the fire of a large cannon which he saw levelled against him betwixt wind and water. They then agreed to attack the *Turk* in flank, by two on each side, and made such a terrible fire upon it as killed and disabled a great number of the janissaries, yet without any other advantage; so that they found themselves obliged to call in the rest of their gallees to their assistance.

THE onset was then renewed with most obstinate fury on both sides, and had lasted near five hours; and the *Maltese* might in all likelihood have been obliged to sail away with a considerable loss, had the *Turks* been able to play all their artillery against them; but the greatest part of it was unfortunately

fortunately hemmed in by the quantity of bales which the merchants had crouded about it, so that a great part became useless through their greediness. By this misfortune the fire of the *Maltese* being much superior, they quickly became masters of the rich vessel, not without vast loss on both sides. The Christians had above sixscore men killed, among whom were a good number of their bravest knights. The *Turks* lost above 80 of their janissaries, some of their best officers, and, in particular, a most expert engineer at pointing their artillery, besides a much greater number of wounded.

Fresh complaints made to Soliman.

THE news of this capture failed not of making great noise both at *Constantinople*, and much more in the seraglio; and though *Soliman*, who looked upon it as the highest affront against his household, wanted no spur to his resentment, yet was he surrounded not only by those who had a share in the loss, but by crowds of his own officers. Even the mufti and his tribe came and complained, that the *Maltese* galleys greatly obstructed the devotions of the faithful, and their pilgrimages to the prophet's tomb; and that their island swarmed with *Turkish* slaves, who groaned under a most cruel and shameful servitude. Even the head imam, or chief preacher, took the liberty to represent to him in his sermon, what a disgrace it was to so pious and valiant a prince as he to suffer so many myriads of his faithful subjects to groan under the chains of those sworn enemies of their prophet and his religion. This last scene was doubtless directed under-hand by the chief eunuch above-mentioned, who furnished the preacher with a particular list of all the prizes, which he gave him then a full, and perhaps a much exaggerated account of, towards the close of his sermon, which he concluded with words to this effect: "All these vessels, " with their rich lading, their soldiers, and sailors, have " been seized by those merciless corsairs. Thy invincible " sword alone can break the chains of these unhappy " wretches; the son demands his father, the wife her husband and children of thee, and all of them expect from " thy justice and powerful arm a speedy vengeance on these " most cruel enemies." *Soliman* was not a little moved at the boldness of the preacher, and much more at the universal murmur which it raised among the audience, so contrary to the behaviour of the *Turks* in their mosques; and, to prevent its rising to a greater height, solemnly promised them, by his grand vizier, that they should all be revenged and satisfied in a little time; and retired, fully resolved, as soon as he

he was rid of his war in Hungary, to turn his whole force against the *Malthese*.*

He accordingly held a general council in a neighbouring plain, where all his great officers assisted on horseback, and in which the reduction of that island was unanimously agreed on, contrary to the advice of *Hali*, one of *Dragut's* most experienced captains, who was sent thither for that purpose, and who gave that monarch the most solid arguments against that enterprize; but which were all over-ruled by the rest of the diwan, and perhaps by the sultan's own ambition and resentment against the whole order. One of his first cares, therefore, was, to send some spies in the disguise of fishermen, to take a full view of the island, who found means to bring him back an exact plan of it, with all its fortifications, havens, strength, and the number of its inhabitants, &c. whilst he was hastening his vast armaments against it. By this time, as there was hardly any reason to doubt of its being designed against this island, the viceroy of *Sicily*, *Don Garcia*, was ordered by his master to take it in his way to the castle of *Goletta*, in order to consult with the grand master about the properest means of providing against the threatening storm; so that whether it should fall on *Malthe*, or the penon of *Velez*, on the coasts of *Barbary*, or on any of the *Spanish* dominions in *Italy*, they might be enabled to assist each other. The grand master acquainting him, that in case his island should be attacked, he should want both men and corn, *Garcia* engaged to supply him with both upon his return to *Sicily*; in pledge of which he left one of his sons with him, who was afterwards admitted into the order. He was no sooner departed, than the grand master summoned all the knights of the order, dispersed through several parts of *Europe*, to repair to him. Those that were in *Italy* raised a body of two thousand foot, to which the viceroy of *Sicily* added two companies of *Spanish* forces. All the galleys of the order were employed in transporting these troops, together with all manner of provisions and ammunition, into the island; and the knights that were in it, in distributing, disciplining, and exercising, their new levies, as well as the *Malthese* militia, against the siege.

THE grand master saw himself by this time strengthened by the arrival of above 600 knights; all of whom brought with them retinues of good stout servants, fit to assist in the defence of the island; whilst those, who, by reason of age,

* BAUDOUN, l. xvi. c. 3, 4, 5. VENTOT, t. iv. l. xii. p. 429; & seq. & 436, & seq.

Soliman
promises to
extirpate
the order.

La Valette
summons
the whole
order to
Malthe.

The Oth-
man fleet
appears.

sickness, or other impediments, could not repair to him, divested themselves of their most precious effects, to assist him with their purses. The pope, on his part, contented himself with sending a good round sum of 10,000 crowns; and the king of *Spain* ordered his viceroy Don *Garcia* to raise an army of 20,000 men, to be ready to sail thither as soon as called for. The grand master, like a most experienced commander, as employed remainder of his time and care in visiting all the forts, magazines, arsenals, &c. and assigning to each tongue their several posts, and making all proper preparations for an obstinate defence, till the *Othman* fleet appeared in sight of the island, on the 18th day of May 1565.

It consisted of 159 large galleys and galleons, carrying on board 30,000 forces, janissaries, and spahis, besides the slaves at the oar, accompanied by a considerable number of other vessels laden with artillery, ammunition, and other necessities for a siege. The whole armament was commanded by *Mustapha* basha, an old experienced officer, aged about 85 years, and an old favourite and confident of the sultan, of an haughty cruel temper, who made it a merit to violate his word, and to use all manner of cruelties against the Christians, but more especially against the *Maltese*. The fleet cast anchor towards the evening in the bay of *Mugiarro*, alias *Porto del Mugiaro*; at the sight of which, the marshal *Copel*, at the head of 200 knights and 1000 foot, marched with speed to oppose their landing. The basha, by the help of a dark night, ordered 35 of his rear galleys, with 3000 men, to tack about, and land at the ladder-port, otherwise called the castle of *St. Thomas*, which they did without opposition. These, lying concealed among the rocks, had an opportunity of falling upon the patrolling detachments of the *Maltese*, as they actually did upon two of them, the one commanded by a *Portuguese* knight, who was killed on the spot by a shot from the enemy, and the other commanded by the brave chevalier *La Riviere*, who was taken prisoner as he flew to the other's assistance.

Riviere
taken pri-
soner, and
tortured.

RIVIERE was immediately brought to the haughty basha, who questioned him concerning the number of their forces, the strength of their island, and the disposition of the grand master and his knights. To which he bravely answered, that there was not one of them who would not fight to the last drop of his blood in defence of his religion, and of an island which they esteemed as their own country: that the island was furnished with every thing necessary to sustain a siege, and would soon be as gallantly defended from without

by

by a powerful fleet from *Europe*, as from within by the intrepid valour of his order and the forces they had to engage under them. The basha, looking upon his answer as a mere bravado, ordered him to be put to the torture ; which he endured for a while with a surprising constancy, but at length, as if he had been overcome by the violence of it, he told him in a different tone, that he would find the island impregnable on every side but that of the borough and post of *Castile*, which he said was indeed the least fortified of all ; upon which *Mustapha*, who doubted not of the truth of it, resolved to make his attack on that side. In the mean time, the wind having veered that very night, the fleet removed to the bay of *Mersa Sirocco*, where they were to have landed at first, had the wind permitted them to do it. Here *Mustapha* caused two towers to be erected, one at each end of the entrance, to secure the artillery and ammunition they had landed, as well as the fleet from being surprised either by the *Maltese*, or by the *European* ships which they were told were in full sail for that island. The basha, however, still diffident, and resolved to take a view of the place himself, caused *Riviere* to be conducted after him in chains to an eminence called *Monte Calcara*, whence he had a full view of the island and all its fortifications, and bid him shew him the *Castilian* post which he had represented to him as the weakest ; and finding it fortified with stout walls, bastions, and other bulwarks, the basha, in a passion, gave him such a blow with his cane as laid him quite flat on the ground, *Is put to death.* and ordered his retinue to dispatch him with theirs.

ALL this while the *Turks* who landed were spread over the island, and committed the most cruel ravages ; whilst the *Maltese*, on their side, kept patrolling about, and had several bloody rencounters with them. These the grand master was obliged to suppress, because the loss of one man was greater to him than that of 100 to the enemy. At the same time, *Mustapha* having called a council of war, the admiral *Phiali* insisted upon waiting for the arrival of *Dragut*, before they undertook any thing, according to the sultan's express orders ; but *Mustapha*, still fearing lest the *European* fleet, which *Riviere* had informed him of, should come and invest theirs in the *Mersa Sirocco*, resolved upon the immediate opening the trenches before the fort of *St. Elmo*, which *Elmo* *be.* he supposed might be carried in two days : a conquest that *sieged.* would facilitate the taking of that of *Mersa Muzetto*, in whose more capacious and safe haven they might secure their whole fleet ; after which they would pursue the siege of the other places with more safety. He had the greater reason to

fear the surprise of his fleet in the *Merfa Sirocco*, as Don *Garcia*, viceroy of *Sicily*, had caused a rumour to be spread in the *Turkish* camp, that he would soon be there and attack them at the head of the king his master's fleet.

THE difficulty was, in opening the trenches before the fort, which was built partly on the solid rock, and partly on a ground almost as hard ; but the basha, who neither wanted pioneers, nor was sparing of their lives, quickly overcame it in part, and, where that could not be done, covered his men with an artificial rampart made of wood, gabions, and the like ; so that he was able to raise a battery of 10 cannon that carried 80 lb. besides two culverins of 60, and a basilisk of a monstrous size which threw stones of 160 lb. weight, and began to fire against the place by the 24th day of the month. These made such terrible havock in the place, that the commander was obliged to send for some farther assistance, whose messenger, named *Lacerta*, magnified the danger the fort was in in such dismal terms, that the grand master thought himself obliged to give him a very severe reprimand : You represent, said he to him, the castle to me, before

The grand master's intrepidity.

all these commanders, as a body quite emaciated and exhausted for want of strong remedies ; I myself will go and be its physician, and, if I cannot cure you of your fear, I will at least prevent the infidels taking the advantage of it. This might look indeed as too severe a rebuke, considering the desperate situation the besieged were in from the continual fire of such a battery ; but there was a necessity of concealing it, in order to prevent the rest from being discouraged, because the safety of the whole island depended upon the lengthening of the siege, to give Don *Garcia* time to send the promised assistance. Having therefore drawn up a sufficient reinforcement, he put himself at their head, resolving, as he said, to defend the place, or be buried under the ruins of it ; but he was quickly surrounded with such a number of knights, who offered themselves to go in his stead, that he had nothing left to do but to make choice of such as he thought most proper for that arduous commission.

New supplies arrive.

THEY marched accordingly to the place with an undaunted bravery, and most of them lost their lives with the same intrepidity, and were still supplied with fresh ones, who came in droves from *England*, *Germany*, *France*, and other parts of *Europe*, with the most surprising diligence, to share in the same danger ; many of whom, instead of waiting for the *Sicilian* fleet to convey them thither, ventured themselves in light barks, or what other vessels they could get, whose entrance into the port *Muzetto* the grand master facilitated by the

the constant fire he made upon the enemy. One of his balls having accidentally fallen upon one of the stones that covered their trenches, a splinter gave the *Turkish* admiral *Phiali* so desperate a wound, that he was taken up for dead; the news of which spread a universal dread through the army, and especially through the fleet. The grand master took advantage of their confusion to dispatch his nephew, with another commander, into *Sicily*, in order to hasten that armament, and settle a proper signal for their reception. He received soon after an express, with a promise from the viceroy, that the stipulated succour would be with him at farthest by the middle of *June*; so that he was forced to throw fresh troops into the castle, in order to spin out the time.

In the mean while the commander *Medran*, who had conducted the last reinforcement, made a lucky sally on the *Turks* when they were least aware of him, under the continual fire of the artillery from the fort, which threw them into such confusion, that he cut a good number of them in pieces before they could rally themselves. This occasioned a bloody and obstinate contest on both sides: unfortunately for the besieged, the wind blew so full against them, that they were quite suffocated with the smoke of the enemy's fire, which forced them to retreat. The *Turks*, taking the advantage of it, pursued them through it unperceived, and by that means placing themselves on their counterescarp, made a safe lodgment upon it, with their gabions, woofsacks, and timber, and quickly reared a battery, and fixed their standard upon it. They had such an advantage from thence over the besieged, that scarce any of them dared to raise his head above the ramparts, but he was immediately shot by the janissaries musquetry. Their situation was become at length so desperate, that the pusillanimous *Lacerta*, who had once before been so severely rebuked by the grand master, was now proposing the undermining and blowing up this new battery; which advice, however, was unanimously rejected with scorn, as proceeding rather from cowardice and despair than from any desire of saving the place.

WHILST this bloody contest was carrying on between the *Uluckiali* castle and the battery, the famous corsair *Uluckiali* arrived with six gallies and nine hundred men from *Alexandria*, and landed at the *Turkish* camp; and some days after the famed *Dragut* with 13 galliots and 1600 more. This last was received with shouts, and the fire of the whole *Turkish* artillery. Upon his landing, he went to take a survey of the camp, and the principal fortresses of the island, and seemed surprised that *Mustapha* should have begun with the siege of

that fort, instead of the castle of *Gofa*, and the *Notable City*, which would at once have cut off all supplies of provisions, and their receiving any reinforcements from abroad. *Mustapha*, who was ordered by the sultan to pay the greatest regard to his advice, having given him the reasons which determined him to do it, readily offered to raise the siege. He to attack the castle of *Gofa* and the *Notable City*; but *Dragut*, fearing lest such a step should inspirit the besiegers. He discourage the *Turks*, agreed to go on with it; and, as he was an old experienced person in all such matters, ordered a new battery to be reared on the 1st of *June*, to keep a more constant fire against an outwork which covered the fort, and raised another over-against fort *Muzetto*, of four cannon, to batter it on that side, and a third of two guns on the counter-carp, to destroy the casemates on the entrance of fort *Muzetto*, which hath been named ever since the cape or point *Dragut*, and where he caused four culverins to be planted to batter the ravelin.

The Turks
twice re-
pulled.

THE *Turkish* engineers, by the assistance of the constant fire of their musquetry, having taken a survey of that outwork, without being perceived, and observing the *Maltese* soldiers all buried in profound sleep, immediately ordered a number of their men to scale the place with their ladders; who quickly gained the top, and cut in pieces most of the Christians. The tumult which ensued having alarmed the rest, a fresh supply of forces, headed by some of the knights, soon came and opposed their progress; upon which an obstinate fight began, and a battery of two cannon, playing briskly against the enemy, made them give way for some time; but, as they were continually reinforced by fresh recruits, they at last got the better of the *Maltese*, and not only lodged themselves in the ravelin, but, with an incredible fury, pursued the knights in their retreat through the ditch, until they were stopped by the artillery and wild-fire of the fort. Some authors tells us, that they rallied soon after, and came with fresh force and fury to scale the place; and would in all likelihood have carried it, had not their ladders proved too short, which obliged them to retire with great loss. The order, besides the loss of the ravelin, had no less than 20 knights and 100 soldiers killed, and a great many others wounded, and, among them, the baily of *Negropont* and the cavalier *de Guardampha* (M).

IT

(M) This last, we are told, through his body, refused the having received a musket ball assistance which was offered him by

It was by those wounded men, who were carefully conveyed into the city to be taken care of, that the grand master was informed of the loss of the ravelin, which obliged him to continue sending supplies of fresh men to the fort, great numbers of whom were almost as soon cut off by the constant fire of the enemy. This forced him to send a second message to the viceroy of *Sicily*, in which, after some warm expostulations at his strange delay, he told him, that he would engage to oblige the enemy to raise the siege, if he could but obtain a speedy succour of 8000 men from him. But great was his surprize, when, instead of it, he only received two *Maltese* knights, who, with much difficulty and danger, had passed through the enemy, to come and acquaint him, that Don *Garcia*, instead of sending back the two *Maltese* ships which were to have conveyed him thither, demanded five more of him, before he could set out; by which he plainly understood, that he only sought for a pretence to evade the engaging of the *Turkish* fleet. In this distress *Salvago*, one of those knights, was sent back to him with fresh instances; whilst the other, named *Lamiranda*, begged to be sent to take the command of the fort, which was readily granted; upon which he quickly found means to convey himself, at the head of a new reinforcement, together with a fresh supply of wine, and other provisions, into the place, which gave a new life to those that were in it.

*Lamiran-
da sent to
command
in the fort;*

In the mean time *Dragut* proposed the stopping the communication between the fort and the borough from which it received all its supplies, by planting a new battery at the point

by some of his men, who were going to carry him to some convenient place to have his wound dressed, telling them, *that they must look upon him as a dead man, and go to the assistance of the living.* This said, he crawled along quite to the chapel belonging to the fort, and expired at the foot of the altar. The baily of *Negropont*, the chevalier de *Braglio*, and some others, on their arrival at the *Notable City*, refused with no less bravery the offer which the grand master made them of retiring to the convent till their wounds were healed, though dangerous, and worn out with fatigues and

old age, but begged leave to live and die in the post of honour which their order intitled them to.

Accordingly it was a sight worth admiration to behold men of the first rank, grey with old age and service, wounded and maimed, some with crutches, others with their arms slung in scarfs, assisting in the lowest offices of the siege, carrying stones, earth, planks, powder, balls, and other useful materials, and crawling even upon the ramparts and breaches, to shew the enemy an intrepidity they were utter strangers to.

of the grand port; but that being thought at too great a distance from the camp, and consequently liable to be seized by the besieged, unless it were defended by a greater number of troops than they could spare, *Mustapha* advised the suspending of it till the arrival of the bey of *Algiers*, who was daily expected, and would be highly pleased to be complimented with that office; the rest of the council acquiesced in the proposal. Then the *basha* ordered the ravelin to be raised by the help of fascines, wool-packs, and other materials, to a height above the parapet of the place, and a new battery to be planted upon it. By this means they not only gained a full view of the fort, but could prevent, by their fire, any of the *Maltese* soldiers from coming near the parapet. This obliged them to throw up a deep intrenchment within it, to secure their approach; but this also was quickly after destroyed by the help of a bridge, which *Mustapha* ordered to be thrown between the new battery and the parapet, large enough for six men to go over abreast; the planks of which he ordered to be covered with earth to a certain depth, to prevent their burning it. This new bridge opened a way for them quite to the parapet; but *Lamiranda* did not let them enjoy long the fruit of it; for, by the artifice of a feigned sally, he got it burnt and demolished by some of his stoutest men on that very night. The *Turks*, however, finished a new one by the next day, and at night got down into the ditch, where they reared up their ladders, as if they had designed to scale the ramparts, which quickly obliged the besieged to appear on the breach in crowds. This was what the *Turkish* general wanted, who immediately caused a most dreadful discharge of his artillery to be made upon them, which killed a much greater number of them than had been done since the beginning of the siege. The surviving knights, seeing the desperate condition the fort was reduced to, sent the commander *Madran* to acquaint the grand master with it, who immediately communicated it to the council. The majority agreed upon abandoning the place, which could be no longer kept but by the destruction of those remaining forces which were reserved, and would hardly prove sufficient to defend the other fortresses of the island; so that the more forces they sent into it, the greater service they did the enemy, by rendering the rest of the island still more defenceless. One might have expected that a person of the grand master's experience and sagacity would have readily yielded to such pressing motives; nevertheless, though he acknowledged them all to be just, and that he could not but bewail the fate of those who were obliged to main-

A great
number of
Christians
slain.

tain

in so dangerous and destructive a post, yet he still asserted, that, upon such an exigence as this, it was better to hazard the loss of some of the members than that of the whole body, assured as he was, that if the castle of *St. Elmo* was once yielded to the *Turks*, they must give up all hopes of receiving any farther assistance from *Sicily*, the viceroy of which had solemnly declared, that he would never hazard his master's fleet and forces in defence of the rest of the island, if that fort was once yielded to the enemy; so that the safety of the former wholly depended upon prolonging the siege of the latter, cost what it would to the order. The council having readily approved the grand master's advice, *Madran* was ordered to go back and acquaint them with their resolution, and their motives for it; and to exhort them, according to the duty of their profession, to defend the place to the very last. This answer was relished only by a small number of the oldest knights, who, to encourage the rest, publicly vowed to do so, or bury themselves under the ruins of it; but the far greater part of them put a much harsher construction upon the grand master's resolution, which they said was only agreed to by those, who, having no share in the danger, were the less concerned how lavish they were of other men's lives.

WHAT still increased the general discontent was, a mine *A mutiny* which the *Turks* were pushing forward under the first para- in the fort, pet; upon which they dispatched a letter to the grand master, signed by no less than three hundred and fifty of the order, in which they boldly declared, that if he did not send them that very night a sufficient number of barges to convey them out of the fort, in which they were sure to be all butchered, they would unanimously sally out by the next morning on the enemy, and sacrifice their lives with their swords in their hands, as the most easy as well as honourable death. The grand master, though greatly surpris'd at the desperation of such a resolution, yet still aiming at gaining time, ordered forthwith three commissaries to pass over into the castle, under pretence of examining the condition it was in, and how long it might hold out, but, in reality to expostulate with, and reduce them to their duty. Two of these, being men of sagacity and temper, endeavoured to dispel their fears, by representing the place in a condition to hold out some days longer; but the third, named *Castriot*, and said to be descended from the famed *Castriot*, better known by the name of *Scanderbeg*, a man full of martial zeal, instead of soothing advice, began to rate them for their pusillanimity, alleging, that there were still several means to be used

used to shelter them some time longer from the enemy's artillery, and ridiculed their fears of a mine in a place that was built upon a hard rock. This language, which cast a most affronting reflection on their want of skill and courage, so exasperated them, that they proposed the retaining him against his will; to display his superior parts, and to put his own lessons in practice in defence of the place. Some of them went so far as to secure the castle-gates, to prevent his going away; which raised such a tumult in the garrison as might have been of the worst consequence, had not the commander *Lamiranda* caused the drums to beat to arms, and dispersed them to their respective posts.

AT their return, the other two commissaries gave it as their opinion, that the place could not hold out another assault; but *Castriot*, persisting still in his own, offered to go himself with a few recruits, and defend it till the succours arrived from *Sicily*; which the grand master readily agreed to, and the bishop of *Malta* furnished him with a sufficient sum to raise these recruits upon the islanders; not perhaps that they depended altogether upon his superior valour or conduct, but as they saw no other way left but that of prolonging the siege. However that be, the recruits were raised instantly, and many volunteers came and offered themselves to be enlisted, not only from the country, but even some of the principal citizens expressed a more than ordinary desire to follow him.

The grand master mortifies them.

The grand master, having bestowed the highest encomiums on them, and especially on their valiant leader, sent them in to the castle, and withal gave him a letter to the officers of the garrison, written in harsher terms, ordering them to resign their posts to the new-comers, and to repair out of hand to the convent, where they would be in less danger of their lives, and himself in less fear about the place. Nothing could have been thought of more mortifying than this language, nor more expressive of the greatest contempt, than the ordering them to resign the defence of such an important place to a handful of new-raised recruits. They quickly felt such pungent tokens of shame and remorse, as made them resolve to sacrifice their lives, rather than abandon their posts; and instantly went and intreated the governor to intercede with the grand master to recall his orders and his new troops; and to assure him, that they would maintain their posts to the last drop of their blood, and endeavour by the most intrepid bravery to blot out the disgrace of their former behaviour. The governor was easily persuaded to dispatch an account of this to the grand master by an able diver, for it was not possible for boats to pass from one to the other without the ut-
most

most danger. The grand master made a shew of rejecting their petition once and again with more than common scorn; *They are* but was at length prevailed upon to recall his recruits, and *pardoned.* to entrust once more the defence of the place to them.

ALL this while the commander, who, as we hinted above, had been dispatched to hasten the succours from *Sicily*, finding the viceroy still tardy, had ordered the grand master's nephew, together with the commander *St. Aubyn*, who had been sent thither on the same errand, and had each a gally under their command, to gather up what troops they could, and to sail with all speed for *Malta*. They did so; but, upon their arrival, found the coasts so strongly guarded all round by *Dragut's* gallies, that they were forced to return to *Sicily*, after having tried all means in vain to get to land either at the island of *Gosa*, or in some obscure creek of *Malta*. They were scarcely arrived at *Saragossa*, before they received fresh letters from the grand master, full of the most stinging reproaches to his nephew for his neglect and disobedience; and an intimation, that a man was unworthy of the order, unless he dared more than a common commander. *Silvago* was no less pressed in other letters, by the desperate condition of fort *St. Elmo*, to hasten the *Sicilian* succours, but *The vice-* had obtained hitherto nothing from the viceroy but pompous *roy amuses* promises; and, when he now thought he had prevailed upon *them with* him to dispatch at least two of his gallies, with a regiment of *delays.* soldiers, along with the other two which were waiting for them at *Saragossa*, he was again mortified by him through some new and shameful delays, so that every thing seemed to conspire against the relief of the place.

WHILST the grand master and the rest of the order were waiting with the utmost impatience for the so long promised succours, they employed their thoughts and time in supplying the garrison of *St. Elmo* with all necessaries for sustaining the general assault they were in daily expectation of, and in inventing new means and stratagems to annoy the enemy. It was upon this occasion that some of their engineers found out a new kind of missile weapon, till then unknown, called fire-hoops, or circles (N), which made the most dreadful havock

(N) These hoops, which were of a sufficient circumference to inclose two or three men, were made of wood dipt first in spirits of wine, then soaked in oil or melted tallow, around which was fastened a quantity of hemp, wool, tow, or other such light stuff, deeply impregnated with pitch, tar, brimstone, salt-petre, and other such combustible matter.

These,

havock among them. On the other hand, the besiegers were not idle in their camp, but continued battering and cannonading the fort from the 17th of June to the 14th of July, almost without intermission; every day produced some fresh attempt of assaulting the place, whilst every thing was preparing for a general attack; to facilitate which, the 15th day was taken up in battering the wall quite down to the very rock on which it stood.

The general assault given.

THE 16th was no sooner come, than the *Turkish* gallies came and ranged themselves before the castle, and fell to battering it with their whole artillery; whilst the batteries on the land side did the same with theirs, which consisted of 36 large pieces of cannon. The *Turkish* forces entered the ditch at the sound of their martial instruments, and, upon the signal given, mounted the breach with undaunted fury, whilst 4000 of their infantry kept firing against the place, to keep the besieged off the breach. This did not prevent their appearing upon it with their arms, and, with an intrepidity more threatening than a bulwark, both sides came to a close engagement, in which the assailants, being annoyed by the lighted hoops described in the last note, and great numbers set on fire by them, sent out such dismal cries, as drowned the noise of all the large and small fire-arms both of the besiegers and besieged. Whilst this dreadful onset lasted, the captains of the *Turkish* gallies, observing that the main force of the garrison was run to the defence of the breach, endeavoured to assault it on another side. This being perceived by the grand master, a couple of large pieces were instantly pointed against them, which at the first fire destroyed 20 of them, and put the rest to flight. The *Turks* who had mounted the assault had no better success, the boldest of their janissaries being forced to abandon their posts at the sight of the fiery hoops that were continually thrown among them; so that, after a most obstinate contest, which had lasted near six hours, the *basha* was obliged to

The Turks repulsed with loss.

These, being set thoroughly on fire, were then cast amidst the thickest of the enemy, sometimes inclosing two or three men at once, and set their cloaths on fire, so that they must be inevitably burnt to death, unless they could in-

stantly run into some water, and continue in it till the flame was totally quenched (8). This new invention stood the garrison in great stead when the general assault was given to it, as we shall see in the sequel:

(8) *De bis, vid. Bandrin, lib. xvii. c. 2, & seq. Verest, lib. xii. tom. iv. p. 507, & seq. & al. mult.*

found a retreat, after having lost near 2000 of his best forces. The besieged, on their side, lost seventeen of their knights, among whom were some of the highest rank and merit, besides about 300 of their soldiers either killed or wounded.

By this time *Mustapha* plainly perceived that all his efforts would prove abortive, unless he could wholly cut off the communication between the castle and borough, and thereby prevent the former from receiving any succour from the latter. We observed before, that this task had been reserved for the bey of *Algiers* and his troops; but, as they heard nothing about his coming, he was obliged to think of some other way. Whilst he was deliberating about it behind the trench, with his chief engineer, and the famed *Dragut*, the latter marched out with his usual intrepidity to reconnoitre the ground. They had not followed him far before the engineer had his head shot off by a cannon-ball from the castle of *St. Angelo*, which hitting afterwards against a stone, threw a piece of it against *Dragut's* right ear with such violence, that it cast him down flat and senseless on the ground, and set his nose, eyes, and ears, a streaming with blood. The *Dragut* *mortally wounded.* *basha*, apprehensive lest his troops should be disheartened by the loss of this old and experienced commander, ordered a covering to be thrown over him, and had him conveyed into his tent; after which he came out unconcerned, as if nothing had happened, and stood on the very spot where *Dragut* had fallen, till he had descried a proper place where to fix a battery fit for his purpose.

THE fort being thus invested on all sides, and no possibility left to supply it with fresh troops, the grand master, who easily foresaw it could not hold out much longer, unless the *Sicilian* succours came time enough to force the enemy to raise the siege, had recourse again to the commander *Longano*, his resident in *Sicily*, who pressed the viceroy so close, not only by laying before him the desperate state *St. Elmo* was reduced to, and by reminding him of his frequently repeated assurances, but, what was still more cogent, informing him of the express orders he had received from the king his master to send all proper assistance to that island, he at length obtained the two long promised gallies, which had been detained till then upon several frivolous pretences, but which he now gave leave to sail with the other two commanded by *St. Aubyn* and the grand master's nephew, directly for *Malta*. But the politic *Garcia* had taken care beforehand to *Garcia* give the command of them to one of his creatures, named *still de Cordona*, with express orders, that if fort *St. Elmo* was taken *lays his* by succours.

by the *Turks*, he should instantly sail homeward, without landing any forces in the island ; so that this last succour proved of no use to the order, through the obsequiousness of its commander, who, under some pretence or other, only shewed himself at a distance, waiting till the loss of the fort should authorize his return into *Sicily*. In the mean while the grand master attempted more than once or twice to throw some fresh reinforcement into the place, there being still a great number of knights who expressed the most fervent desire to signalize themselves in its defence, or lose their lives in so glorious an attempt ; but the avenues on all sides were so strongly guarded by the enemy, that all his efforts proved abortive ; whilst the garrison in it, seeing nothing but death and destruction now before their eyes, unanimously agreed to sell their lives as dear as possible, and to maintain their ground to their very last breath.

The attack renewed, and the assailants repelled. THIS resolution they kept with the most surprising bravery : the *basha*, taking the advantage of their distress, ordered the general attack to be renewed, which continued, after the greatest obstinacy and resistance, till night put an end to it, the *Turkish* general being no less prodigal of his men's lives than the knights now were of their own, and a dreadful slaughter was made on both sides, without losing or gaining any ground. The besieged, who expected that it would be renewed the next morning, employed that short respite in dressing those that were wounded, and enabling all that could make their appearance either with sword, musket, or pike, to come the next morning on the breach, those that could not walk being carried to the place, and all resolutely bent to lose their lives upon it. We omit mentioning their other preparations of a religious nature, such as confession, receiving the sacrament, embracing, forgiving and praying for one another, all which were performed with that seriousness and solemnity suitable to their condition.

On the next morning, accordingly, being the 23d of *July*, the assault was renewed with fresh vigour, and a certainty of victory. The *Turks* found the sorrowful remains of the garrison ready to receive them with their usual obstinacy: the fire and attack lasted four hours, by which time the assailants, having gained the top of the cavalier, and other eminences that commanded the breach, could take their aim at pleasure, and chuse whom they had a mind to kill ; by which means the garrison, now dwindled to about threescore, and part of them disabled, was soon reduced to nothing by their continual fire, so that the contest may justly be said to have ended with the death of the last surviving knight. The

The garrison die sword in hand.

balta then entered the fort in a kind of triumph ; but when he had viewed it, and came to consider the loss which so small a place had cost him, could not forbear crying out, *What must the father cost us, seeing this little son of his has destroyed us so many thousands of lives ?* And well might he, when, according to most writers, above 8000 of his best janissaries and spahis had perished before it ; the thought of *Musta* which raised his brutish fury to such a height, that he caused *pha's barbarities*. the breasts of several Christians that were expiring with their wounds to be ripped open, their hearts to be plucked out, and to be shot into the borough, whence the grand master could behold all this horrid scene of inhumanity : he likewise caused their bodies to be split cross-wise, on their backs and bellies, in derision to Christianity : some of these he caused to be hung up by their necks, hands, and feet, on the ramparts ; others to be tied to planks covered with their undergarment, on which the cross of the order was fixed, and to be flung into the sea, in hopes that the tide would throw them against the foot of the castle of *St. Angelo*. In revenge of *Retaliated* which barbarity, the grand master caused all the *Turkish by the* captives to be butchered, and their heads to be shot reeking *grand* hot from his artillery, into the fort^a. All this time the *master.* *Turkish* fleet was sailing into the *Merza Muxetto* in triumph, at the sound of their cannon, trumpets, and other martial instruments. Some of the officers went into *Dragut's* tent, to inform him of the taking of the fort, but found him quite speechless, yet not so far gone, but he gave some tokens of satisfaction, and expired immediately after. The order lost in this siege, which lasted just a month, about 1300 men, among which were 130 knights, and some of them men of the highest rank and character. Among these were the noble commander *Lamiranda*, who offered himself a volunteer when the fort was reduced to great straits ; the brave high bailly of *Negropont*, who, old, lame, and decrepit, as he was, caught an old halberd in his hand, and, mixing himself among the thickest of the janissaries, killed several of them, and fought till his head was struck off by one of their officers sabres, who instantly caused it to be stuck on the head of a lance, and planted in full sight of the borough, where the grand master and the chief of the order stood on an eminence, and, with the utmost grief and consternation, beheld the horrid havock which the enemy made among them.

^a BAUDOUIN, ubi sup. l. xvii. c. vi. VERTOT, ubi sup. in fin. l. xii. & al.

The grand
master's
new mea-
sures.

As soon as they were retired, the grand master called a council, in which having displayed some part of his eloquence in the elogy he made upon those noble champions, his next task was to spend the remainder in exhorting the survivors to imitate their courage and intrepidity in their respective posts. He next ordered them not to make any more prisoners; but, after they had got what intelligence they could of the enemy's measures and designs, to massacre them instantly, to let the enemy as well as their own troops see that they must neither expect nor give quarter. Pursuant to this order, he refused to admit an officer of the basha, who came with the white flag displayed to treat about a capitulation, though he suffered an old Christian slave, who came with him as his interpreter, to be brought into his presence; and having caused him to pass through whole files of soldiers, and to be shewn the fortifications of the place, brought him to the ditch of the countescarp, and dismissed him with these words, "Go and tell the basha, that this is the only spot we design to yield to him, and which we purposely reserve for a burying-place for him and his janissaries." This message soon determined *Mustapha* to alter his measures, and, instead of negotiation, to open the trenches before the castle of *St. Angelo*, the borough, and the peninsula of *Michel*, since called *Gita de la Sangel*, where the hard rock would not permit them to raise a wall or intrenchment of dry stone. Whilst this was doing, his slaves were employed in dragging seventy pieces of his largest artillery, which he caused to be planted upon nine batteries, which were reared in so many different places. All this while *Cordona*, who commanded the four galleys from *Sicily*, had been sauntering out at sea, waiting only, as we lately hinted, for the taking of the fort, in order to return with them homewards. Happily for the besieged, the two gentlemen, who had been sent to inquire about it, officiously concealed the loss of it from him, but told him withal, that it would be quickly surrendered, if some speedy succour was not sent to prevent it. *Cordona* still hesitating, and willing to delay, the knights and secular gentlemen that were in his galley threatened him so hard, that he was obliged to land them at the bay of the *Black Stone*; which done, he instantly sailed back for *Sicily*. The grand master, apprised of their landing, sent them some guides, who conducted them privately to the *Gala de la Scala*, whence, by the help of a thick fog, they safely arrived at the borough, and were joyfully received by the grand master. This timely reinforcement consisted of about 600 men, 47 of whom were knights of the order, 19 were *Spanish* officers, of experienced val-

our

low and conduct, 12 were *Italians*, three *Germans*, and two *Englishmen*, who were all dispersed, at their own desire, into the most dangerous posts, together with the troops they had brought with them.

THE *basia* had by this time taken such care to hem them *A danger* in, that they had now no communication left but by the *rous proa* mouth of the grand port, which could not be stopped by any *jeil of the* means but by his making himself master of the cape or point *Turks* of land of the peninsula. This was at first deemed impracticable by the council, till the admiral proposed an expedient, which was immediately approved of, but was such an one as none of the besieged were aware of, or could have dreamed of, and would have been infallibly executed, had it not been providentially discovered to the grand master by one of the *Turkish* council, who, from a motive of religion, as well as a singular esteem for the order, hazarded his life to come and communicate it to him. This gentleman was named *Lascaris*, and had been taken prisoner by the *Turks* at the siege of *Patras*, and educated in the *Turkish* religion, and, tho' born a Christian, had suffered his ambition to efface all the traces of his education till that very time. He had by degrees raised himself so high by his merit, as to be one of the head officers of the *spahis*, and a member of the council of war; but the conduct and intrepid valour with which the *Maltese* knights had defended the fort of *St. Elmo*, having inspired him with an uncommon regard for that order, he could not hear such a destructive project agreed upon without feeling the most pungent sentiments of pity and concern for it.

ACCORDINGLY, as soon as the council was broke up, he made the best of his way towards the sea, over-against *St. Michel's* point, whence he made signs with his turban for a boat to bring him over. He was, however, discovered by some rambling *Turks*, who, guessing at his intentions, made all the haste they could to seize upon him. This obliged him, tho' a novice at it, to save his life by swimming; which being perceived by the Christians on the other side, they dispatched immediately four or five of their best swimmers to fetch him over, who came just time enough to save him from sinking. As soon as he was recovered, he desired to be conducted to the grand master, where he made a full discovery of the *basia's* and admiral's design, in order to deprive them of all further succours from abroad. We need not tell our readers how thankfully such an important advice was received by the grand master and council. He had a considerable pension immediately settled upon him, which, with all the other

favours and marks of esteem and confidence, he was no less zealous to deserve by the continual services he did to the order *.

THE grand master was not a little surpris'd at this signal generosity, for which he made him ample returns; but he was much more so at the deep-laid project of the admiral, which, if not speedily prevented, would infallibly occasion the loss of the island. But his diligence was equal to the danger; and he made such speed to have not only that point of land, but several others of the like importance, defended by proper wood-works, towers, &c. that the basha was in the utmost surprise to see, as he expressed it, so many stacados sprung suddenly out of the earth, and which totally defeated the admiral's project. He tried at first to have them cut down by his *Turks*, whom he dispatched thither with axes in their girdles; but they had scarce begun their work before they were surrounded with a shoal of *Maltese*, who swam over to them naked with their swords in their mouths, and killed a good number of them, and put the rest to flight. They resumed the work on the next day with the same ill success and loss; so that the basha, finding it impracticable, ordered his artillery to begin their fire against the place from all his batteries, on the 15th of July.

Castle of
St. Michel
sadly bat-
tered.

THE castle of *St. Angelo*, in particular, was annoyed by the batteries which they had raised on the fort of *St. Elmo*; the borough and fort *St. Michel* were battered by those of mounts *Coradin*, *Scerberas*, *Calcara*, and other eminences, and the fire was so fierce on both sides; that the island appeared like a dreadful volcano. The besiegers had already demolished several of their outworks, and carried their trenches as far as the ditch of the castle and borough of *St. Michel*, which having no communication either with the great borough or the castle of *St. Angelo*, but by an unwieldy ferry-boat, could not, without the greatest difficulty and danger, receive succours from either, and, being the weakest part, was the most fiercely attacked. This obliged the besieged, by the advice of the young chevalier *Bosio*, brother to the historian often quoted in this chapter, to build a wooden bridge, supported by barrels and tuns duly poised, between them, which proved of singular use in the sequel. The basha had likewise made two considerable breaches in the great borough, but was willing to put off the assault till the arrival of *Hassan* from *Algiers*, whom he expected with a large reinforcement of his

* BAUDOUIN, lib. xvii. c. 8. VERTOT, lib. xiii. tom. v. p. 13, & seq.

choicest troops. He arrived accordingly a few days after, at the head of 2,500 stout veterans; and tho' but a young soldier in comparison of *Mustapha*, was vain enough to tell him, that, if he had been there sooner, the small fort of *St. Elmo* had never held out half so long; and begged of him to have the honour of attacking that of *St. Michel*, which the old *basha* readily agreed to, and, giving him 6000 of his men, promised to assist him by land.

HASSAN being resolved to attack the peninsula *La Sengle*, Hassan both by sea and land, dispatched an old Greek renegade, *undertakes* named *Candelissa*, who had served his piratic apprenticeship *the siege of* under *Barbarossa*, with a good number of his galleys, and *St. Michel* half of his *Algerine* forces and slaves, to break their way through the *Scerberas* and *Port Muzeto* into the grand port, in order to make himself master of the *stacado*, which the *Turks* had attempted in vain, and to break the chain and *passado* of the port, in order to convey his men by land to that peninsula. The brave *Guimerano*, often mentioned, who commanded that point of land, and had raised a battery of six guns upon it, let their vessels approach till they were within shot, and made so good a fire with his cannon and musketry, that he sunk several of them, and killed about 400 of his *Turks* with that single discharge. *Candelissa*, not at all dismayed, landed at the head of his men, and had gained the shore, when a second shot of two guns, loaded with cartridge, and kept in reserve for him, were discharged, destroyed a good number of them, and put the rest to flight; whilst he, to prevent their getting to sea again, made a signal to his barks to remove farther off; so that now they were obliged to fight or die. The *Algerine* troops returned to the attack, which proved an obstinate one of five hours, at the end of which they gained the post, and planted seven of their standards upon it. They did not keep it long, before the few *Maltese* that were left came back, with admiral *Monti* at their head, and renewed the fight with fresh fury, and, being presently after reinforced by a fresh detachment sent by the grand master, drove them away with great loss, *Candelissa* being one of the foremost and swiftest in the flight. The *Algerines*, however, notwithstanding their leader's cowardice, maintained their ground, and retired fighting till they got to their vessels, tho' many were slain in the retreat. They fared still worse at sea, where their vessels were overwhelmed, and a great number of them sunk by the fire of the adjacent batteries, whilst those that strove to swim to the shore begged for quarter in the most suppliant posture, and were instantly cut in pieces, without any other answer than that it was *St. El-*

no's pay. The port was soon after seen covered with dead bodies, some whole, others mangled, heads, arms, legs, &c. swimming amongst them; so that, of 4000 men which sailed out on that expedition, scarcely 500 got off safe. The Christians likewise lost, besides a great number of their men, above 100 knights, gentlemen volunteers, and other persons of distinction, and amongst them the young chevalier *de Toledo*, son to the viceroy of *Sicily*. What was still worse, those that were wounded were obliged to stay and be dressed in their posts, there being no possibility to get them conveyed to the infirmary, without running a greater danger from the enemy.

Hassan
obstinately
opposed.

HASSAN, on the other hand, had battered the castle and borough of *St. Michel* with such success, whilst his *Algerines* advanced their trenches almost close to the fosse, that some of his standards soon appeared upon several parts of the parapet. These, however, met with such a hot reception from the batteries of the besieged, loaded with cartridge, and fired through the thickest of them, as cut vast numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to file off by the parapet to another breach which they thought less defended. Here they met at first with better success, through some accident that happened within the retrenchment, which caused the loss of some brave knights who defended it; but these being immediately succeeded by a fresh supply, the contest was renewed with great vigour, till *Hassan*, unable to stand it out longer, was obliged to sound a retreat. They were no sooner retired than *Mustapha*, who despaired of succeeding by any other means than by tiring out the besieged, immediately supplied their place with some of his best forces; so that the knights, fatigued as they were already both with fighting and the heat of the dog-days, were forced to return to their arms before they had had leisure to refresh themselves; notwithstanding which, they had no sooner exchanged fire with the janissaries, than they attacked them sword in hand. The fury and slaughter was equal on both sides for a long while, till the soldiers, seeing some of their best commanders fall, gathered up multitudes of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to their assistance, who plied them with such volleys of stones and fiery hoops, as obliged them to retreat, in spite of all the basha could do to prevent it. The *Maltese*, however, lost above 200 of their soldiers, forty of their knights and best commanders. That of the *Turks* was still vastly more considerable, as those were some of their best troops, and such as were reserved for the most arduous and dangerous enterprises.

THIS

THIS disaster obliged him to cause such another wooden bridge to be reared as he had done at fort *St. Ekmo*, which the grand master, who knew the consequence of it, was not less solicitous to have destroyed; and as he found it impracticable in the night, by reason of the strong guard set over it, he resolved to do it by day-light, and appointed his own nephew to conduct that dangerous enterprize. He accordingly went at the head of a strong detachment, and tried in vain, by the help of cable and other ropes, to have pulled away the supporters from under it, but found himself at once overwhelmed with volleys of small shot from the enemy, which killed a great part of his men, and put the rest to flight, leaving him and another knight, named *Polastron*, exposed to their fire, which quickly dispatched them both. The *Turks* ^{Young Valetta} immediately advanced to carry their heads to the basha, who ^{killed.} had fixed a reward upon every knight's head that was brought to him; but their men, ashamed to have thus basely abandoned them, came back with double fury, and, after a fierce and bloody struggle, carried off their bodies unmaimed. The grand master bore the death of his young nephew with a peculiar unconcern, telling those who consoled him upon it, that every knight was as dear to him as he was; and adding, that, unless some speedy succour arrived from *Sicily*, they had no other refuge left than that of burying themselves, every one like him, under the ruins of the place. Being still resolved to demolish the bridge by any means, he caused a hole to be dug through the wall, on the same level with it, and having planted a large cannon in it, the first shot was lucky enough to shake the whole fabric, and a few more brought it nearer to the ground, when they set fire to it on the following night, and reduced it to ashes.

THE basha, impatient and fearful of the soltan's anger at his ill success, called a council of war, in which it was resolved that he and the *Algerine* bey should pursue the siege as usual, whilst the admiral *Phiali*, with his marines, began that of the great borough and of the castle of *St. Angelo*, and *Candelissa* scoured the sea with eighty stout gallies. Both the basha and admiral plied all their batteries with such fury, that the borough and castle of *St. Michel* were almost destroyed, and the great one had received some considerable breaches, especially at the quarters of *Castile* and *Auvergne*. They continued demolishing the fortifications with their constant fire, and harassing the besieged with their daily assaults and skirmishes. Numbers of them were killed every day by those unintermitted hostilities, and the garrisons became daily weaker and thinner.

*The basha
forced to
sound a
retreat.*

THE basha, encouraged by their visible decay, ventured to make a fresh and furious assault on the fort and town of *St. Michel*, on the 2d of *August*, in which the *Turks* and *Algerines*, animated with the hopes of a rich plunder, mounted the breaches like desperadoes, and stood the fire and missile weapons of the Christians with such an unshaken obstinacy, as gave the *Maltese* knights an opportunity of making a dreadful havock of them, during the space of six hours, till *Mustapha* thought fit to sound a retreat, to save the rest. He did not renew it till five days after, when he ordered it to be made in several places, in order to oblige the Christians to divide their forces, whilst himself attacked the fort of *St. Michel* afresh, and, if possible, with redoubled fury, and a greater number of his best troops. The janissaries, who marched at the head of them, were almost all cut off by the besieged before they reached the ditch; so that the rest were obliged to trample over their bodies to gain the breach, where they met with such fierce opposition, that the place became one continued scene of blood and slaughter during the space of four hours more, the *Turks* obstinately striving to maintain their posts, and the knights as furiously employed in dislodging them.

*The wo-
men and
children
annoy the
assailants.*

IN this obstinate contest the *Maltese* had the advantage to see themselves assisted by their very women and children, who came with an intrepid bravery to supply them, some with arms and ammunition, others with wine, fruits, and other refreshments; whilst others, more robust, kept pelting the enemy with stones, fire-works, melted pitch, and other destructive missiles. The *Turks* made no difference between them and the soldiers, but massacred as many of those viragos as they could come at. The dismal outcries of the wounded of both sides and sexes, of the pursuers and fugitives, and especially their reciprocal fire, made the place appear a scene of most dreadful horror, whilst the basha stood at the foot of the breach with his sword drawn, ready to cleave into two all that gave way. The grand master and his officers beheld all this from an eminence, and expected every moment to hear the enemy's shouts of victory, when, to their great surprise, they heard their drums beat a retreat by the order of the basha.

THIS sudden turn was, it seems, owing to a detachment of horse, which was sent from the Notable City by the commander *Masquita*, the governor of it, to *St. Michel's* fort. They were commanded by two brave chevaliers of the order, and each trooper carried a foot-soldier behind him. They met on their way a *Turkish* lodgment, where the basha had sent

lost all his wounded, which were in great number, but whose guard was scattered about. He ordered their men to dismount, and cut in pieces all the sick and wounded, whose grievous outcries soon reached the *Turkish* camp, where the fugitives brought the alarming news that the *Sicilian* forces were landed, with a full resolution to engage the besiegers, and oblige them to raise the siege. The panic spread itself quite to the scene of action, and caused such a confusion amongst the combatants, that the basha was once more obliged to sound a retreat. He was soon after apprised of the occasion of this false report, at which he was so ashamed, that he would have renewed the attack with greater fury, had not his officers put him in mind of the approaching night, which we may well imagine proved a very uneasy one to him.

AMONG other destructive ways that were used in a siege, *Mustapha* had not forgot that which makes the most dreadful *The place undermined.* havock. His mines had been carried on with such success, in spite of all the grand master's vigilance to discover them, that the besieged looked upon themselves as situated between two fires, and had not one spot of ground where they could think themselves safe. The grand master, under all these difficulties, had once more recourse to the viceroy of *Sicily*, and gave his minister such a lively representation of the distress and danger they were reduced to, that he obliged him at length to send him a powerful succour, as we shall see in its proper place.

IN the mean time *Mustapha* and *Phiali*, ashamed of so many repulses from so small a force, unanimously resolved *A fresh attack.* either to make themselves masters of the place, or to bury themselves in the trenches, and renewed the attack on the 18th of *August*, beginning it just in the heat of the day, when the besieged were, as they supposed, taking some refreshment. Accordingly, about twelve of the clock, the former began with such a furious discharge on his side, as almost ruined the remainder of the fortifications of *St. Michel*, and, with his best troops, newly animated with threats and promises, mounted the assault. The slaughter was terrible on both sides; a good number of knights lost their lives; but were quickly succeeded by fresh ones; so that, after an obstinate conflict of six hours, the enemy was at length so powerfully repulsed, that the basha was again constrained to sound a retreat, and leave a vast number of his men, either dead or wounded, on the field of battle.

THE admiral *Phiali*, on the other hand, did not appear on his attack till that on *St. Michel* was at the height, in hopes that the grand master would send a good part of his

forces to its relief; after which he began his part with springing a mine, where the besieged least expected it, and which occasioned such havock and confusion, that he must of course have carried the place, had the knights been less watchful and intrepid than they were. But as the grand master had taken care to leave no place unguarded, there appeared, immediately after blowing of the mine, a sufficient number to oppose themselves to the assailants, who, on their part, used such surprising diligence, that they had already planted several of their ensigns on the parapet. The grand master, apprised of the bloody contest that ensued, instead of sending them a fresh supply, as they had desired from him, staid only to clap an old helmet on his head, and taking a pike in his hand, ran at the head of his fresh detachment, and exposed himself foremost in the fight. He was immediately surrounded by a number of his knights, who begged him, in the most moving terms, not to hazard with his life the loss of the island, and of all its inhabitants; but he, with his usual sternness, refused to listen to their intreaties. "How can I," said he, "stand idle here, and see so many of those *Turkish* standards displayed upon the ramparts; or where can I, at the age of above seventy, die more honourably than upon this spot, and among my brethren?" These words had such an effect upon them, that they all ran eagerly towards the enemy, and left not off fighting till they had got every standard down, and repulsed the enemy to their trenches.

*The Turks
driven
back to
their
trenches.*

THIS did not hinder the assault being renewed the very next morning, in which the *Turkish* basha did not a little depend upon a new destructive machine, invented by one of his engineers. It was a barrel, of more than common size and length, strongly braced with iron hoops, and filled with gunpowder, shot, chains, nails, and other iron fragments, which was to be thrown with a lighted match amongst the thickest of the knights who defended a ravelin, and which they threw among them: but those intrepid warriors ran to it at all adventures time enough to tumble it back upon them before it had taken fire. It sprang up accordingly with a surprising explosion among those that were mounting the breach in thick crouds. Immediately after which a vast number of heads, arms, legs, whole and half bodies, were blown up into the air, which so terrified the rest that they betook themselves to flight in the utmost hurry and confusion; of which the *Maltese* taking the advantage, they pursued them to their very trenches, and made a terrible slaughter among those fugitives.

THE admiral *Phiali*, on his part, attacked the bulwark of *Castile* with equal fury, and with no less stout resistance. *The grand* The grand master was there, assisting and encouraging his *master* forces, till he received a wound in his leg by the bursting of *wounded.* a hand-granado, which he took care to conceal whilst the heat of the onset lasted, that is, till his men, who, animated by his presence, fought with the utmost bravery, had regained the parapet, and drove the *Turks* away with great loss. We should become quite tedious to our readers, were we to go on with a journal of the siege, during which every day would only entertain them with new assaults and new losses on both sides. At length the Christians were terribly weakened, and the fortifications of the town and castle of *St. Michael* so utterly destroyed, that the commanding officers thought fit to propose the blowing them up, after they had removed all their sick and wounded, together with the arms, ammunition, &c. into the great borough and the castle of *St. Angelo*; but this the grand master rejected with the utmost scorn, alleging, that the abandoning of the one could not be otherwise followed but by the loss of the other. His intrepidity was such that he would not so much as listen to a fresh proposal they made to him, *viz.* to remove at least all the plate and sacred utensils belonging to the church, as well as his own person, into the castle of *St. Angelo*, lest that should encourage the enemy, and dispirit his own men. "This," said he in a resolute tone, "this is the spot, my dear brethren, where we must either all die, or bravely repel the enemy." And to shew how much he was in earnest, he only left as many of the garrison in that castle as were necessary to attend the artillery, and dispersed the rest into other posts that wanted to be reinforced. There was still one thing which gave him some uneasiness, *viz.* the cavalier which *Phiali* had reared against the wall of the borough, on which that admiral had left a small garrison; but, on that very night, a hole was made with as little noise as possible through the wall, at which some *Spanish* knights falling out, easily gained the height of the work, whence, with their noise and weapons, they easily drove the guard; upon which they immediately raised a parapet, and mounted some cannon upon it, and plied it against the enemy.

MUSTAPHA, by this time, rightly concluded, that nothing *The Turks* less than famine could ever reduce those intrepid warriors; *in want of* but whilst he was deliberating about the means of doing it, *provisions.* he had the mortification to find that he was in much greater danger of it than they, his own provisions being nearly exhausted, and a vessel, which was bringing him a fresh supply

of corn, having been taken by some *Sicilian* galleys. This obliged him to alter his measures, and to try his fortune against the Notable City, which, being situated nearer to the center of the island, he was told was neither well fortified nor strongly garrisoned; so that if he could but once make himself master of it, he flattered himself he should find in it not only plenty of provisions, but an immense plunder, and make such a vast number of slaves, as should at least help to conceal the disgrace of his ill success, and the loss of so considerable a part of his army. Flushed with this expectation, he began his march thitherward on the first day of *September*, at the head of 4000 of his best janissaries and spahis. By this time, the governor *Mesquita* was so well prepared, that upon the arrival of the *Turkish* engineers, who were sent to reconnoitre the place, they found the ramparts, bastions, and other works around it covered with cannon, muskets, pikes, standards, and a numerous garrison in arms; not only the citizens and countrymen, but even the women themselves, appearing armed *cap-à-piè* in soldiers cloaths. This gallant show was accompanied by a fierce discharge of the artillery, which so terrified the engineers, that they went and represented the attacking of the place as impracticable by any other method than by a regular siege. The *basha*, who hoped to have carried it by *scalade*, without dreaming of a siege, for which he had not a sufficient force left, and was in continual dread of being surprised by the forces that were expected from *Sicily*, was glad to return to his camp, though without knowing which way to turn himself in this dangerous situation. His last refuge was in a wooden tower, which his engineers contrived, of sufficient height to overlook the whole place. This being wheeled close to the wall, by a well-contrived mechanism within, could, after every discharge, sink itself below the parapet of the wall, and be covered by it from the fire of the besieged. The machine had already done some dreadful execution, and was likely to have done a great deal more, when an expert engineer of the island, being thought himself of making an embrasure through the wall, by the help of which he took advantage when it was raised to its height, to fire a cannon into the heart of it, which broke it all in pieces, and crushed the soldiers that were in it under its ruins. This last resource having failed him, he had once more recourse to his old way of mining; but met with no better success, from the indefatigable industry of the *Maltese*, who did not suffer one of them to take effect; the disappointment of which reduced him to the utmost despair.

By this time the grand master received the agreeable news that the *Sicilian* fleet had set sail on the first of *September*, commanded by the viceroy, in which was a great number of the knights of the order, and other volunteers, who had waited impatiently at *Messina* a considerable time for this opportunity of embarking for the defence of the island. He had besides about 8000 brave veteran troops with him, with which he gave out that he designed to attack the *Turkish* fleet. They set sail accordingly from *Syracuse*, with the discharge of the whole artillery, and the shouts of the fleet; but, being parted by a storm, were not rejoined till the fourth day, on which they weighed anchor again from the island of *Lino*. Here *Don Garcia* received a fresh letter from the grand master, acquainting him that if he made towards the coast of *Mugiaro*, in the flats of *Malecca*, he would find a sure and safe landing; instead of which he sailed directly for the island of *Gosa*, tho' without entering into the chanel, which made every one suspect that his design was not to land, but to shew himself at a distance to the enemy, till he could find some pretence of turning back into *Sicily*, as he accordingly did, upon his vanguard being parted soon after by a storm.

THE indignation and resentment of the fleet is hardly to be expressed; it was attended with such bitter reflections, and even with such curses, that he was obliged to call a fresh council of war, to advise whether they should attempt the success of *Malta*. One may easily imagine what answer the knights and brave volunteers gave to the question; but they were agreeably surpris'd with the loud murmurs of the army and soldiery against him. What was still worse, his shameful return had caused such a desertion by that time, that the army was reduced from 8000 to 6000 men; all which obliged him to sail again; so that, the wind favouring, they arrived about evening in the chanel of *Gosa*, where they cast anchor for that night, the viceroy not permitting them to land till the next morning, when himself came on shore and took a review of them. They immediately took the road towards the Notable City, whilst he reembarked for *Sicily*, tho' not without a previous promise of bringing 4000 men more, which he expected from *Italy*.

THIS reinforcement, which, as we hinted above, consisted, besides the 6000 veterans and above 100 knights of the order, of a very great number of volunteers, of the greatest families in *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and other parts of *Europe*, all burning with impatience of signalizing themselves in defence of an order, which had been, for above three centuries, the greatest bulwark of Christendom, met with

*The siege
raised.*

less obstruction in their march towards the besieged, as *Mustapha* had all along expected that the viceroy designed to engage him at sea, in order to convey the more easily his succours to them, and had bent all his thoughts in securing the entrance of the great port by a strong chain and stout barricade, and had kept for several days his whole fleet at anchor at the mouth of the port; so that the news of their landing at an opposite part of the island so disconcerted him, that, without staying to inform himself about their number or strength, he forthwith raised the siege, withdrew his garrison out of fort *St. Elmo*, and embarked with such precipitation as came little short of a downright flight. He left the greatest part of his large artillery behind, that they might the sooner get to their vessels; where he was scarcely arrived, when a deserter came and informed him, that this new succour, which had put an army of 20,000 men into such a consternation, consisted of no more than 6000 men, half naked, harassed with the sea, and without a commander. This advice, however, came too late for them to go back and recover their trenches and posts, which the grand master had taken care to have destroyed as soon as they had left the island.

*Return to
the island.*

MUSTAPHA, covered with shame, and in the greatest dread of the sultan's resentment, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to return into *Malta*, and attack this new succour before they had time to refresh, and dispose themselves in a posture of defence; whilst the bey of *Algiers*, with his gallies, and 1600 of his men, secured their retreat in the *Ula*, or bay of *St. Paul*. The greatest difficulty was, to prevail upon the soldiers to land, who loudly complained of his cruelty, that, after the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, they should now again be led like so many sheep to the slaughter. On the other hand, there was no less a struggle among the commanders of the newly-arrived succours, how to act against them. *Ascanio*, their field marshal, who had caused them to intrench themselves on an eminence, proposed waiting for the enemy on that spot; but the commander *Alvarez de Sando*, a person of great experience and sway, boldly declared, that they were not come thither to be inactive, and hazard nothing, but to go and resolutely meet the enemy, and by that means prevent the disgrace of seeing them masters of some of the places they had abandoned by a fresh and desperate attack. His advice was approved of, if not as the safest, yet as the bravest and most glorious; and the far greater part declared, that, rather than stay in their intrenchments, they would at all hazards break

break their way even through the enemy's army, and throw themselves into any place they should chance to besiege.

ACCORDING to this resolution they marched down the hill *The new* with *de Sando* at their head, attacked the enemy in front, *succours* whilst *Vitelli* did the same in flank; but the *Turks*, who *attack and* were brought back by main force, whether out of resentment, or on account of the excessive heat, could hardly be prevailed upon to stand in their own defence, and, after the first firing, betook themselves to flight. *Mustapha*, now in the greatest danger of being taken by the *Maltese*, made such haste after those fugitives, that his horse stumbled under him more than once or twice; and he must needs have fallen into the hands of his pursuers, had not some of his bravest officers saved him at the hazard of their own lives. The Christians all this while were so eager in their pursuit after him, that they even threw away their armour, and exposed themselves to the most imminent danger of being cut off by the fire of the *Algerine* bey, who lay concealed behind a high rock, to secure the *Turks* retreat; insomuch that some of them lost their lives, and, among them, several of their chief commanders. The slaughter might have proved still greater, had not the brave *de Sando* come to their assistance with some fresh battalions, repulsed the *Algerines*, and recovered the prisoners they had made; and now it was that a new and strange fight began. The *Turkish* fugitives, without offering to make any defence against their pursuers, thought of nothing but gaining their ships, under the fire of *Abdali* and *Hassan* kept up against the Christians. This did not hinder their pursuing them with sword and musket on the water, above their girdles, to their very boats, and killing vast numbers of them before they could gain their ships. The number of men which the *basha* lost, from the beginning of the siege to this last embarkation, is said to have amounted to 30,000; the rest, with the greatest difficulty and danger, got into their vessels; after which the fleet *The Turks* sailed away for the *Levant*. We are told, that the viceroy *sail away* of *Sicily* saw them in full sail from the top of the castle of *Syracuse*, by which he concluded, without any farther intelligence, that the siege was raised. We shall follow them no farther, nor enter into a detail of the reception they met with at the *Porte*; what concerns our *Maltese* history is, that the *soltan*, having trampled under his feet the letter which brought him the first news of his ill success, cried out in a fury, that nothing proved successful to him, unless where he was present; and that he was resolved by the next year to command

Soliman's
resolution
against
Malta.

command his armament in person, and to destroy and exterminate the whole order of *Malta* out of that island.

THUS happily ended this so celebrated though bloody siege, of which we have ventured no farther than to give our readers some of the most material and interesting transactions; though it might have required as many pages as we have given it lines to have gone through all the remarkable occurrences that accompanied it from the beginning to the end: it would take up a whole volume barely to do justice to the merit of the grand master, and those brave commanders who signalized themselves in it, either by the wisdom of the councils, their extraordinary conduct, or intrepid bravery upon the most desperate enterprizes, and in the face of death armed with all its martial terrors; we hope the account we have given of their gallant and resolute behaviour at the castle of *St. Elmo* will suffice.

As soon as the enemy was sailed out of sight, one of the principal cares of the grand master was, to pay his respect and sincere congratulations and acknowledgements to the noble commanders and captains who had so generously interested and hazarded themselves in the defence of the island and to distribute some largesses among the inferior officers and soldiers. Several days were spent in feasting them, and in other kind of rejoicings suitable to the occasion; which were however very much damped at the sight of the dreadful dilapidation that every-where presented themselves before their eyes; together with the rueful and dismal aspect, and neglected dress, not only of the inhabitants and soldiers, but even of the highest officers of the order, through such a long series of dangers and uninterrupted alarms and fatigues, but still more so upon the retrospect of the many lives that had been lost during that time. The order had no less than 260 of their knights slain at different assaults, and they reckoned above 800 more among the inhabitants and soldiers who had undergone the same fate; insomuch that there were scarcely 600 left alive in the great borough and castle of *St. Angelo* when the *Turks* sailed away, and a good part of them wounded, maimed, or worn out with hard service, who all became the objects of the grand master's tenderness and care. But his generosity displayed itself most in the valuable presents which he made to those brave officers, and gratuities to their soldiers, upon their return into *Sicily*, notwithstanding the public treasury's being so greatly exhausted.

* BAUDOUIN, lib. xviii. pass. & seq. VERTOT, lib. xiii. c. v. p. 85—107. xix. 1—6.

THE encomiums and congratulations he received from *Honours* most princes of *Europe*, on his excellent conduct and intrepid *done to the* valour in defence of the island, were no small addition to *grand master* his glory. Among the rest, *Philip II.* king of *Spain*, sent him a sword, with a handle of massive gold, enriched with various diamonds, and accompanied with a compliment, that *he looked upon him as the greatest captain of the age, and desired him to make use of that weapon in defence of Christianity.* Pope *Pius IV.* did no less signalize himself in the extraordinary honours he paid to him upon this occasion, not only in ordering the news of *Maltha's* deliverance to be published in his capital by the discharge of its artillery, but, what was still more extraordinary, by presenting him with a cardinal's hat, which, however, whether out of modesty, or a right notion that his dignity, as sovereign, could receive no addition from that, he civilly declined.

BUT neither these extraordinary honours and commendations, nor the vast rejoicings which were made in most Christian courts, could assuage his regret for the irreparable loss of so many brave and generous lives, and the miserable state the island and order were reduced to, the greatest part of its fortifications destroyed, and the houses not only in the city and towns, but also of the villages, mostly levelled to the ground; the inhabitants dwindled to a small number, and those reduced to extreme poverty and misery; a great part of the artillery either burst or spoilt, and unfit for use; the provisions almost consumed, and the treasury nearly exhausted; to say nothing of his just apprehensions of the enemy's returning with a larger force before half of these disasters could be repaired. He was actually informed by his spies, that *Soliman II.* kept a prodigious number of hands continually at work in his arsenal, in order to fit out a fleet, to put himself at the head of, against that island. It was *Gets the* this gave him the greatest uneasiness, from which he found *sultan's ar-* no relief, till he got it set on fire, and burnt to the ground, *senal to be* in consequence of which that monarch saw himself obliged *burnt.* to put off his enterprize for another year; so that having now nothing to fear from that prince for a while, he set himself about repairing the devastations which the siege had occasioned, and, by the assistance of the *European* princes, not only restored the island to its pristine strength and splendor, but raised it to a much greater degree of them than ever.

ONE of his first cares, after the works were repaired, was, to enlarge the fort of *St. Elmo*, which was as it were the chief key of the great and little ports, and to add some new works

*A new city
built.*

works to it. But his greatest design was that of building a city on the inside of the same peninsula, and to fortify it on all sides with all the works that the military art could suggest; and afterwards to remove the convent, or grand residence of the order, thither, as being a spot much safer than the great borough, which is commanded by rocks and eminences almost on every side. This was a noble design, and worthy of so great a personage, but, in the condition the order was in, it required the assistance of all the Christian princes, which his great merit and address easily obtained; and, as soon as he had secured that main point, he immediately set about procuring the best engineers, workmen, and all proper materials, from *Italy*; all which was done with such diligence, that he was enabled to lay the first stone of this new city on the 28th day of the month of *March* of the year following.

THIS ceremony, which was performed with great solemnity, was no sooner over, than all hands were cheerfully employed in the work, according to their stations and capacities, knights, commanders, officers, soldiers, citizens, and country-people, all assisted in their turns, according to their respective provinces; whilst their galleys were employed, some in fetching all necessary materials and provisions, and others in cruising and getting rich prizes, which proved a kind of constant fund towards defraying the expences of the work. The grand master himself, attended with his engineers, scarcely missed a day of visiting and directing the works and workmen; and, when the great number of them had so far exhausted the common purse, that he found it difficult to pay them with the usual regularity, he caused a new copper coin, of different weight and value, to be stamped with this legend, *Non as, sed fides, Not the intrinsic value of the metal, but the honour of the sovereign*; which money passed current through the island, and was recalled as often as the remittances came from abroad, by which means the workmen never went unpaid, nor the work intermitted.

*Some Florentines
cause disorders
in the city.*

WHILST he was thus agreeably employed, a double disaster happened in the island, and even under his nose, which gave him a sensible displeasure. The one was caused by some young *Spanish* libertines, knights of the order, who, in the midst of their jollity and carousings, indulged themselves in singing such songs as highly reflected not only upon some of the principal persons of the order, but upon some of the best ladies of the island. These songs or libels became in a little time so public, that a complaint was made to him of it, who immediately caused the offenders to be seized,

seized, and tried before the council, in which he himself presided. But whilst the high chancellor was writing down the sentence pronounced against them, these hot-headed youths broke into the assembly, snatched the pen out of his hand, threw the standish out of the window, and, by the assistance of their friends and accomplices, made their escape in some light vessels, and landed in *Sicily*. The grand master, justly incensed at such unprecedented insolence, tried all means in his power to have them apprehended, in vain; however, he condemned them to be degraded from the order, and imprisoned for life, whenever they should be caught; but they took care to keep themselves out of his reach as long as he lived, in hopes that his successor would prove less severe and tenacious of the ancient discipline.

THE other was equally shocking and disrespectful to him; it was no less than the murder of a god-daughter of his, a young *Rhodian* gentlewoman, who, after the loss of that island, had attached herself to the family of the late *Villagagnon*. She had been since married to a *Florentine*, named *Bonacorsi*, then settled at *Malta*, who, in a fit of rage and jealousy, plunged his dagger into her heart, and, by the assistance of his countrymen, some of whom were knights of the order, made his escape into *Italy*, where he was out of danger of being prosecuted for his crime. These two indignities offered to his authority, so derogatory to the honour of the order, and opposite to its ancient discipline, failed not to affect him in the most sensible manner, and to make him apprehend, that they would quickly terminate, after his death, in a total neglect and contempt of it. This made him look out betimes for a fit successor, whose courage and zeal might put an effectual stop to the licentiousness which had gradually crept into the order since the defeat of the *Turks*, and whom he might recommend to the electors before his death, which he was sensible could not be very far off.

BUT what most deeply affected him, and contributed ^{The pope's} most to the shortening of his small scantling of life, was, ^{ill usage} the mortifying usage which he and his ambassador *Cambiani* hastens the received about this time from pope *Pius V.* who had lately ^{death of} succeeded *Pius IV.* That new pontif having, after the ex- ^{the grand} ample of his predecessor, and other *European* princes, sent him a congratulatory brief on his success against the infidels, and in it expressed a desire to gratify his extraordinary merit by some signal favours, *la Valetta*, after his usual thanks, only begged of his holiness that he would restore to the order their ancient privilege of nomination to the grand priory of *Rome*, which some of his predecessors had assumed to

themselves, in open violation of their right : a demand so just in itself, and so disinterested with regard to his own part, he flattered himself would hardly be denied him, especially at this juncture. The pope accordingly sent him a new brief, in which he assured him, that, after the demise of the present incumbent, that privilege should be fully restored to the order ; notwithstanding which solemn promise, the incumbent was no sooner dead, than he bestowed the priory upon his nephew, cardinal *Alexandrino*, and even without subjecting him, as the other priors had been before, to pay the proper responsions and arrears into the treasury of the order.

THE grand master was soon apprised of this double injustice by his ambassador, by whom he sent a letter to the pontif, full of the warmest expostulations and complaints ; and in which he plainly told his holiness, that if the cardinals of every nation should once seize upon the most considerable preferments that belonged to the order, there would soon be an end of their funds, and consequently of all their future efforts to defend the *Italian* coasts, and carry on the war against the infidels. The pope, who could not but feel the strength of his arguments, appeared however no less displeased at some pretended disrespectful expressions in the *Stile*. *Cambiani*, on the other hand, not being able to obtain any redress, took the liberty to disperse some copies of the grand master's letter ; which so affronted the pontif, that he sent to forbid him to come any more into his presence ; upon which, being apprehensive of the displeasure of the grand master, he returned no more to *Malta*, but retired to his own patrimony in *Piedmont*.

*Falls into a
deep melancholy.*

FROM this time *la Valetta* fell into a deep melancholy ; to divert which, he was advised to be often on horseback, and to divert himself with shooting. He rode accordingly on *July 19*, to a plain near the *Cala* of *St. Paul*, to shoot some partridges, attended with his usual retinue, when he found himself on a sudden so affected with the heat of the sun, that he was brought back in a violent fever, which obliged him to take to his bed. During his sickness he received an express, sent on purpose from the viceroy of *Sicily*, to advise him to be upon his guard against a fresh attempt from the *Turks* ; the surprize of which seized so much upon his spirits, that, being no longer able to attend upon public affairs, he was obliged to commit the care of them to the lords of the council. After this, he minded little else except preparing himself for another life, saying that he earnestly recommended the grand prior of *Castile*, *Andrew de*

Toledo.

Toledo, to the council of electors, as a most fit person to succeed him : he likewise begged leave to dispose of 50 slaves, which were his own property, and of 12,000 livres out of his private purse ; part of which sum he bestowed upon the endowing of a chapel which he had caused to be built in his new city of *La Valetta*, in which he designed to be interred, and the rest he distributed among his domestics. He died on the 21st of *August*, and was deposited in the church of *Our Lady of Philermo*, till the chapel above-mentioned, which is that of *Our Lady de Victoria*, in the new city, could be ready to receive his remains, whither they were soon after conveyed with great pomp and ceremony.

His death.
1568.

ON the next day the electors met to make choice of a successor. Among the several candidates that laid claim to the dignity, it was supposed that the earnest recommendation of the late grand master would have secured it to the grand prior of *Castile*, lately mentioned ; but his high descent from the house of *Alba*, which it was thought would give a sanction to his known rigid adherence to the strict discipline of the order, proved at this juncture a powerful obstacle to his election, which fell upon *Peter de Monte*, grand prior of *Capua*, by the cabals and interest of the two knights of *Maldonat* and *La Motte*. His surname was *Guidatoti*, but, being grand nephew by the female side of pope *Julius III.* who was of the family of *de Monte*, he took it upon him as the more honourable of the two, after having given it a new lustre by his gallant behaviour in defence of the castle of *St. Michael*, at the late siege of *Malta*.

48. *Peter de Monte.*

His first care, after his election, was, to order the funeral obsequies of his predecessor to be performed, with a solemnity and magnificence answerable to his great character and merit ; which having something singular in them, beyond what was usually practised on such occasions before, we shall close this section with an account of what was most remarkable in that mournful ceremony. We have already observed, that his remains were deposited in the great church of *Philermo*, till the chapel which he had caused to be built at his own charge, viz. that of *Our Lady of Victory*, was finished ; at which time his coffin, with all its proper insignia, was embarked in the great caracca, in order to be conveyed thither. The ship was without masts or rigging, and covered over with black cloth, which came down on all sides to the water, and was adorned with coats of arms and trophies, and with the standard which had been taken from the *Turks*. Instead of sails or rowers, it was towed by two other gallies adorned in the same manner, and was followed

The funeral pomp of the late grand master.

by two others which had belonged to him, and covered likewise with the same funeral ornaments. In these two last assisted the new grand master, the lords of the council, and the chief knights and commanders of the order, all in the deepest mourning, and followed by a number of other smaller vessels.

In this mournful and solemn pomp they proceeded from the grand port to that of *Musetto*, where all the deceased's household, his officers and domestics, in the same grand mourning, landed first, some bearing the standards and trophies above-mentioned, and others lighted wax tapers in their hands, and singing the funeral office before the corpse, which last was borne under a stately canopy, with its proper bearers and funeral embellishments. The grand master and the rest of the order followed the corpse, and the procession was closed with a long train of officers both civil and military, and crouds of other people, who wore their mourning in their looks and hearts, and in their sighs and tears expressed their sincere grief for the loss of so tender a father and protector. The mass, and other rites of his interment, were performed in the same solemn manner, till his body was deposited in the above-mentioned chapel; the rest of the funeral pomp was concluded with all the usual honours to persons of his rank and merit^b.

S E C T. V.

The Sequel of the History of Maltha, from the Death of the Grand Master John de la Valetta, Anno 1568, to the fifth Year of Antonio Manuël de Villhona, Anno 1725.

The content; and order of this last Section.

IN this last section of the *Maltese* history, we shall be obliged to alter our method, and to be much more succinct than we have been, for want of proper materials upon which to form a regular series of historical events. It hath indeed been justly wondered at, that all the authors who have hitherto undertaken to give the world the history of that order, whether in *Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch*, have agreed to close it with the memorable transaction with which we have concluded our last section, viz. the raising of

^b Auct. sup. citat.

the siege of *Malta*, the building of the new city, and the death of its illustrious founder the late grand master *de la Valetta*, as if there had been nothing passed in that island worthy to be recorded. And indeed, when the reader looks back to the reigns of *Seliman II.* and his son *Selim*, in the *Turkish* history, he will find, that their forces were so far exhausted by this time, partly by the great loss sustained at the siege last-mentioned, and partly by their other wars, that they were in no condition to make any farther attempt against that island, though they wanted neither will nor powerful motives to have crushed an order that was so great a thorn in their sides, and disgrace to their boasted power and greatness.

THE grand master, therefore, having little to fear from that side, at least for some time, having paid the last obsequies to his worthy predecessor, in the grand and solemn manner above-mentioned, made it his first care to complete the fortifications, and the rest of the new city which he had left unfinished, and repair and enlarge his navy, in order to be able to suppress the *Algerines*, and other corsairs of *Barbary*, which were now the only enemies he had to encounter; in all which he used such diligence, that he quickly regained the command of those seas, and increased the plenty and wealth of the island, by the continual prizes which his galleys made on that piratical tribe, of which we have given several signal instances in the histories of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*. These frequent and almost constant excursions, joined to the assistance which they were always ready to give to the Christian powers against the *Turks*, and other enemies of Christianity, are the two main points in which the sequel of the history of the order consists, and will be the subject of this last section; But as those transactions, which particularly relate to the *Reasons Maltese* history, under both heads, and have been referred *for its difference* to this chapter, are at too great a distance from each other, in *ferent method* point of time, to be continued in the method of a regular history, we shall content ourselves, as some other late authors have done, with giving them in an annalistical order, as they have been taken from the records of that island^b.

PETER DU MONT, alias DE MONTE, grand prior of *Capua*, is chosen grand master instead of the late *John de la Valetta*, on the 23d of *August* 1569, by the general chapter of the order.

^b Vossius, ubi sup. lib. xiv. p. 141, & seq.

1569. THE lady *Hieronyma de Olibo*, grand prioress of the royal monastery of *Siocena*, of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, situate in the kingdom of *Arragon*, is, by the consent of the said prioress and the whole community, restored to the order, and put under the discipline and government of the order, after having been some considerable time alienated from it, under pretence that it was dependent on the popes. *Selim II.* undertakes the conquest of the island of *Cyprus*, which gives the grand master time to finish the repairs of the old, and to go on with the new, fortifications of *Maltba*, and to complete the building of the new city, with the convent and palaces of the order.

The
knights
make rich
prizes on
the Turks.

IN 1570 three *Maltese* commanders, viz. *St. Aubyn*, *Ferrand de Coiro*, and *Rocquelaure*, cruise on the coasts of *Egypt*, as far as the mouth of the *Nile*, where they take several considerable *Turkish* prizes, and, amongst them, one large rich one, in which was the treasurer general of *Egypt*, with his family, who was going to make up his accounts at the *Porte*, and in which were various kinds of presents for the grand signor and the seraglio. On the other hand, a famed *Turkish* corsair, named *Luckiali*, at the head of a powerful squadron, surpris'd three *Maltese* gallies, commanded by the chevalier *St. Clement*, among which was the great capitana, which, after a stout resistance, ran itself aground against the foot of the tower of *Monte Chiaro* in *Sicily*. The commander *de St. Clement*, conscious of his ill conduct and guilt on this occasion, disguised himself in the habit of a *Franciscan* monk, went to *Rome*, to beg of the *Spanish* ambassador to intercede with the pope, that the pontif might use his influence with the grand master in his behalf. These having given him some assurances that no notice should be taken of his misconduct, he was imprudent enough to embark for *Maltba*, where he was scarcely arrived before the whole irritated populace came in shoals, and would have funk him into the sea with vollies of stones, if he had not drawn back from them. He tried then in vain to have sailed back, but could not for the wind, which still blew him back, whilst the people continued their peltings and outcries against him. At length the grand marshal's order was sent at the head of a good number of knights, and the secular posse, who rescued him out of their hands, and conducted him by water to the foot of the castle of *St. Angelo*, whence he was drawn up by pullies into it, tied fast to a chair, and taken up through a window or embrasure, and closely confined. He was quickly after tried, and condemned to death, and delivered over to the secular power, which

caused him to be strangled, and his body to be thrown into the sea in a sack loaded with large stones. This execution appeased the populace, but did not allay the grief and mourning which so general a loss had caused through the island, much less the indignation which the whole order had conceived at the cowardice and disgrace of their commander, and the loss of their galleys, especially the noble capitana, though, contrary to the *Turkish* custom, that corsair treated the knights with great humanity, and shewed himself harsh and cruel to those who had behaved themselves cowardly^d. Upon the whole, this loss and disgrace to the order was esteemed too great to be in any case compensated by the rich prizes of *St. Aubyn* and his two confederates above-mentioned, which turned only to the advantage of the captors, and of some few other private members of the order.

IN the year 1571, the *Maltese* knights signalized themselves at the famed battle of *Lepanto*, in which the *Turks* lost 30,000 men, their general was slain, and two of his sons, together with 5000 officers and soldiers who were made prisoners, and 20,000 Christian captives recovered their liberty.

IN the same year, the grand master having completed the building of the new city called *La Valetta*, begun by his predecessor of that name, the order removes into the great convent erected in it for their public residence; he made his public entry into it on the 18th of *March*, at the head of all the order, with great pomp; soon after which, being discontented at the little regard that was paid to him on account of his old age and uneven temper, he begged leave of the pope *Pius V.* to resign and retire, but died before he had obtained it, on the 27th of the *January* following^e, in the 4th year of his grand mastership, and the 76th of his age.

ON the very next day, in 1572, the grand chapter met, 49. John and chose *John L'Eveque de la Cassiere*, in his room. He L'Eveque was of the tongue of *Auvergne*, and at that time grand de la Casmarschal of the order, and on the same day was installed sovereign of *Malta* and *Gosa*. Among other promotions that were made in the order after his election, which it were superfluous to mention, *Hieronymo de Guetta*, grand conservator of it, was appointed his ambassador to the pope, *Gregory III.* who had succeeded *Pius V.* to take the usual oaths of obedience and submission to the holy see in his name. He caused the great church of *St. John the Baptist*

The inquisition introduced into Malta.

to be built in the new city of *La Valetta*, together with a stately chapel, to serve for a burying-place for all the grand masters of the order, and endowed the church with a revenue of 1000 crowns. In the mean time the great armament which was hastening by *Selim II.* in *Turky*, being apprehended to be designed against *Malta*, *la Cassiere* made all proper preparations for a vigorous defence, which proved however needless, that emperor's design being against the *Goletta* or citadel of *Tunis*, of which he made himself master. On the next year, 1573, according to the generality of authors, was the tribunal of inquisition established at *Malta*, which hath continued there ever since; and on the year following *Amurat III.* having succeeded his father, revives the apprehensions of the order; about which time happened the great rupture between them and the *Venetians*, on account of a prize which the former had made of a vessel richly laden with merchandize belonging to the *Jews* of their republic. This was soon after followed by intestine broils between the tongues, about some rich commanderies and priories, in which the grand master had the misfortune to behave in such a manner, as quite alienated the affections of the convent from him, and occasioned various complaints against him in the grand council, particularly on account of his not making the necessary preparations against the *Turks*, who threatened that island with a fresh invasion.

ANOTHER cause of discontent was, that the senate of *Venice* had so far interested itself in behalf of their *Jewish* sufferers, as to cause all the lands and revenues belonging to the order to be sequestered, and had ordered reprisals to be made on their galleys at sea. *La Cassiere* was obliged to send an embassy to the pope, to justify that action; and to represent to that pontif, that, the *Jews* not being subjects to that republic, the law of nations allowed the effects of an enemy to be seized as contraband, though found in a vessel which belonged to a friend; notwithstanding which, the *Venetians* refused to take off the sequestration, till the *Maltese* had made full restitution of the *Jewish* effects.

A NEW disaster happened on the next year, in the city *La Valetta*, where one *Corteza*, a *Portuguese* knight of the order, was assassinated by six others of his own nation, who broke into his house in disguise. They were quickly after discovered, apprehended, and tried; and condemned by the secular power to be tied up alive in a sack, and stung into the sea. In the same year the order lost one of their galleys, called the *Sr. Paul*, which was taken by an *Algerine* corsair. They were obliged, however, to submit to some more mortifying

moritifying terms in this very year, through the arbitrary demands of some *European* princes, to which the pope shewed the first example. That pontif sent a young cavalier, named *Mendoza*, then but a novice, to the order, with a brief, dated in the foregoing year, enjoining the grand master to admit him, after his arrival, to the highest rank of knights, called of the great cross, with the dignity of *Turcopolerius*, which had formerly belonged to knights of the *English* tongue, but had been, since the reformation, in a great measure suspended. This brief occasioned a general discontent through the whole order, who thereupon sent an ambassy, to desire his holiness to recall it, and not to insist upon their admitting so young and unexperienced a gentleman into the number of the eight pillars of the order.

THE king of *Spain*, following the same path, obtained this year much the same kind of brief from that pontif in favour of the young archduke *Venceslaus*, of the house of *Austria*, and newly admitted into the order, in which the grand master was desired to grant him the reversion of the grand priories of *Castile* and *Leon*, together with the bailliwick of *Lora*, and the dignity of the great cross, after the death of the present incumbents. These, tho' some of the greatest preferments belonging to the *Castilian* tongue, they were obliged to consent to, out of complaisance to the *Spanish* monarch; and gave the young *Austrian* a grant of them accordingly, as soon as he had taken upon him the usual vows belonging to the order. This was followed soon after by a worse infringement from *France*, where the council of *Henry III.* passed an arret, by which they authorized that monarch to name some of his subjects to the grand priories within his dominions; in consequence of which, he sent a letter to the grand master, desiring him to confirm those of *St. Giles*, *France*, and *Champagne*, in favour of *Francis* of *Lorraine*, the queen's brother, which were the three most considerable priories in that kingdom.

THEY were upon the point of receiving a still more mortifying blow from several members of *Germany*, where the diet, then assembled, proposed, that the *German* knights should join themselves to those of the *Teutonic* order, that they might thereby render it more powerful, and put it in a condition to carry on the war in *Hungary* with more success against the *Turks*: but this motion was strenuously opposed by their ambassador at that diet, and so artfully warded off by his address, that they thought fit to drop it.

THE last remarkable thing that happened in this year, with respect to the *Maltese* order, was, the noble answer which

The order
oppressed by
the Euro-
pean
powers.

which cavalier *Bongranni Giantigliazzi* gave to the sultan *Selim II.* at *Constantinople*. This knight had been, with the grand master's consent, sent thither by the duke of *Tuscany*, as his ambassador. The sultan one day having shewn him a plan of the city of *Valetta*, and its outworks, asked him whether it was exact, and whether the place was actually so strong as it was there represented? and was answered by him in words to this effect: *It hath really all the strength that your majesty sees there; but there is one main part of it which your engineer hath not taken notice of, and which consists in the intrepid valour of above 1000 of its knights, who are all ready to fight in its defence to the last drop of their blood.*

Complaints
made a-
gainst the
grand mas-
ter.

The pope
puts a stop
to them.

THE year 1578 was likely to have proved still more unquiet, through the heavy complaints which eight *Castilian* knights preferred to the council against the grand master, on account of the several grand priories with which he had complimented the pope and the kings of *Spain* and *France*, in behalf of their favourites, and in prejudice to their own rights, in virtue of their seniority and merit. These discontents, which were privately countenanced by some of the principal knights of the order, out of dislike to the grand master, arose to such a height, that he was obliged to appeal to the pope, who, being the first leader of the dance, could not well fail of supporting him in it. The pontif accordingly summoned the malecontents to appear before him, which they at first excused themselves from, under pretence that, being destitute of any patrimony, as well as of preferment in the order, they were in no condition of bearing the charges of such a voyage. The grand master easily obtained from the pontif a dispensation from it, but it was upon condition that they should come and present themselves before him in full council, with each a lighted wax taper in his hand, and in the humblest guise ask his and the council's pardon for their past misbehaviour: which they were forced to comply with; and, after having received a very severe reprimand from the grand master, were admitted again to their pristine dignities.

IN the same year happened the death of the grand prior of *Bohemia*, which gave the order fresh apprehensions that the emperor would, as usual, take upon him the nomination of one of his favourite creatures to that considerable post, to the prejudice of the ancient rights of the order; to prevent which, the grand master dispatched the baily *Shomborn* his ambassador to the imperial court, with express orders to take *Prague* in his way. and to secure the interest
of

the chevalier *de Verdembergh*, a person in the highest favour with the emperor. *Shomborn* accordingly applied himself to him, and earnestly pressed him to ascertain the privileges of the order, and at the same time presented him with a patent from the grand master, which nominated him to that dignity. The stratagem succeeded to their wish, and the emperor confirmed his favourite in that priory without any difficulty.

AT the end of the same year arrived the *Portuguese* ambassador, to notify to the order the death of the late king *Don Sebastian*, who had been slain on the 22d of *September* 1578, at the battle of *Alcazar*, in which several *Malthese* commanders likewise lost their lives; and the accession of *Don Henry* to that crown. Presently after this, *Gargalla*, then *A sedition* bishop of *Maltha*, and *Gressini*, prior of the same, two turbulent spirits, laid the foundation for that dreadful storm *raised against the grand* which was not long afterwards raised against the grand master, their friend and benefactor. *Justinian*, grand prior of *Messina*, is sent ambassador by him to condole the kings of *Castile* and *Portugal* on the death of *Venceslaus*, archduke of *Austria*, lately presented with the grand priories of *Castile* and *Leon*, and of *Don John* of *Austria*, natural son to the emperor *Charles V.* He was likewise to make some pressing instances to those monarchs for some speedy succours, in order to put the island of *Maltha* in a good state of defence against the *Turks*, who threatened it with a fresh armament. The bishop of *Maltha* having taken upon him the juridical visitation of the grand hospital of the new city, which belonged solely to the grand master and council, not only excommunicated the stewards and other officers who opposed him, but, supported by his mutinous clergy, raised a strong party against them, who went about armed, and insulted those that sided with the grand master, who was thereupon obliged to order a guard of fifty men, in the great borough, to suppress their insolence. He sent next an embassy to *Rome*, to beg of the pope to interpose his authority. The pontif appointed the archbishop of *Palermo* to go to *Maltha*, and make a strict inquiry into their contest; but, upon his arrival, he found it risen to such a height, and the generality of the order so incensed against the grand master, that he thought it the most expedient way to summon the contending parties to appear before the pope, and immediately after returned to *Rome*, followed by the *Malthese* bishop.

IN the mean while three officers of the inquisition were accused of a design of poisoning the grand master, and, when examined, informed against several knights of the order, some of them of the first rank, as accomplices with them, together with signor *Petrucci*, grand inquisitor of the island. Some of them, without the least regard to decency or duty, broke into the council-chamber, and insolently asked him what proofs he had that any of them had conspired against his life? and insisted that three knights of the order, whom they named, should be sent ambassadors to the pope, to demand justice against him; but two of them declining the commission, that motion was set aside for a while, in order to be soon after resumed with greater warmth. Accordingly by the next year the council, supported by the principal commanders of the order, declared themselves against him, and insisted either upon his abdicating or being deposed.

ROMEGAS, one of the heads of the sedition, and remarkable only for his brutish valour, objected, amongst other things, against him, that he was grown superannuated, stupid, and indolent; was always observed to be nodding or asleep at the council, and at the most important debates; and that he was more attentive to the behaviour of the women than to the preparations which the infidels were carrying on against the order. Not content to vilify his character by the most scandalous reflections and insinuations, *Romegas*, with three other chiefs of the faction, at the head of a numerous troop of mutineers, broke into his palace, and seized on his person, in virtue of the decree of the council, and having clapped him into an open chair, conducted him as a criminal to the castle of *S. Angela*, amidst the curses, execrations, and insults of an instigated multitude, and there confined him close prisoner. Their next resolution was to send an embassy, to justify their proceedings, to his holiness *Gregory XIII.*; at the head of which *Romegas* caused one of his tools to be nominated. This was followed closely by another from the grand master, who, confined as he was, found means to send four knights of character and merit to defend his cause before that pontiff.

Two days after their departure arrived the commander *Chabrilan*, admiral of the order, with his galleys, and a good number of knights. They, immediately upon their landing, insisted upon going to the grand master, which the revolted were obliged to comply with. That brave knight immediately offered to take him out of his confinement, and to conduct him to his palace at the head of 2000 men, which he had under him; but the grand master as generously re-

fused

fused it ; telling him, that he would owe his restoration solely to the holy see, and not to any hostilities that might be committed by his children in his behalf. Soon after this, the king of *France*, being informed of the ill treatment which he had received from the order, sent him word by an express to assure him, that he would assist him with all his power to quell the sedition, and punish the fomentors of it ; but that offer was likewise civilly declined by him.

In the mean time, the pope having heard the ambassadors of both sides, sent his auditor *de Rota*, in the quality of nuncio, to summon the grand master and *Romegas* to appear before him. *La Cassiere* accordingly set sail, and arrived at *Rome*, attended by near 800 knights of the order, and met with a most gracious reception from the pontif ; whilst *Romegas*, who was no less pressing for an audience from him, was answered, that his holiness was fully determined not to admit him into his presence, till he had divested himself of the administration which he had taken upon him during the grand master's imprisonment. This news affected him to such a degree, that, we are told, he swooned away at the first hearing of it. He was quickly after seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. His ambassadors ; and their adherents, were thereupon ordered to appear before the grand master, and to beg his pardon. *Sacquenville*, the chief of the embassy, appeared at the head of them, and contented himself with asking his hand to kiss : but was thunderstruck, when he heard the cardinal *de Montalto* address him with these words, *Down on your knees, you rebel, and know that it is owing to the singular goodness of your worthy grand master that you have not had your head cut off at the public place of execution.* After this, all the factious party were glad to submit both at *Rome* and *Malta*, and the grand master was restored to his dignity with the greatest marks of honour and esteem. The pope designed to have done the same to him at *Malta* by his nuncio, and was even pressing to have him return thither, and resume his former dignity and government ; but death soon after prevented it, and only his remains were carried thither to be interred in the sepulchral chapel which he had caused to be erected for his predecessor, whilst his heart was deposited in the great church of *St. Lewis* at *Rome*. The pope caused the following inscription to be engraved on his monument, as it was composed by the famous *M. Andrea Maretto*: *Fratri Joanni episcopo, magnæ militiæ Hierosolimitanæ magistro, viro fortissimo, religiosissimo, splendidissimo, cujus, ut igne aurum, sic calumniis spectata ac probata integritas etiam enituit. Sacra*
sedes.

to Rome, whence the pope, in order to procure him ^{great} regard from the malecontents of the convent, sent him ^{back} with the dignity of cardinal; which, however, only served to aggravate the resentments of the mutinous, whose objection against him was his too great compliance with the pope of Rome, and his little regard to the rights and interests of the order. Upon his arrival at Malta, he appointed *Bosio* to continue the history of the order, which had begun by the commander *John Anthony Frossan*. All while the gallies ranged the seas, and brought in considerable prizes; and the new pope *Gregory XIV.* was just about this time, to publish a brief, by which all the *Jews* taken at sea, on what bottoms soever, were to be lawful prizes.

In this year the island was afflicted with a terrible pestilence, which swept away vast numbers both in the city and other parts of the island. The Jesuits being about this time invited thither by *Gargalla* bishop of Malta, came and settled there; and the grand master erected a convent for the *Capuchin* friars, who came and settled there also.

1593. *The capuchins introduced at Malta.* ON the next and following years, fresh attempts were made by the pope and European princes on the rights of the order, who bestowed several rich priories on their favourites; particularly *Henry IV.* of France disposed of that of *Aquifain* in favour of the commander *Chatte*; and that of *Auvergne* was given by him to baron *de Bellegarde*, though a layman. The castle of *Bosqueto*, built by the grand master, was called by his name mount *Verdalle*. All this while, neither his public works, nor other popular acts, being able to suppress the continual cabals of the malecontents, nor allay his uneasiness on that account, he takes his leave once more of the island, and returns to Rome, where he died of grief soon after his arrival. Others say, that he died at Malta, full of discontent at the unjust investives and complaints raised against him for having embezzled the public treasure; tho' he is said to have remitted no less than 200,000 crowns, which the treasury was indebted to him. However that be, his death happened on the 4th of May 1595, after having governed the order thirteen years and almost four months.

1597. *The grand master dies.* HE was succeeded by *Martin Garzez*, of the tongue of *Arragon*, and at that time grand castellan of the imposts; a person who proved more acceptable to the order than his predecessor. He began his government with abolishing sundry duties, taxes, and imposts; and made an order, that n-

^c VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 166. NABERAT, BAUBOIN, DAPPER, & al.

^d Ibidem ibid.

knight, commander, or even grand master, should thence-
 be allowed to keep vessels of their own to go a cruising
 st the *Turks*, for the sake of plunder and their own
 emolument. On the other hand, as the *Turks* were
 ing the kingdom of *Hungary*, almost without any op-
 on, he and the council passed a decree, that any knight
 order, who served in that country against the infidels,
 be allowed their respective revenues, in the same man-
 if they had been employed in the gallies of the order,
 been residing in the island; upon which great num-
 of them transported themselves thither, and signalized
 selves against those invaders. This act so far obliged
 emperor *Rodolphus II.* that, on the next year, he termi-
 ed the long contest about the grand priory of *Bohemia*, to
 satisfaction of the order; the diploma of which was dis-
 sed soon after to the grand master. The inquisitors,
 who had, during the grand mastership of the late *La Cassiere*,
 caused some disturbances in the island, began afresh to make
 them feel the effects of their encroachments and arbitrary
 proceedings, and made the order wish, when it was too late,
 that they had never given any admittance to that office.
 This year the grand master and chapter passed a decree in fa-
 vour of the *Swiss*, by which they were allowed to be admit-
 ted into the priory of *Germany*, provided the candidates
 proved their descent from their progenitors by lawful mar-
 riage both on their fathers and mothers side, during three ge-
 nerations, and all to have been of the catholic religion, and
 that none of them had ever exercised any mechanic trades, but
 been employed in military offices, as captains, commanders,
 &c. in which case their martial calling should intitle them to
 admission, instead of nobility of blood. This century con-
 cludes with making some new fortifications in the islands of
Malta and *Gosa*; and the next begins with some new con-
 tests between the tongues of *Italy* and *Germany*, about the
 priory of *Hungary*, which are followed by much more dan-
 gerous ones between the grand master and the officers of the
 inquisition, who, to gain the pope's favour, assumed, by that
 time, such an exorbitant degree of authority, as rendered them
 odious and insupportable to the whole order, and helped to
 shorten the grand master's life, who died on the 7th of Fe-
 bruary of the following year, after having governed the or-
 der five years and nine months.

He was succeeded by *Alof de Vignacourt*, grand hospitaller 52. Alof
 of the order, and of the tongue of *France*, on the 10th of de Vigna-
 the same month. This gentleman, who was descended from court.
 as a famous house in *Picardy*, signalized his government,

above all his predecessors, not only by the unusual length of it, but much more by the variety of memorable events which happened during the course of it. His first care, after having notified his election to the several Christian powers of Europe by splendid ambassies, was to oppose the encroachments of the inquisitor *Veralli*, who had assumed a right of intermeddling with the affairs of government, and was therein openly supported by pope *Clement VIII.* Their insolence was indeed grown to such a monstrous height during the two former governments, that there was a necessity for this new grand master to let them know betimes that he was fully determined to confine them to their own proper province. In the same year the galleys of the order, according to a well-concerted plan, made themselves masters of *Hammanet*, vulgarly called *Mahometta*, belonging to the district of *Susa*, on the coast of *Barbary*, a fortress built formerly by the *Tunisians*.

Lango ravaged. On the next year they were sent on an expedition against *Lepanto*; and on the following, in which was held a general chapter of the order, they were employed in ravaging the island of *Lango*, once belonging to the order, when they were masters of *Rhodes*, but out of which they were driven by the *Turks*, as we have already seen. Nothing remarkable happened upon the two following years, except the death of pope *Clement VIII.* and the election of *Paul V.* who, in prejudice of the right of the order, disposed of three commanderies belonging to the tongue of *Italy*, in favour of his nephews, and not long after, of that of *Benevento* in favour of cardinal *Buffaio*. These were not the only mortifications which that great man was obliged to submit to, from the usurping tyranny of the holy see, as we shall soon see in the sequel.

1607. THESE frequent violations, so detrimental to the order, inspired a *Dalmatian* knight, of the *German* tongue, with a project, which, if it had been put in execution, would have made some amends for their frequent losses. It was to obtain from the *Polanders* the restitution of the rich and extensive commandery of *Pojnania*, which had long since fallen into secular hands, upon condition that a new body of knights should be established in that kingdom, whose office it should be to fight on horseback, and defend its frontiers against the *Turks*. The proposal was highly approved of by the grand master and council; but the execution of it proved impracticable, through the obstacles which a prince of the house of *Radziwil* put in its way, whose ancestors, it is probable, had by some means got possession of it.

ON the next year a sedition happened in the new city, occasioned by an attempt made by some of the order to get the count *de Brie*, natural son of *Henry* duke of *Lorrain*, admitted into the order; at which those of the *German* tongue were so exasperated, that they took down the arms of the grand master, and of the order, that stood over the great gate of their inn, and left only those of the emperor in their room. The affair was like to have been attended with some fatal consequences, the *Germans* being the most jealous and nice in point of blood and descent; but how it was compromised at last, our author has not thought fit to tell us.

ON the next year three commanders of the order, *Fresenet*, *Mauros*, and *Gaucourt*, surpris'd the fortrefs of *Lajazzo*, in the bay of that name, on the confines of *Natolia*. They burst open the gate by the help of a petard, entered and plundered the town, where they loaded themselves with rich plunder, rased the fortifications, and brought away above 300 captives.

ON the next year the order lost a most noble friend and patron in the person of *Henry IV.* of *France*, who was treacherously stabbed by *Ravillac*.

ON this year the city of *Corinth* was taken and plundered by the gallies of the order.

ON the next the duke of *Vendosme*, who had taken the habit of the order, was declared general of all the gallies belonging to it.

THE corsairs of *Barbary* having entered into a combination to surpris'e the island of *Gosa*, the grand master ordered some new fortifications to be added to it, and sent a fresh supply of troops and ammunition into it, which rendered the attempt abortive.

THE order was alarmed at a fresh infringement of their privileges, by a grant made by the pope of the reversion of the grand commandery of *Reggio*, in favour of a younger son of the duke of *Modena*; a grant which might have been attended with dangerous consequences, had it not been compromised by the address and credit of the grand master.

SIXTY *Turkish* gallies land at *Maltha*, and ravage the island, but could meet with no rich plunder, nor make any captives, through the timely precaution of the inhabitants, who had retired, with their most considerable effects, into the city and other fortresses of the island.

THE grand master causes a noble aqueduct to be made from the city of *Maltha*, since called the *Notable City*, to the

new one of *La Valetta*, by which the latter is furnished with a sufficient quantity of water, to supply a sumptuous fountain, which he caused to be erected in the great square that faces the palace, with a constant stream: a work, says our author, worthy of the magnificence of the antient *Romans* ¹.

WE formerly took notice of the order of *St. Sepulchre* having, for the better defence of Christendom, been joined to the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*; but, about this time, the duke of *Nevers* having formed a project for disuniting them again, the grand master was obliged to send an embassy into *France*, to traverse that design. Don *Lewis Mendez de Vasconcellos*, baily of *Acra*, a knight of great penetration and conduct, was the person who was sent ambassador extraordinary to the *French* court, and who, by his credit and singular address, prevailed upon the *French* monarch to oppose it; by which means it was set aside.

ABOUT the same time the famous *Taccardin*, prince of the *Drusii*, arrived at *Maltha*, to implore the protection and assistance of the order against the tyranny and persecution of the grand signior, and met with a favourable reception.

1618.

THE order caused a new galleon to be built at *Amsterdam*, at the public charge; the construction and equipment of which amounted to 60,000 ducats.

AT the same time the grand master caused some new fortifications to be added to the castles of *St. Paul*, *Marza Siccaco*, and *Marza Scala*, and to those in the small island of *Comin*, situated between *Maltha* and *Gosa*.

The bishop
of Maltha
sent to the
pope.

IN the same year the bishop of *Maltha*, who had for some time made sundry encroachments on the authority of the grand master and council, being complained against to the pope, was obliged to go to *Rome*, to justify his conduct. He left the care of the diocese to his vicar, who being a person of a turbulent spirit, exasperated the order against him to such a degree, that the young knights of every tongue agreed to fetch him out of his house, and throw him into the sea. The grand master, being informed of it, caused him to be rescued out of their hands, and sent him after the bishop, to answer for his mutiny and audaciousness before the holy see. The pope pretending to resent the indignity done to the vicar, as done to the whole church, and to himself as head of it, sent orders to the grand inquisitor of the island to make a strict and severe inquiry into the cause of the con-

¹ VERTOT, ubi supra, p. 171.

test, and to threaten the order with excommunication. Whereupon the grand master finding that the pontif was no friend to the order, was glad to make a feigned submission to him, to avoid the effects of his resentment.

ON the same year the order lost a considerable number of knights, and others of their forces, in their fruitless attempt on the town of *Susa*, on the coast of *Barbary*, in conjunction with the rest of the Christian fleet. Many of them returned to *Maltha*, covered with wounds, of which several of them died soon after.

THIS year arrived at *Maltha* *Francis Ottoman*, a *Dominican* friar, who pretended to be the son of sultan *Achmet*, and, on the recommendation of cardinal *Verally*, president of the congregation of catechumens at *Rome*, met with a suitable reception from the grand master and order; soon after which the *Malthese* gallies made an attempt upon *Cassell Torneze* in the *Morea*, under the conduct of the commander *Alfonso Castel St. Pedro*, their admiral. They had already opened their way into the place, which was the public magazine of that peninsula, by the means of three petards; when the grand master was informed by a *Greek*, that, if they did not retire with all speed, they would be all cut in pieces by 4000 *Turks*, who were then at a small distance, which obliged that general to sound a retreat, which he did time enough to get all his men on board, with their plunder and prisoners.

1620.

GREGORY XV. succeeds *Paul V.* at *Rome*; and, by a new bull, confirms all the privileges of the order granted by his predecessors, but quickly after invades those which belonged to the *Italian* tongue, by disposing even of the reversion of some of their commanderies; by which they saw themselves deprived of their right of succession to them, according to the title of eldership and merit.

1621.

ABOUT the same time the commander of *Chatte-Gassan* was sent by *Lewis XIII.* of *France* to desire the grand master to permit the gallies of the order to join with his own against the *Huguenots*, who were in arms in the southern parts of his dominions; upon which the commander *Castellani de Montemedano* was ordered to sail with them, and the galleon newly built at *Amsterdam*, directly for *Marseilles*. Soon after, the grand master being out a hunting in the height of the hot weather, in the month of *August*, and in too eager pursuit of a hare, was seized with an apoplectic fit, and was immediately conveyed to the new city, where, being taken proper care of, he lived till the 14th of *September* following, after

having appointed *Nicholas la Marra*, admiral, his lieutenant, and died in the 75th year of his age, and 21st of his grand mastership.

53. Lewis
Mendez
Vascon-
cellos.

HE was succeeded by *Lewis Mendez Vasconcellos*, of the tongue of *Portugal*, and grand baily of *Acra*, who was proclaimed on the 17th of the same month; but had hardly enjoyed his new dignity six whole months before death deprived the order of him, whilst he was taken up in making of many new regulations for restoring the antient discipline. He died on the 6th of *March* following, in the 8th year of his age, and was succeeded by

1624.
54. An-
tony de
Paulo.

ANTONY DE PAULO, grand prior of *St. Gilles*, and then 71 years of age, who had the mortification to find that *Urban VIII.* who succeeded *Gregory XV.* made as little scruple of invading the rights of the order as his predecessors. In the first year of his government, a *Portuguese* novice of the order, named *John Fonseca*, having been convicted of murder and theft, was publicly beheaded; and, on the next year, the prior of *Capua* was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for defrauding the public revenue of several considerable sums, and died in his confinement. On the other hand, there were many of the order, who publicly accused the grand master of several crimes at the court of *Rome*, such as lewdness and simony; upon which he was obliged to send the commander *Hilliar de Polafron*, a person of a most exemplary life, ambassador to *Rome*, to refute these unjust calumnies, and to justify his character.

HE had scarcely extricated himself out of that difficulty, before he was involved in a greater, as he had to deal with pope *Urban VIII.* who was both judge and party, and had taken upon him the disposing of all the *Italian* commanderies in favour of his relations and favourites; insomuch that they reckoned no less than seventeen of the best of them, which had been thus arbitrarily given away by him and his two predecessors, in prejudice of the *Italian* tongue. This injustice increased the discontent to such a degree among the knights of that nation, that they refused to perform their caravans, and other duties of their order, and many of them abandoning the island retired to their own respective patrimonies, or among their relations and friends. The grand master, unable to put a stop to such complicated disasters by any other means, found himself obliged to send ambassadors not only to the court of *Rome*, but also to the courts of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, who being all staunch members of the order, and men of the highest rank and character, failed not to represent to those Christian princes the injustice of that

that pontiff's proceedings in the most lively terms. These ambassadors were moreover ordered to complain of frequent dispensations granted at *Rome* to the knights of the order, by which they were impowered to dispose of their effects to the prejudice of the common treasury, and consequently the whole community. All these commissions were executed with the utmost exactness and zeal by those ambassadors. Some of those princes were pleased to represent those injuries done to the order, as extremely displeasing to them, by their ambassadors at the court of *Rome*, but without any effect; the pontiff proved deaf to all their remonstrances, and complaints of the grand master, and, instead of receding from his pretensions, did only give them a more extravagant scope.

THIS year the gallies of the order made an unsuccessful attempt on the island of *St. Mauro*, belonging to the *Turks*, in which they had twelve of their knights slain, besides a much greater number wounded, with the loss of their other forces, and some of their vessels. This was followed soon after by the loss of two of their prime gallies, the *St. John* and *St. Francis*, in an engagement at sea against the *Turkish* corsairs. In this likewise several of their commanders and knights were slain, others wounded, and some taken prisoners, and carried into slavery. 1625.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these losses, and others of a different nature, which had reduced the order to very great straits, the pope, still inexorable to all their complaints, continued his old way of disposing of the *Italian* commanderies amongst his own relations and favourites.

THE grand master orders a new galley to be built, and added to the other five, which the order usually kept at sea, in order to suppress the insolence of the *Barbary* corsairs. *Urban VIII.*'s enmity to the order still increasing, by the continual complaints they made against his violent proceedings, he published this year an ordinance, *motu proprio*, by which he altered the order which had hitherto been observed in the election of their grand masters. 1628. *The pope alters the order of*

ANTONY BOSIO, the natural son of *Otho de Bosio*, and since adopted by his brother *James*, famous for his great learning, particularly his knowledge in ecclesiastical history, as well as for his other learned works, and, among them, his *Roma Subterranea*, succeeded his adoptive father in the office of agent of the order at *Rome*, and, being the last of that name, inherited the great estates of that illustrious family. The pope, still more eager in the pursuit of his own private views, attempted to change the antient customs that, till then, were used in the general chapters of the order; but was

soon after obliged to recede from some of his new regulations.

1631.

*The pope
makes
some new
changes.*

ON the next year the Christian slaves belonging to the *Turkish* ship commanded by *Manni Beigh of Fatmagusta*, in the island of *Cyprus*, revolt and kill him and all the rest of his soldiers, and sail with the galley to *Malta*. A general chapter of the order being to be convened on the 11th of *May* of the same year, the pope consented that they should proceed according to the ancient custom of chusing sixteen commissaries, two for each tongue; but insisted upon his inquisitor's presiding over them, and upon his appointing, during his absence, whom he should think fit, to perform that function in his stead; and that he should moreover be authorized to prorogue or suspend the chapter, if he saw it proper. To which the grand master answered the pontif, that he, for his own part, was ready and willing to comply with his holiness's orders; yet the rest of the community so highly resented his introducing a stranger into the government of the order, under the title of president, that, to prevent the ill consequences that might ensue, he thought himself obliged to intreat him to desist from such an unusual and dangerous a proceeding. The pope paying no regard to their remonstrances, and the grand master and council seeing themselves forced to obey, a general revolt was likely to have ensued in the convent, especially among the younger members. To avoid which, they thought it expedient to send them out a cruising, during the whole sitting of the chapter.

ON *Sunday* the 11th of *May*, accordingly, the grand chapter assembled, at which the grand master presided as usual, and a great number of the chief commanders, grand priors, and other officers of each tongue, assisted. The inquisitor immediately, after the usual formalities, presented them with the pope's brief, which appointed him president over the sixteen commissaries, but without any authority to vote or intermeddle, to propose or advise, in any matter on the tapis. The grand master and chapter thought it the most prudent way to accept of it on those restrictions; and it was accordingly received, and submitted to. The chapter proceeded soon after to the election of sixteen commissaries, who, with the inquisitor at their head, retired to the hall or room appointed for their session, and proceeded to the business which was committed to their management, without any molestation or demur on the part of the pope's inquisitor. This being the last general chapter that was held at *Malta*, the regulations and decisions of it have served ever since as a rule and law, by which all disputes and debates that have happened

happened since, then have been determined, and are like to continue so as long as the order subsists.

THE following year was rendered remarkable by the general census which was taken of all the inhabitants of the two islands of *Maltha* and *Gofa*, which were found to amount to 51,750, men, women, and children, exclusive of the knights of the order, the ecclesiastics and familiars belonging to the inquisition. *Number of inhabitants in Maltha and Gofa.*

ABOUT the same time one of the gallies belonging to the order, called the *St. John*, being driven by stress of weather on the coasts of *Calabria*, was dashed in pieces; but the crew got safe to land, and the artillery, with a considerable part of the cargo, was likewise saved.

ON the following year, *Imbrol* prior of the church, and one of the commissaries chosen by the late chapter, offers himself to write a general history of the order, and obtains leave to search all the records and registers of chancery, &c. in order thereunto; not long after which another knight of the order, named *Cesar Mugalotti*, a person of great learning, is recommended by cardinal *Barberini*, as a proper person to compile the same history. They were both approved of by the council, and both set about the work; but neither of them have completed it. And it is not unlikely, as we observed at the beginning of this last section, that they found the subject exhausted by *Bosio*, so far as his own had been continued; and that what had happened since that time was too inconsiderable to countenance the compiling of two new ones. And may not that be the reason why no other author, who hath writ the history of the order, hath thought fit to carry it on further than we have done?

BE that as it will, in the next year general *Valdi*, admiral of the *Maltese* gallies, attacked four *Moorish* vessels, about the latter end of *April*, near the coasts of *Lepanto*, laden with 650 negroes, and other commodities from *Barbary* for *Constantinople*, and, after an obstinate fight, made himself master of them. He fell soon after upon some corsairs belonging to *Tripoli*, and carried off 338 slaves, and delivered about sixty Christian captives.

THE *Venetians* sent heavy complaints to the grand master, on account of his gallies making such prizes on the seas belonging to the republic; to which he ordered his ambassador there to declare, that he would willingly surrender all the subjects of the grand signor that were taken on the *Adriatic* gulph; but, as to the *Barbary* corsairs, he should make no

scruple to sell them for slaves, as profligate wretches, that were sworn enemies to all nations and religions. Much such another misunderstanding happened about the same time between the order and the republic of *Lucca*, and was likely to have been attended with some dangerous consequences, which the pope, however, prevented, by interposing his authority.

ABOUT this time appeared the prince *Guchia*, who gave himself out to be a son of *Mahammed III.* by one of the Christian princesses of the house of *Comneni*, emperors of *Trebizond*, and pretended that his mother had caused him to be educated in a Christian country, and in the Christian faith. Few princes in *Europe* gave any credit to this story, though interest prevailed upon several of them, and amongst them the grand master and order, to engage in his quarrel, whether right or wrong.

IN the year following the pope applied himself to them, to endeavour to recover mount *Calvary*, the church of *St. Sepulchre*, the city of *Bethlehem*, and other places of the holy land, which had till lately been in the custody of the *Franciscan* friers of *Jerusalem*, but had been wrested out of their hands, by dint of money, by the *Greek* schismatics. The grand master and council readily approved of their design; but gave it as their opinion, that there was no other way of succeeding in it but by open force of arms, and in conjunction with other Christian princes, who, in that case, ought to shew no more mercy to any *Greek* schismatics that should fall into their hands.

THE next year was attended with the death of the grand master, who was attacked by a severe sickness, which held him near three months, whilst he was taken up in fortifying the new city with a new wall.

1636.
The grand
master
dies.

55. Paul
Lascaris
Castelard.

HE died on the 19th day of *July*, in the 85th year of his age, and the 14th of his government.

HE was succeeded by *Paul Lascaris Castelard*, great bailly of *Manosco*, who was descended from the famed counts of *Vintimillia* in *Piedmont*, who were themselves descended from the imperial family of the emperors of *Nice*. His singular merit had got him admitted into the order so early as the 24th of *April* 1583, and he was now seventy years of age upon his being chosen to the grand mastership. The island, at this time, laboured under a great scarcity of corn, which made him apply himself to the president of *Sicily* for a fresh supply, as usual; but that being refused, the commander

ⁿ De his vide Ant. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 451, & seq. vol. xvii. p. 172, & seq.

^o Idem,

Nati, admiral of the *Maltese* galleys, had recourse to the viceroy of *Naples*, who readily furnished him with a large quantity of it, without duty or impost; which was the more welcome at this time, as the new grand master had kept a great number of workmen constantly employed in carrying on the fortifications which his predecessor had begun. The person who presided over them was the famed engineer *Floriano*, whom he had honoured with the habit and the cross of the order, on account of the great skill and diligence with which he acquitted himself of that trust.

THAT nothing might retard the work, as the island was threatened with a new armament from *Turky*, he ordered some money to be coined, as formerly, for the more regular payment of the workmen; and, for the better security of the inhabitants, he caused them to be divided into regular regiments and companies, commanded by knights of the order, and to be duly armed and exercised, so as to be always ready to oppose the descents of the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs.

The inhabitants formed into regiments, &c.

ABOUT the same time *Don Pedro de Vintimilla*, another knight of that family, settles an income of 2000 crowns *per annum* for ever, for the maintenance of an extraordinary galley, which was to be called the *St. Peter*. His example was followed by the grand prior of *Venice*, who founded another under the name of *St. Nicholas*; and the commander *Conrard Scheifurt*, of the *German* tongue, founded the new commandery of *Bresslaw*, for the service of the order. These fair beginnings of his new government were, however, quickly overclouded, by the inveterate rancour which the viceroy and president of *Sicily* bore to the order, who not only refused to supply it with the usual quantities of corn specified in the grant of the emperor *Charles V.* but ordered an embargo to be laid upon any *Maltese* ships that should sail into any of their harbours.

The viceroy of Sicily refuses the usual supply of corn.

THE occasion or pretence for this misunderstanding was, that the crowns of *France* and *Spain* being then at war, some *French* knights of the order had been suffered by the grand master to make some considerable prizes in *French* galleys at the very entrance into the harbour of *Maltha*; in revenge of which the regency of *Sicily* had ordered two *Maltese* galleys, then in the port of *Syracuse*, to be disarmed; which the *Maltese* commander being timely apprised of, forthwith set sail and got away. The governor tried to bring him back by firing upon him, and at length discharged his whole artillery upon him; in spite of which the ships got off, and arrived safe at *Maltha*. This strange conduct of the *Spanish* governor

governor caused an universal surprize, but more especially in *Italy*, whose dominions had been so long protected by the bravery of the *Maltese* gallies from the ravages of the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs. This was the first time that this Christian bulwark had ever been cannonaded by any but infidels; but that they should be so now by the *Spaniards*, who had reaped the greatest advantages from their valour and protection, was justly deemed a piece of the foulest ingratitude; and the duke of *Montalto*, the then viceroy of that island, was so ashamed of it, that he openly disapproved and condemned the deed, and laid all the blame on the governor of *Syracuse*, and; by way of satisfaction to the order, promised, or at least gave out, that he would suffer corn to be exported by their gallies; tho' we see by what passed afterwards that he never designed it.

*The grand
master's
partiality
to France.*

HOWEVER, the viceroy, as well as his master, had just reason to complain against the order, for suffering the *French* ships to cruise even to the very chanel of *Malta*, and make prizes of their ships; and the grand master was loudly complained against for winking at it, insomuch that he was shrewdly suspected, of being privately a favourer of the *French* court. To wipe off which aspersion, one of those *French* vessels having brought an *Algerine* prize into his port, the grand master charged the captain, and all the knights of the order, not to make any prizes or take up arms against Christian princes, as contrary to the design of their institution. He afterwards complained of it to the *French* king, and in the strongest terms represented to him the discredit it was to his order, as well as the injury it did to commerce, to suffer the knights that fought under his banners to attack and carry off the *Sicilian* vessels as lawful prizes; and how much such a proceeding must exasperate the court of *Spain* against his whole order, and especially against himself, as acting in concert with his enemies. These representations, though they made a great noise, yet proved of little effect, either towards suppressing these abuses, or the clearing of him from the suspicion of being too partial to the *French* interest.

IN the same year *Charolt*, admiral of the *Maltese* gallies, made several considerable prizes on the *Barbary* corsairs, particularly on three large vessels belonging to *Tripoli*, which were sent to escorte a much greater number of other rich vessels, and whom he boarded at once without the usual salute of a broadside. The engagement was fierce and bloody, the *Turks* having in their little fleet above 450 soldiers, commanded by a *Marfilian* renegado, named *La Becasse*, who had served a long while as pilot in the gallies of the order, and
whose

wife and children were still in *Maltha*; but who having been taken by the corsairs of *Tripoli*, was turned *Mohammedan*, and by his valour was now raised to the dignity of admiral.

IMMEDIATELY upon their boarding the *Turkish* galleys, *The Marcel de Chateauneuf*, brother to the commander of the *St. Peter*, attacked the renegado, mounted his ship sword in hand at the head of a number of other knights, and, having seized on the traitor, caused him to be conveyed into his brother's ship, where he had served as pilot, and where he was quickly clapped in irons, whilst he and the rest of his knights fell furiously on the *Turks*; and, after a long and sharp contest, made themselves masters of the ship. The other commanders were no less successful against those they attacked, inasmuch that not one vessel, great or small, belonging to the *Turkish* fleet, escaped them, but were all brought safe to *Maltha* by the victorious admiral, to the number of twenty, all richly laden. Besides the richness of the loading, they took 312 prisoners, and a number of Christian captives; but the prize cost the lives of several of their bravest commanders, besides a greater number of wounded; it being usual among those of the order to fight upon such encounters with much more heat than discretion.

WHILST this was transacting abroad, the bishop of *Maltha*, desirous to increase the number of his clergy, made no scruple to ordain a great many young men, who seemed to take the habit merely to exempt themselves from the military duties and exercises to which the grand master had subjected the inhabitants. Complaints of it being sent to the courts of *Rome* and *Spain*, the conduct of the bishop was highly blamed, and those new ecclesiastics condemned to perform the duties of their function, without being exempt from the military ones which were imposed on the seculars. This wise precaution put an end to that shameful practice, which there was then the greater necessity to suppress, as the island was in no small apprehension of a speedy visit from the *Turks*. However, tho' the pope indulged the order so far in that one instance, yet, in the main, he never departed from his unfriendly conduct towards them, and, in this very year, issued out a brief, by which the knights were impowered to make wills, and bequeath their effects to their relations, which was an expeditious way of ruining the public treasury, and was no less inconsistent with the institution and constant practice of the order, in virtue of the vow of poverty which they took at their first admission into it.

By this time the Jesuits, who, as we have lately observed, had been permitted to settle in the island, were become

nor caused an universal surprize, but more especially whose dominions had been so long protected by the navy of the *Maltese* gallies from the ravages of the *Turk* and *Barbary* corsairs. This was the first time that the *Sicilian* bulwark had ever been cannonaded by any *Turks*; but that they should be so now by the *Spaniards* had reaped the greatest advantages from their valour and protection, was justly deemed a piece of the foulest ingratitude; and the duke of *Montalto*, the then viceroy of the island, was so ashamed of it, that he openly disapproved and condemned the deed, and laid all the blame on the governor of *Syracuse*, and; by way of satisfaction to the order promised, or at least gave out, that he would suffer corn to be exported by their gallies; tho' we see by what passed afterwards that he never designed it.

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IN the same year *Charolt*, admiral of the *French*, made several considerable prizes on the coast, particularly on three large vessels belonging to the *Turks*, were sent to escorte a much greater number of smaller vessels, and whom he boarded at once with the lute of a broadside. The engagement was very hot, the *Turks* having in their little fleet above twenty vessels, commanded by a *Marsilian* renegado, named *Lionel*, who served a long while as pilot in the gallies.

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come so obnoxious to the generality of the order, by the great influence they had gained over the grand master and principal commanders, that some of the younger knights took the advantage of the carnival season to go about masked, in the habit of the society. These immediately brought their complaints of it to the grand master, who ordered them to be arrested, and closely confined; but their comrades came soon after, and, breaking the prison open, brought them out in triumph. Not content with this, they marched directly to the college, drove the Jesuits out, and flung their books and other moveables out of the windows, and at length obliged the grand master to banish them out of the island. Eleven of them were accordingly forced to embark for *Europe*; and only four of them, who had concealed themselves in the new city, staid behind. This riot, however, was so far from being attended with any ill consequences, that the council and the far greater part of the order seemed to be well pleased that it had proved such an effectual means of ridding the island of a set of members, who, to their great dislike, had so long usurped a kind of sovereignty over their grand masters.

Prince
Darm-
stadt's suc-
cess against
the Turks.
1640.

THE prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, commander of the *Malthese* galleys, sails to the very port of the *Goletta*, and brings away from thence six *Barbary* corsairs, into the port of *Maltha*; a timely help this, considering that the order had scarcely received any part of its *German* revenue during the space of 20 years, whilst the greater part of the *French* and *Italian* commanderies were in a great measure ruined through the wars that reigned; insomuch that the exchange was become extravagantly dear; which obliged the grand master, who still continued carrying on the fortifications of the island, to borrow the sum of 200,000 crowns from the bank of *Genoa* at the common interest, in order to complete them. On the year following, 1641, the *Venetians* sequestered afresh all the revenues of the order in their dominions; and *Uladislaus IV.* king of *Poland*, insisted by his letters to the grand master, that the grand commanderies in *Bohemia* should be in common between the *Polish* and *Bohemian* knights, as both belonged to the same tongue. These two difficulties contributed still more to embarrass the affairs of the order, which were yet more entangled in the following year, when *Urban VIII.* to prevent the league which was then forming in *Italy*, to invade the dominions of the duchy of *Parma*, sent to desire the grand master to assist him with some of his galleys; which he had no sooner completed, than he saw all the priories and revenues in the allied princes do-
minions

minions seized by way of reprisal. It is easy to imagine what difficulties so many cross accidents must throw the *Malthese* council into, besides their continual apprehensions of a *Turkish* war. However, the grand master lost no time to disculpate this last step of his, which was taken merely in obedience to the pontif, who was sovereign of the order; and by assuring those princes, that he had given express orders to his commanders to keep themselves on the defensive, according to the constant practice of it, which had always paid a due regard to the flag of all the Christian princes, by which means he got those revenues restored quickly after.

In the year following the gallees of the order, being on the cruise, perceived a large *Turkish* ship in full sail, at about four leagues distance from them. The capitana, which was the foremost, and nearest to it, began to give it chase, and was soon after joined by the *St. John* and *St. Joseph*. The *Turks* soon put themselves in a posture of defence, and kept making a continual fire upon them, both from their artillery and small arms; which did not however prevent its being stopped by the grappling irons of the pursuers, and as quickly boarded and taken. Three other gallees, viz. the *St. Lawrence*, *St. Mary*, and the *Victory*, met soon after with a large galleon of the same nation, which, to allure them, had concealed its strength and artillery, and seemed to wait patiently for them; whereupon the *St. Mary*, which was the best manned, quickly got the start of her, and, without regarding the disparity between them, grappled and attacked her sword in hand, but met with a most obstinate resistance. The other two coming up to his assistance, a fresh combat began with great fury on both sides, which lasted almost seven hours, in which the *Turkish* commander and several of his officers were killed, before the rest would surrender. The number of the slain on both sides was very great; the *Malthese* lost nine of their bravest knights, besides a greater number of wounded; the *Turks* lost 600 men, the greater part of whom were made prisoners, and, among them, a lady of the seraglio and her young son, who were making a religious voyage to *Mecca*. This son, whom she was said to have had by soltan *Ibrahim*, was afterwards converted, and became a monk of the *Dominican* order. As for the cargo of the galleon, it proved to be of immense value and of singular service towards reimbursing the public treasury for the vast expence it is obliged to be at in keeping up such considerable armaments. However, the joy which this valuable prize occasioned at *Maltha* was in a great measure damped by

A rich
Turkish
galleon
taken by the
Malthese.
1644.

Ibrahim re- by the news they heard soon after, that soltan *Ibrahim*, to
sents the whom the galleon belonged, had vowed a terrible revenge
loss of it, against the whole order; in consequence of which he sent
and de- the year following a herald to *Malta*, to declare war against
clare war. the grand master and the whole island.

1645.

THIS alarm, though it proved a false one for the present, the storm having fallen elsewhere, as we shall soon see, failed not to awaken the whole order, and put them upon making all the proper provisions to oppose so formidable a force as they were threatened with. The fortifications were carried on with the utmost vigour, the galleys employed in fetching all sorts of arms, ammunition, and provisions; and the absent knights were every-where summoned to repair to the island, and to bring with them what volunteers and other forces they could get, to assist them in its defence. Among all those brave personages who signalized themselves upon this occasion, we cannot in justice omit mentioning the viscount *Arpajon*, a nobleman of one of the greatest families in *France*, who not only summoned all his vassals, but raised an army of 2000 men, armed and equipped them cap-à-pié, hired and loaded a great number of vessels with all necessaries for a war, embarked at the head of them, accompanied with a large train of noble volunteers, and presented the order with such a considerable succour, as they could have hardly hoped for from any one crowned head. The grand master was so sensible of this important service, that, to gratify the viscount in the most honourable way he could, he nominated him generalissimo of all his forces, with full power of chusing two such lieutenant-generals as he thought fit, to command under him.

THIS dreaded storm, however, as we observed a little higher, instead of *Malta*, fell upon the island of *Candia*, the success of which we have already seen in the *Turkish* history; so that the grand master had nothing to do but to to send his squadron of galleys to its assistance. As for the noble *Arpajon*, he took his leave of him with the most engaging politeness, and, with the consent of the council, presented him with an express diploma of the order, by which he and his eldest son were authorized to wear the golden cross; one of his youngest sons was intitled, even in his minority, to be admitted into the order; and, when of age, to wear the large cross, and the heads of his family were from that time to wear it on their escutcheons, and in their coat of arms.

ON the year following the pope, at the request of the court of *Spain*, desired the grand master to admit Don *Philip*, the son of the king of *Tunis*, who had embraced the Christian religion, among the knights of the great cross. This request was however strongly opposed by the council, who thought it repugnant to the dignity of their order that a *Moor*, whose conversion was still liable to suspicion, should have a rank among the pillars and principal members of it. In the course of the next, prince *Maurice of Savoy* solicited the grand master and council in favour of *Jacaya*, who gave himself out to be a prince of the *Othman* family; but they prudently declined engaging in his behalf, on account of the small likelihood there was of placing him on the *Turkish* throne, unless the greatest princes of *Europe* should declare themselves for him. In the same year, pope *Innocent X.* conferred the grand priory of *Parma* upon a young nephew of his sister-in-law, named *Malda-chino*. This fresh invasion of the rights of the order obliged the grand master to send ambassadors not only to the court of *Rome*, but likewise to some of the chief princes in *Europe*, to represent to them the impossibility of the order's subsisting much longer, or of their being able to protect the Christian religion and commerce, whilst their rights, privileges, and revenues, which were the sinews of their power, were thus suffered to be infringed. This year the order lost two considerable members, viz. the commander *de Guise*, who was killed by the bursting of a new cannon; and the admiral *Jay*, who was killed by a musket-shot from an *Algerine* corsair, whom he had attacked in the chanel of *Maltha*, as he was going to make reprisals on the *Venetians* for sequestering the revenues of the order. Another great loss they sustained by the treaties of *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, which disposed of several of their grand commanderies in *Germany*, in favour of Protestant princes.

IN this year the island of *Maltha*, labouring under a grievous famine, was providentially relieved by a fresh supply of corn. The master of a *Flemish* vessel was met, in his return from *Apulia*, where he had bought 2000 loads, by the commander *Cinqmar*, who offered to buy it of him, which he absolutely refused; not long after which, a violent storm obliged him to put into the harbour of *Maltha*, where he was glad to dispose of it, to the great joy of the inhabitants. At the same time four other galleys of the order, having been on the cruise in the *Levant*, returned to the port of *Messina*, where the government, being apprehensive lest they should seize on some of the vessels riding in the harbour, laden with corn for other countries, laid an embargo on one of their

The war
in Candia
continued.

1649.

ships, called the *St. Joseph*, commanded by Don *John de Bichi*, of the *Italian* tongue, and let the other three sail away for *Malta*, with a letter to the grand master, importing, that they had secured the *St. Joseph* merely to prevent an insurrection among the people, who laboured under as great a scarcity of grain as he did; upon which, without expressing any resentment against the *Messinian* magistrates, he ordered the same ship to sail for port *Augusta*, whence they quickly returned laden with it; yet was this new supply so far from sufficient, that even their infirmary was in want of wheaten; and the convent reduced to barley bread, and the rest of the inhabitants to the greatest distress for want of it. The grand master was obliged again to send out his galleys in quest of it; but forbade the commanders to come near the ports of *Messina* or *Palermo*. The fate of sultan *Ibrahim*, who was strangled this year, and his son *Mohammed IV.* raised to the throne, did not prevent the war in *Candia* from being carried on with as much vigour as ever; nor was the grand master negligent in sending his galleys thither, with such other succours as he had formerly furnished. In the following year, was fought the famed battle of *Feglia*, at the mouth of the *Dardanelis*, in which the *Venetians* gave the *Turks* a signal overthrow.

SEVERAL of the *Maltese* commanders signalized themselves at the siege of its capital, particularly their admiral *Balbiano*, a man of such experience and bravery, that the governor *Mocenigo* scarcely undertook any thing of moment without consulting him. The debate being one day about recovering a half moon which the *Turks* had made themselves masters of, *Balbiano* immediately undertook the task, and, by the assistance of about 30 of his knights, and above 100 of his best soldiers, which he took out of the capitana, scaled the important work in the dead of the night, and, after a furious onset, forced the *Turks* to abandon the place, with the utmost confusion and precipitation; an enterprize which was admired even by the very enemy. The besiegers, emulous to retrieve their honour, endeavoured in a much greater number of men to recover it from them; to facilitate which, the basha caused a mine to be sprung, which blew up several *Maltese* knights, particularly one named *Fales*, a gentleman of a great family in *Switzerland*, who was buried up above the middle, but was immediately dug up, and helped the rest to repulse the enemy, and drive them off with great loss.

ALL this while the scarcity continued raging at *Malta*, and corn became so excessive dear, and difficult to be procured,

cured, that the treasury was almost exhausted, to prevent the inhabitants from perishing through want; notwithstanding which, the grand master found means to raise a stout fort, called the castle of *St. Agatha*, on the coast of *Melecha*, which lay most exposed to the descents of the *Algerine* and other corsairs; put a good garrison into it, and caused it to be well provided with necessary stores both for war and for the mouth.

In the next year, when he sent to *Sicily* for the usual supplies, he was not a little surprised to find the viceroy as stiff in refusing them as ever, under pretence that he could not suffer either corn or biscuit to be exported without manifest detriment to his *Spanish* majesty's subjects. This obliged him to have recourse to *Don John of Austria*, to whom he sent an extraordinary ambassy for that purpose. *Don John* soon removed those obstacles by his authority; but that did not prevent the viceroy's making very loud complaints against the grand master, who, it seems, still suffered the *French* galleys, under the command of knights of the same nation, to make frequent prizes of those of *Spain* and *Sicily*; and insisting on that as a sufficient reason for his forbidding any provisions from being carried out of his government into *Malta*. These complaints were carried on by both sides with much vehemence, and made a great noise in other *European* courts for a considerable while; notwithstanding which, we do not find that the grand master took any proper measure to prevent his *French* knights from infringing his former prohibitions, as well as the statutes of their order. This year a resolution having passed through the council, of erecting a library in the new city of *Valetta*, a regulation was made by it, that all the books, which should be found among the effects of a deceased knight, should not be sold with them, but sent to *Malta*, to be deposited in the said library.

In the year following, the *Maltese* galleys took a considerable prize off cape *Bona*, a large *English* vessel, freighted *prize* for the *Turks* of *Barbary*, in which they took about thirty-*taken* two prisoners, and, among them, prince *Mehmed Ben Thesi*, the son of the emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, then about 21 years of age; soon after which they sailed away to join those of the pope and *Venetians*. At the same time the *Spanish* and *Sicilian* courts, being more and more exasperated at the continual prizes which the *French* made of their ships, issued an express order, that all the lands and revenues within that kingdom, belonging to the order, should be sequestered, and that no *Maltese* ship should be admitted into

their port, or be furnished with any kind of provisions. This obliged the grand master to have recourse to his former palliatives, and to renew his express prohibitions against those unlawful practices, under the severest penalties; and, to shew himself now in earnest, he strictly enjoined the commanders in all the ports of *Maltha* and *Gofa* to keep off all those privateers far enough from this coast, and to fire on them if they offered to come into any of the harbours of either island; which order was so punctually executed, that Don John of Austria, the Spanish generalissimo, was satisfied with it, and ordered the embargo and sequestration to be taken off. On the other hand, the pope, being informed that the number of slaves belonging to the *Maltese* galleys was considerably lessened, through their constant courses to and from *Candia*, made the grand master a present of 250 of his own, to supply their place.

The isles of IN the next year the grand master ordered a new galley to be
St. Chris- built, and to be added to the other six; and much about the
topher, same time the order made a new purchase of the island of *St.*
Ec bought *Christopher*, by a contract made with the king of *France*, and
by the or- ratified at *Maltha* by the grand master, and principal officers
der. of the order. The conditions on which this cession was
 1652. made from the former to the latter were contained in the two following articles; viz.

FIRST, That the order should engage to pay all the debts due from the company of proprietors to the inhabitants of the islands. 2dly, That they should pay the sum of 125,000 livres (*French*) for the purchase of the said island of *St. Christopher*, and those of *St. Martin*, *St. Bartholomew*, *St. Cross*, and some other small ones, together with all lands, houses, negroes, merchandize, provisions, ammunition, &c. which purchase was afterwards ratified and confirmed on both sides accordingly; soon after which the grand master appointed his nephew, the chevalier *de Sales*, to go and take possession of them in the name of the order, and to assist *Monf. de Poincy* to regulate the government, &c. of those islands, that commander being very old, and in a declining state. As for the pretended effects of that old knight, who died quickly after, they were found to be so far from answering the account he had given of them, that nothing appeared but debts which he had contracted, in order to keep himself in his government; but the purchase made amends for the want of effects to pay them.

IN the next year happened an engagement between the *Maltese* squadron, whose crew of rowing slaves was considerably weakened by a contagious distemper which was got among

1653.

among them, and three vessels belonging to *Tripoli*, which they met in the chanel of *Malta*. After some mutual cannonading, the *Maltese* admiral, not finding himself strong enough to oppose them, dispatched a light vessel to the island, to obtain a reinforcement. This action caused a general murmuring and dislike among the order, that being, it seems, the first time that any *Maltese* gallies had cannonaded an enemy a whole day, without attempting to board him; upon which the grand master sent him a fresh number of gallies well manned, with ten knights in each of them, to his assistance. But a favourable wind, which arose in the middle of the night, gave the infidels an opportunity to sail away unperceived; so that by the next morning they were got quite out of sight, and the squadron was obliged to return without success, to the great mortification of the grand master, who was in great expectation to see his grand nephew, who commanded it, enter the port victorious, and laden with plunder. In the same year happened a notable contest at the court of *Spain*, between the ambassador of the order and that of the duke of *Tuscany*, about precedence, which was at length decided in favour of the former; who was, by the peculiar privileges granted by several popes to the former grand masters, allowed to take place of those of all other princes who did not bear the royal title.

IN the year following the order was in no small danger of *The* having all their lands and revenues in *France* confiscated by French the incensed *French* monarch. We have seen lately, that the *gallies* grand master had been obliged, through the frequent com-^{fired upon}plaints and threats of the *Spanish* court, to forbid all *French* at *Malta*. ships to land in the island. A violent storm having thrown 1654. the *French* fleet upon the coasts, it was forced to retire by the fire which the grand master ordered to be made upon it from his artillery. This affront was highly resented by the *French* monarch; and his courtiers represented it as a crime amounting to no less than high treason against his person, and easily persuaded him to sequester all the lands and priories of the order to his own use. The grand master used all proper means to justify what he had done, affirming that it was pursuant to the engagements laid upon the order by the emperor *Charles V.* a copy of whose grant he sent to the *French* court by the baily *de Souvre*, his ambassador. The matter was at length compromised, by the address and mediation of the then secretary of state, whom the grand master had lately obliged, by admitting a young son of his, a minor, into the order, and bestowing a rich commandery upon him; and had no farther consequence.

The Mal-
these gal-
lies as-
fronted at
Genoa.
1655.

IN this year the *Genoese* ordered five galleys to be seized in their port, for having entered it without saluting their fleet; and contented themselves with paying that honour to the city and the *Spanish* capitana, whilst the magistrates sent them word, that, if they continued in their refusal, they would cause their artillery to fire upon them, and tear them in pieces; upon which the *Maltese* admiral was obliged to comply, to save his squadron, and sailed out soon after, with full resolution to be revenged upon them. He fired accordingly on the first ship he met with, which bore the colours of that republic; but, upon his being informed that it was only a merchantman, he contented himself with tearing its flag in pieces, in hopes of finding some worthy object upon which he might wreak his resentment. The grand master and council, on their part, passed a decree not long after, that no *Genoese* should be admitted into their order, till that republic had made them ample satisfaction for the affront offered their squadron.

The Turk-
ish fleet
twice de-
feated.

IN the same year the galleys of the order having joined the *Venetian* fleet consisting of 24 galleys, seven galleasses, and 28 other high vessels, under the command of the famed *Laurence Marcello*, at the mouth of the *Dardanelis*, gained a complete victory over the *Turks*, which was followed by the reduction of the island of *Tenedos*. In the same year died the duke of *Offuna*, viceroy of *Sicily*, and was succeeded by the commander *Martin de Redino*, of the tongue of *Arragon*, who sailed soon after to that island, to take possession of his new government. About the same time a young *Turkish* gentleman, who passed for the son of *Soltan Ibrahim*, together with *Mehemed Benthesi*, the son of the king of *Fes* and *Morocco*, were publicly baptized at *Malta*.

IN the year following, the *Maltese* squadron joined again the *Venetian* fleet commanded by *Don Lazaro de Mocenigo*, in the chanel of *Jaro*, in order to prevent that of the *Turks*, commanded by the grand vizier *Mohammed*, recovering the island of *Tenedos*. They were joined by the pope's galleys, commanded by the grand prior *Bichi*; soon after which, a fresh and fierce engagement ensued, in which the *Turks* were again defeated with great loss. This new victory was unanimously ascribed to the bravery and dexterity of the *Maltese* admiral; and the *Venetian* admiral sent to compliment him upon it; but having soon after closely pursued some of the *Turkish* vessels which had sheltered themselves under the cannon of the neighbouring fortresses, he had the misfortune to receive a cannon-ball into his ship, the *St. Barbara*, which setting it on fire, quickly blew it up, together with the
Venetian

Venation admiral, and about 700 men that were in it. The Christian fleet retired soon after, each to their respective homes, which gave the *Turks* an opportunity of recovering the island of *Tenedos*.

THE next year was attended by the death of the grand *Death of* master *Lascaris*, in the 97th year of his age, and the 21st of *the grand* his government, over whose remains *Lascaris*, his grand ne- *master,* phew, caused a stately mausoleum to be erected, with a suit- 1658.
able inscription, in the chapel belonging to the tongue of *Provence*, in the great church of *St. John*. Two factions immediately started up, the one for *Martin Redin de Navarre*, then in his government of *Sicily* : and the other, which called itself the Flying Squadron, consisted of ancient knights of the great cross, headed by the grand inquisitor *Ödi*, who was an enemy to *Redin*, and who, to oppose his election, produced a brief from the court of *Rome*, which declared any knight, who had been guilty of bribery or corruption, incapable to succeed to that grand dignity, as being a simoniac, which crime he intended to fix upon him. *Redin* was 56. Mar-
nevertheless chosen by a great majority, in spite of all the *tin Redin* cabals of the inquisitor and his party. These protested *de Navar* against the election ; but *Redin* took care to be beforehand *chofen.* with them, and sent the whole process of it to *Rome* ; to which he added a solemn declaration, that if his election was not acceptable to his holiness, he would cheerfully renounce it : but the pope, in no way inclined to follow the passionate steps of his inquisitor, and vexed that he should have opposed the election of so worthy a knight, and minister of the king of *Spain*, quickly dispatched a brief to him, by which he confirmed the election, and ordered him to carry it himself to the grand council ; so that he, who had so strenuously opposed it, had the mortification to be the person appointed to declare his holiness's approbation of it. With this brief arrived *Bichi*, the pope's nephew, and admiral of his gallies, who complimented the new grand master in his uncle's name ; in gratitude for which honour he was by him presented with the grand commandery of *Polizi* in *Sicily*, and, at his departure, with a large cross of the order enriched with diamonds.

ONE of the first public acts of the grand master was, to secure the island from the descent of the infidels, by night especially ; to which end he ordered strong towers to be built at proper distances along the coasts, into which the peasants of the island retired, and kept watch by turns ; and settled a fund out of his own coffers for the maintenance of those that were employed to mount the guard, and to watch

1659.

their respective coasts by night. He had the pleasure soon after to see his antagonist *Odi* recalled, and succeeded by *Casanette*, a person more acceptable to him; but tho' the pope was thus complaisant to him in this respect, he was no less injurious to him and the order, by bestowing the richest commanderies in *Italy* upon his nephews. This did not hinder their joining their squadron with his, and making jointly several considerable prizes on the *Turkish* corsairs in the following year, and taking a sufficient number of prisoners to reinforce the crew of the *Maltese* squadron, which a contagious disease lately mentioned had greatly weakened. In their course they received a letter at one of the *Dardanel* islands, from the *Venetian* admiral, importing, that the *Turkish* fleet was retired to *Rhodes*, whence it was to sail soon after for *Constantinople*, and inviting them to come and join his fleet, and share with him the glory of defeating that of the *Turks*. Unluckily they met, in their way to him, three *Turkish* galliots, which they immediately prepared to engage; one of them, however, escaped by dint of its oars, the other ran aground and one of them was taken; of which the grand prior *Bichi*, the pope's admiral, had no sooner made himself master, than he resolved to sail with it to *Civita Vecchia*, in spite of all that *Mandolx*, the *Maltese* commander, could urge against it. After many warm expostulations, he found him inflexibly bent upon returning home; and, not daring to hazard the pope's squadron to sail without him, lest it should be attacked by the *Turkish* corsairs, he took the same route till they were got out of danger, after which the two squadrons parted each for its own port.

THE next year, 1660, was remarkable for the peace which was concluded between *France* and *Spain*, which freed the grand master from the difficulties he had laboured under, as well as his predecessor, during the war; and gave him an opportunity of maintaining that neutrality between Christian princes, which the institution of the order laid him indispensably under. But he did not long enjoy this happiness, before he was taken off, on the 6th of *February*, in the third year of his grand mastership, by a violent fit of the stone, which, when extracted, weighed four ounces: his character, signal services, and the various dignities which he had enjoyed, are expressed in the epitaph which was afterwards engraven on his monument.

57. Annet
de Clermont.
mont.

HE was succeeded, with the unanimous consent of the electors, by *Annet de Clermont de Chattes Gessan*, grand bailly of *Lyons*, a person of a most illustrious family in *High Dauphiné*,

Dauphin, and whose ancestors had been sovereigns of a territory between that and *Piedmont*, with the title of viscounts of *Clermont*. His piety, wisdom, and valour, gave the whole order great hopes of his future government; when the Divine Providence was pleased to dash them at once by his unexpected death, which happened four months after his election, occasioned, as was thought, by the wounds which he received at the taking of *Mahametta*, formerly mentioned, and which now opened afresh, and, to the inexpressible sorrow of the order, deprived them of him on the 2d of *June*, in the 73d year of his age. *His death.*

He was, after much caballing, succeeded by *Raphael Cottoner*, grand baily of *Majorca*; who was accordingly proclaimed and installed on the 4th of *June*, with the usual solemnities. By this time the war between the *Venetians* and the *Turks* was at the height, and the former were forced to apply themselves to most of the *European* princes for assistance. *Lewis* of *France* had already sent them 3600 troops ever since the latter end of *April*, and pope *Alexander VII.* in conjunction with the new grand master, sent a number of their galleys to join their fleet. The design of the confederates was to recover the city of *Gunea*, in the island of *Candia*, from the *Turks*; but as they had not a sufficient number of land-forces to form the regular siege of it, nor any likelihood of surprising it, they began with attempting several strong forts in the neighbourhood of it. We shall refer our readers for the sequel of this campaign to what hath been already said in the *Turkish* history; and only add, that the *Maltese* signalized themselves in it according to their wonted bravery, tho' the success of it did not answer their valour and conduct.

THEY proved more fortunate in the following year, 1661, in their sea-excursions, when, at the very beginning of it, their admiral took a rich prize belonging to *Tunis*, near *Cape Passaro* in *Sicily*, in which, besides the cargo, they took 130 prisoners, among which were the *Cadi* of *Tunis*, and his son, and a *Turkish* *Chiaux*, who had been carrying the grand signor's orders to all the regencies on the coast of *Barbary*.

ABOUT the same time, another of their galleys, commanded by one *Gavie*, a servant at arms, took such another vessel near *Tripoli*, which had on board 150 janissaries, who were sent to reinforce the garrison of *Gigobarta*, a stout fortress on the coast of *Barbary*. About the middle of *April* came into the port of *Malta* another servant at arms, named *Raul*, with three galleys belonging to the *French* king, and

and met with a most gracious reception from the grand master.

*The Mal-
these gal-
lies cruise
without
success.*

1663.

ALL this while the *Malthese* galleys assigned to the assistance of *Gandia*, sailed regularly thither every year, and about this time had joined those of the pope, commanded by *Richi*, near *Augusta*, from whence they moved towards the *Venetian* fleet, which they met near the isle of *Andros*, and all three of them went in search of that of the *Turks*, but without success; so that after a long cruise, without being able to get any tidings of it, they thought proper to separate and return to their respective homes. The *Malthese* squadron, unwilling to come empty-handed, attacked in their way two *Turkish* gallies, of which, after a fierce and bloody struggle, they made themselves masters, and brought them home with them. In this year, according to most authors, the senate of *Venice*, to express their gratitude for the signal services which they had received from the *Malthese*, passed an act, that the knights of the order should be allowed to appear in their proper arms both in their capital, and in all the other parts of their dominions; a privilege which is denied to the subjects of that republic, though of small service towards the reimbursing their treasury for the expence they were yearly at in sending so many ships to their assistance; yet such was the grand master's oeconomy, that he found means not only to maintain that squadron for their service, but likewise to enlarge the infirmary, and to present the grand priory of *St. John* with stately pictures, and other ornaments of great value, to embellish the church of it, and which are still there to be seen, as so many monuments both of his piety and munificence.

ALL this while the distressed *Venetians* were soliciting the pope and him, more and more pressingly, for their early supply; but whilst the *Malthese* squadron was waiting for that of the pope, news came that he had ordered it to stay at *Civita Vecchia*, to screen them from the *French* king's resentment, whose ambassador and his lady that pontif's garde de corps had insulted in a singular manner; upon which they were ordered to set sail from *Malta* on the 15th of *January* of the following year, under the conduct of the commander *Breslaw*, who took some small prizes in his way, which he sent to *Malta*, whilst he proceeded with his squadron to join the *Venetian* fleet. Upon their arrival near the isle of *Andros*, on the 22d of *May*, they were informed by the *Venetian* admiral *Morosini*, that the *Turkish* fleet had not sailed out that year; so that they had nothing to do but

scour

scour along their coasts, and make what prizes they could upon them.

WHILST they were thus employed at sea, the grand *Death of* master was carried off by a malignant fever, which had raged the grand some time in the island, and more particularly in the city of *master*. *Valletta*, in the month of *October*, in the 3d year of his grand-mastership. His remains were deposited with the usual solemnity in the chapel belonging to the *Arragonian* tongue, of which he was; on whose tomb the knights of that tongue caused a noble inscription to be engraven.

He was succeeded, with the unanimous consent of the electors, by his worthy brother *Nicolas Cotoner*, then grand 59. Ni- prior of *Majorca*; a thing which never happened since the colas Cotoner, foundation of the order. But his merit was so universally known, that all the voters and electors declared themselves for him as soon as his elder brother expired; so that they proceeded to the ceremony of election only for form's sake; and when *Don Emanuel Arrias* proclaimed him to the rest of the order, the news of it was received with the sincerest applause.

ONE of his first cares was, to suppress the insolence of the *Barbary* corsairs, who were grown so numerous and bold during the *Candian* war, that they extended their excursions and ravages as far as the coasts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*. Hitherto the *Maltese* galleys had been mostly employed in assisting the *Venetians* in *Candia*; but now, at the desire of the *French* king, *Lewis XIV.* they were sent to assist his forces in his expedition into *Africa*, the ill success of which, through the want of a sufficient number of *French* forces to support it, we have already given an account of in a former volume.

1664.

IN the following year the islands of *St. Christopher*, *Bar-* The islands tholomew, &c. were sold again by the order to a company of *Christo-* of *French* merchants, who put themselves under the protection of their native prince. At the same time, whilst the *Maltese* squadron was scouring the *Archipelago*, without meeting any *Turkish* vessels, or making any considerable prizes, two young knights of the order signalized themselves on the coasts of *Barbary* and the *Levant*; the one named *Grainville*, commanded a galley of forty guns, called the *Dutch Garden*, which he had taken the year before from an *Algerine* corsair, though with only a frigate of 22 guns, which the other knight, named *Temericoourt*, was then commander of. These two met in the channel of the *isle of Samos* a caravan going from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, consisting of 10 large vessels and 12 saics. The first thing they

1665.
sold back
to the
French.

they did, was, to get into the midst of them, and to make a continual brisk fire upon them, by which they sunk some, took four of the richest, and put the rest to flight.

*The noble
defence and
escape of
the com-
mander
Hoquin-
court.*

In the same year another *Maltese* knight, named *Hoquin-court*, signalized himself in a most surprising manner in the port of the *Dolphine Island*, where he was at once surrounded by the whole *Turkish* fleet, consisting of 33 galleys, which were transporting fresh troops into that of *Candia*. The *Turkish* admiral had ordered a continual fire to be made upon him by his best galleys, both from the great and small artillery, till they had in a great measure destroyed the tackle and rigging of his ship, and killed a great number of his men, after which he commanded some of his stoutest men to board him. *Hoquincourt* stood all the while upon deck, like a man invulnerable, with his sabre in his hand; and his men, following his example, threw down the *Turks* into the sea as fast as they mounted, to such a prodigious degree, that it was with great difficulty that the admiral could make the rest to follow them. Provoked at length at such a brave resistance, he ordered the galleys to open a way for his capitana to come up to him; which he did with such force, by dint of rowing, that he did not doubt but the violence of the shock would have shattered *Hoquincourt's* ship, already damaged to a great degree by his artillery, into pieces; instead of which, it only helped to push it with greater force out of the haven into the open sea, where plying all the sail he had left, he safely got into the nearest Christian port, after having sunk several of the enemy's ships, and killed above 600 of their soldiers. This brave commander had no sooner refitted his ship than he sailed out again, and in that same campaign was shipwrecked near the isle of *Scarpanto*, and perished with all his company, to the number of 170 persons. About the same time the duke of *Beaufort*, high admiral of *France*, who had commanded the late unhappy expedition in *Barbary*, landed at *Malta*, and was saluted by all the artillery of the city; as was not long after *M. de la Haye*, the *French* ambassador at *Constantinople*; but the grand master declined seeing the former, because he did not think proper to give him the title of highness.

*His ship-
wreck.*

1666.

NOTHING happened considerable to the order on the following year, except the accession of *Don Carlos* to the crown of *Spain*, by the demise of *Don John of Austria*, which obliged the grand master to receive a new investiture, in the usual form, from the duke of *Sermonetta*, viceroy of *Sicily*; soon after which the admiral of the *Maltese* galleys was sent with his squadron to *Barcelona*, to escort the *Spanish* infants,

now

now empress, to his imperial majesty, who had only married her by proxy; and who, upon her landing at *Final*, sent a most obliging letter of thanks to the grand master, for the good offices she had received from the admiral. The pope, this year, pursuant to the example of his predecessors, disposed of some more rich commanderies in favour of his relations and favourites, to the great prejudice and mortification of the order.

In the year following, the grand vizier *Achmed*, being Achmet come in person to put an end to the *Candian* war, and to the siege of the capital of that island, the *Venetians* had recourse, as usual, to the pope and grand master, who dispatched their respective squadrons accordingly to their assistance; soon after which *Alexander* died, and was succeeded by *Clement IX.* who gave fresh cause of complaint to the order by his infractions on their rights. On the other hand, the prince landgrave of *Hesse*, cardinal and grand prior of *Germany*, came to an agreement with the grand pensionary of *Holland*, the lord *John de Vigers*, about the lands and revenues belonging to the order in the great commandery of *Harlem*, situate in the province of *Holland*, which the states of that province had seized upon. By these agreements the said states of *Holland* and *West Friesland* engaged to pay to the order the sum of 150,000 florins, in consideration of which the grand master and the order were to renounce all farther property and pretensions to those lands, &c. that were situate within those two provinces only, without including those which they had in other dominions of that republic, and of which they should be still allowed to insist, and endeavour their restitution, or to exchange them for an equivalent. This agreement was chiefly transacted by the mediation of the *French* king, and negotiated by his minister in *Holland*, the count *d'Estade*. comes to the siege of Candia. 1667.

AMONG other extraordinary succours which were sent by several *European* princes into *Candia*, the grand master dispatched a battalion of 400 men, under the command of *Heſtor de la Fay*, who having lost a good number of them, immediately after his arrival, by the contagious disease that then reigned, thought it adviseable to save himself and the rest, by leaving a place whose infection was capable of destroying all the forces that were sent to its assistance, and sailed back with them for *Malta*. In this year happened *A fierce* likewise a fierce engagement between a brother of the knight *engagemēt with* *Temericourt*, lately mentioned, who was licensed to cruise under *Maltheſe* colours, and two *Turkiſh* ſoltanas bound for *Alexandria*, richly laden. His gally being a brisker sailer, *ſoltanas.* he 1669.

III *success*
of the at-
tempt.

he easily got before them, in order to stop their entrance into the mouth of the *Nile*, and immediately saluted the foremost with a broad-side. He was preparing to board her, when he received a musket-shot in the head, which threw him flat on the deck, but did not prevent his inspiring his officers and soldiers to continue the fight. The *Turks* finding themselves fast grappled beyond the possibility of escaping, whilst the Christians poured in upon them with incredible speed and bravery, were just upon the point of surrendering, when the *Turkish* commander ordered a lighted match to be clapt to their powder, in order to blow up both together. The chevalier *de Barre*, who was in another *Maltese* galley, and engaged with the other soltana, seeing the danger his friend's ship was in, abandoned the soltana, to go and save the *Maltese*, which was already set on fire, by parting it from the *Turkish*, and quenching its flames. The success, however, did not answer his bravery; his friend *Temericourt's* brother died soon after of his wound, and the other soltana, which he had engaged, took the opportunity of his being otherwise employed to give him the slip.

THE peace which was concluded the following year between the *Turks* and *Venetians*, upon the loss of *Candia*, and the constant assistance which the order had sent to the latter, during the war, gave them new cause to apprehend the resentment of the former, and that it would not be long before the soltan turned his whole force against them; to be therefore prepared against it at all adventures, the grand master sent for an excellent engineer, named *Valpergo*, from *Savoy*, to whom he committed the repairing of the old, and the addition of such new fortifications, as he thought necessary to secure the island, and especially the port, against any invasion. This gentleman, having taken a view of the port, caused several new outworks to be made in it. One fort was called, from the grand master, *Cotonero*; another *Ricasoli*, from one of the commanders, who gave 30,000 crowns towards the building of it.

In the next year *Clement X.* having succeeded *Clement IX.* at *Rome*, sent an embassy to *Malta*, as was usual, to notify his election to the papacy, and at the same time to congratulate and commend the grand master for his care in fortifying an island which was the bulwark of Christendom; yet did not this hinder the pontif's bestowing the reversion of the grand priory of *France* on the knight of *Vendosme*, mangre all the opposition of the grand master and the whole order against that infringement. In the same year, prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, son to the duke of *Elbeuf*, and some other persons

persons of distinction, were admitted into the order. About this time the number of the servants at arms being become excessive, the council made a decree against admitting any new ones till farther order.

A GREAT scarcity being felt soon after through most part of Italy, and the pope being obliged to send his galleys out in quest of corn, he wrote to the grand master, to send some of his to escort them; which was readily complied with, and the command of them given to some of the most distinguished commanders. About the same time the brave *Temericourt*, being cruising in one of his own galleys, was attacked by no less than five large corsairs of *Tripoli*, against whom he made such a noble defence, and such dreadful havock among their men, that they were glad to save the rest by a hasty flight. But he was soon after overtaken by a sudden storm, which drove him against the coasts of *Barbary*, where his ship was dashed in pieces, and himself taken prisoner, and sent to *Tripoli*, and thence to *Adrianople*, where *Mohammed III.* asked him whether he alone had beat the five large *Tripolitan vessels*? To which he boldly answered in the affirmative. Being asked what countryman he was, he told him he was a *Frenchman*. *Thou must then be a deserter*, said the sultan, *for there is a solemn peace between the king thy master and me*. To which *Temericourt* replied, *I am indeed a Frenchman, but, what is still more, I am a knight of Malta, and am obliged by my profession to hazard my life against all the enemies of the Christian faith*. The sultan, who admired his bravery, and was willing to engage him in his service, sent him at first to a prison where he was treated with great humanity, and made him several advantageous offers, capable, as he imagined, to tempt so young a warrior, who was then, it seems, no more than 22 years of age; and, amongst them, he offered to marry him to a princess of the blood, if he would consent to turn *Mohammedan*. Finding him inflexible to all these promises, he resolved to try what effect a contrary treatment would have upon him, and ordered him to be removed into a dungeon, and kept him there a whole fortnight. He moreover caused him to be severely bastinadoed, and afterwards tortured, even to have some of his limbs mutilated; all which he bore with an heroic constancy, begging of Christ to enable him to confirm him in his resolution of dying a martyr to his faith. The tyrant, exasperated at his firmness, did not suffer him to wait long for that blessing, but ordered him to be brought out and beheaded, and his body to be thrown into the river that

Behadst.

that runs through the city, to prevent the Christians paying any veneration to it.

Decision of Louis XIV. in favour of the order. In the following year there happened a fierce contest between the commanders belonging to the *French* king, and those of the order, about the salute, which, being brought at length before that monarch, the commander *Hautefeuille*, then ambassador at his court from the grand master, prevailed upon him, by his address and interest, to decide it in favour of the order.

1673.

Much about the same time a far more momentous controversy happened between the latter and prince *Demetrius*, about the lands and effects of the late duke of *Ostrog*, which he had, with the consent of the *Pelish* senate, bequeathed to the order ever since the year 1618. That noble family now being extinct by the death of prince *Alexander Ostrog*, prince *Lubomirski* immediately informed the grand master of it, who sent him back letters of attorney, empowering him to defend the rights of the order against the said prince *Demetrius's* pretensions, who claimed that estate in right of his wife, who was sister, and, as he thence concluded, heiress, to the duke *Alexander* above-mentioned. Soon after this, the *Mainots*, a sort of mongrel *Greeks* of *Morea*, pretending to be weary of the *Turkish* tyranny, sent a deputation, to beg the assistance of the order, to enable them to recover their liberty; upon which the grand master forthwith ordered the *Maltese* galleys to sail thither; but, upon their arrival, the commander found that people so divided, some being for shaking off the *Turkish* yoke, others for continuing patiently under it, that they were obliged to sail back without effecting any thing.

1674.

This year the viceroy of *Sicily* having sent to desire the assistance of the order, the grand master dispatched his squadron thither, in which a great number of knights of the great cross zealously embarked, as subjects of the king of *Spain*; soon after which the commander *de Valbelle* brought a new one, with fresh succours from *France*. The grand master about the same time settled a fund, out of his own private purse, for the maintenance of the fort *Ricasoli*, lately erected in the isle of *Malta*.

The English fleet well received at Malta.

In the following year, king *Charles II.* having declared war against the *Algerines*, the *English* fleet came into the port of *Malta*, where they met with a kind and honourable reception, for which our polite monarch sent the grand master a most obliging letter of thanks. The viceroy of *Naples* having formed a design of employing the *Maltese* galleys and succours against the *Messenians*, the grand master thought fit

to countermand his orders; and to let that minister know, that it was inconsistent with the design and statutes of his order to intermeddle in any war between any Christian princes; and that, from the beginning of its institution, none of them had ever fought against any but infidels. In the same year arrived at *Maltha* *Frederic de Mogelin*, ambassador from the crown of *Poland*, with a letter to the grand master, importing, that, his dominions being terribly harassed by the frequent incursions which the *Turks* made into them, he should be highly obliged to him and the order if he would please to send some powerful diversion into the *Turkish* territories. To which *Cotoner* answered, with his usual politeness, that, in complying with his *Polish* majesty's desires, he should only fulfil the obligations which his profession laid him under, his order having been always ready to assist Christian princes against the infidels; and that in conformity to his majesty's wishes, he would immediately order his armaments to be considerably augmented, that he might render their service more effectual to him. In the same year he caused the foundation for a new lazaretto to be laid in the castle of *Marza Muzet*, which hath been since that time fortified with several strong bastions, and other outworks.

A GRIEVOUS pestilence, which had begun to rage about the latter end of the last year, continued to make such havoc both in the island and in the convent, that they could hardly find a sufficient number of forces in the former to man their caravans, and were obliged to lessen the number of knights in each galley from 21, the usual number before the plague, to 11 in the capitana, and nine in each of the rest. About the same time the dignity of grand marshal being become vacant, and claimed by two considerable commanders of equal merit and pretensions, the one named *Macconseule* and the other *Gerlande*, both of the tongue of *Auvergne*, the contest being likely to rise to a dangerous height, and the grand master unable to decide it, he bethought himself of an effectual expedient to end it amicably, by ordering that each party should enjoy it alternately only, from month to month.

ABOUT two years after, during which interval we do not read of any thing material that happened at *Maltha*, the former of the competitors died, and the latter failed out with his Squadron of five galleys; and, meeting with two *Algerine* corsairs near cape *Passaro*, fell a cannonading them without attempting to board them. This occasioned a general murmur in the convent, which began now to wish he had died instead of the other. A complaint was preferred

against him in the council at his return, when he got himself off, by alleging, that the wind was full against him, and would not suffer him to approach the enemy. Soon after this, *Peter Fletcher*, a *Majorcan* privateer, sunk another *Algerine*, out of which he saved 100 *Turkish* soldiers, whom he went and sold at *Malta* for 100 piasters *per* head. About the same time *Don John of Austria*, grand prior of *Castile*, being dead, the grand master and council were consulting to alienate about 8000 ducats *per annum* of the revenue of that vast rich priory in favour of some of their favourites; of which the king of *Spain*, who lays claim to the sole patronage of it, being apprised, expressly forbid their lessening, in any instance, the income of that overgrown benefice, with which injunction they were obliged to comply.

The peace
concluded
with
France.
1679.

In the next year, a peace being happily concluded between *Spain* and *France*, by the marriage of the princess *Maria Louisa*, the eldest daughter of the duke of *Orleans*, *Don John de Villa Viciosa* was sent by the grand master on an embassy, to congratulate the *Spanish* monarch upon it, and took that opportunity to obtain from him a fresh supply of corn for the island of *Malta*, which began to labour under a great scarcity.

Death of
the grand
master.
1680.

In this year the grand master, who had been for several years afflicted with a paralytic disease, fell into a complication of the stone and gout, accompanied by a lingering fever, which gradually exhausted his strength, without diminishing any thing of his usual vigilance and application; till a dysentery, which ensued some time after, obliged him to keep his bed, and to nominate *Don Orlando Seratto*, grand prior of *Catalonia*, for his successor. He languished till the 29th of *April* of the same year, and expired in the 73d year of his age, and 17th of his government, greatly regretted by the whole order. His remains were deposited, with the usual ceremonies, in the chapel belonging to the tongue of *Aragon*, and over his stately tomb was engraven an epitaph.

60. Greg.
Carafa.

THE choice of a successor, after a great deal of caballing and bribery, which began during the late grand master's sickness, fell upon *Don Gregory Carafa*, a *Neapolitan*, to the great joy of the *Italian* tongue, who had not seen an *Italian* chosen to that dignity during the space of 128 years. One of his first cares was, to complete the fortifications of the island; which his predecessor had not been able to finish, and to rectify some abuses which had crept into the order during his long sickness. In the following year he had the pleasure to see the admiral *Carra* return with six *Algerine* vessels which

which he had taken, by his address and bravery, when they thought themselves almost sure of him. He resigned soon after his place to the bailly *Colbert*. In the year following the vice-chancellor *Arrias* resigned that office into the grand master's hand, after having enjoyed was above twenty years with great integrity and reputation, and was succeeded by the commander *Carrero*. About the same time father *Jerom Molina*, bishop of *Maltha*, was, at the grand master's recommendation, presented to the bishoprick of *Lerida* by the king of *Spain*, and succeeded by *David Cocco Palmieri*, a person highly esteemed for his probity. The grand master, having received a letter from *Lewis XIV.* notifying the birth of his grandson the duke of *Burgundy*, caused the usual rejoicings to be celebrated through the island, in which the knights of the three *French* tongues signalized themselves in an extraordinary manner. Soon after which, the dukes of *Gaufron* and *Berwick* landed at *Maltha*, the latter of whom was admitted into the order, and presented with the great cross, together with the grand priory of *England*.

1681.

In the following year happened the memorable victory over the *Turks*, and the raising of the siege of *Vienha*, which was followed by the Christian league against them, set on foot by pope *Innocent XI.* into which the grand master readily came, and ordered very great preparations to be made for the prosecution of the war; soon after which the *Maltese* Squadron sailed out, under the command of the bailly of *St. Stephen*, which spread a general terror over all the coasts of *Barbary*, and he drove the *Turks* out of the islands of *Previsa* and *St. Maur*.

1682.

The year following, the *Maltese* Squadron, commanded *Coron*, by *Hector de la Tour*, being joined by that of the pope and the *Venetian* fleet commanded by signor *Morsini*, sailed directly to *Coron*, a sea-port in *Morea*, and, after a brisk and bloody siege, in which the knights of the order greatly signalized themselves, and their general *de la Tour* lost his life, made themselves masters of the place. All this while the grand master caused the new fortifications to be carried on with all possible diligence; so that they, especially those of the castles of *St. Elmo* and *St. Angelo*, were in a great measure completed by the following year.

Ec. taken from the
Turks.
1683.

The Squadron of the order sailed out again in the beginning of the following spring, under the command of their new general *Orbestine*, grand prior of *Hungary*, and, in conjunction with the confederate fleet, went and besieged *Old Navarin*, another sea-port, about 12 miles from

1684.

Coron;

Coron; and, next to that, the *New Navarin*, a place of great importance, not only on account of its advantageous situation, but likewise for the conveniency of its haven in the gulph of *Zunto*. Both places were well fortified, and defended by a good garrison, yet were both surrendered to the *Venetian* general in a few days; after which the whole fleet sailed to *Modon*, in the same peninsula, but much stronger than any of the former, and in the attack of which a good number of knights lost their lives; but the place was, after a stout defence, forced likewise to surrender. This success encouraged the confederates to attempt the reduction of *Neapoli de Romania*; capital of *Morea*. The place was accordingly besieged in form on the 30th of *July*. The searaskier tried in vain to succour the place, and was three times repulsed with loss; and 19 knights of the order, with a great number of their troops, were slain, either in those attacks, or at the siege. The city at length surrendered, after a month's defence; after which the *Malttese* Squadron parted from the rest, and sailed homewards. In the same year the pope, to shew his grateful regard for the order, bestowed the cardinal's hat upon *Don Fortunatus Carafa*, brother to the grand master, *Francis de Medicis*, grand prior of *Pisa*, and *Leopold Kottonitsch*, bishop of *Newstadt*, all of the order.

Descent into Dalmatia. IN the following year, the grand master ordered eight gallies to be equipt for that campaign, the command of which he gave to the chevalier *Claude de Mechatein*; these, in conjunction with the confederate fleet, made a descent on *Dalmatia*, laid siege to *Castel Novo*, the surrender of which rendered the *Venetians* masters of the whole *Adriatic* gulph. The knights signalized themselves in this siege to such a degree, that the pope wrote a letter of thanks to the grand master, full of encomiums on their bravery, and the great services they had done at that siege. The following year produced nothing interesting at *Maltha*, except some considerable promotions and successions from one preferment to another, which we need not dwell upon.

1688. IN the following year the *Malttese* Squadron sailed out under the command of their general *Mechatein*, and joined the *Venetian* fleet, now no longer commanded by *Moresini*, who was by this time raised to the dignity of doge. The confederate fleet having attempted the reduction of the strong fortress of *Negropont*, were forced, after a long and difficult siege, to abandon it. The order lost in that expedition 29 of its most valorous knights, besides a great number of their men,

men, who were cut off by the *Turks*. The loss of these so affected the grand master, that he was quickly after attacked with a violent strangury, attended with a raging fever, which carried him off on the 21st of *July* of the year following, in the 76th year of his age, and 10th of his government. His remains were deposited in the chapel belonging to the *Italian* tongue, in which he had caused his tomb to be erected in his life-time, and on which was engraven an epitaph, said to have been written by himself about two years before his death.

Death of
the grand
master.
1690.

He was succeeded by *Adrian de Vignacourt*, grand treasurer of the order, and nephew to the late famous *Alof de Vignacourt*, who had been raised to that dignity many years before. Not long after his election, the *Maltese* squadron, returning from the *Levant*, brought the first news of the taking of the city and castle of *Valonna* in *Albania* by the confederate fleet, which occasioned great rejoicings to be made through the island. But, as we observed a little higher, the *Turkish* war having cost already a vast number of lives, and reduced the widows and children to extreme indigence, the new grand master made it one of his first cares to give them a speedy relief, and to make a proper provision for them, the rest of the convent following his example, and contributing largely towards so pious a work. His next care was to suppress the insolence of the *Barbary* corsairs, who, in the absence of their squadron, made frequent incursions into their chanel, and as far as the coasts of *Sicily*; to which end he ordered a strong galliot, well manned and armed, to be constantly upon the cruise in those seas. He was no less diligent in what concerned the security of the island, to which he added several new fortifications, and built fresh magazines where-ever he thought they were wanting, particularly a magnificent arsenal for the galleys of the order. Whilst he was thus generously taken up, he received a letter from the emperor *Leopold*, which imparted to him the welcome news of the complete victory which prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had gained over the *Turks*, and which caused general rejoicings through the island. All this while the pope's courtiers were soliciting for some of the priories of the order, as had been the custom during the reigns of the foregoing pontiffs. But the new pope *Innocent XII.* put a generous end to that shameful practice soon after his election, by a new brief, in which he confirmed all the ancient rights and immunities of the order.

61. *Adrian de Vignacourt.*

1691.

In the following year, the grand prior of *Messina*, general of the *Maltese* galleys, joined those of the pope and *Vene-*

1692

tians,

tians, and accompanied them to the siege of *Canea*, one of the most delightful cities and most convenient ports in the isle of *Candia*. But, having cannonaded the place during the space of 25 days, they were forced to raise the siege, on account of the season being too far advanced; and the squadron of *Malta* arrived at that port at the time the order were making fresh rejoicings for the taking of the strong fortrefs of *Great Varadin* by the imperialists; about which time arrived also the marquis of *Orville*, nephew of the grand master, and was received by the order with the pomp and honours suitable to his rank and proximity to their sovereign.

A terrible
earthquake
at Malta.
1693.

In the beginning of the following year the island felt a terrible earthquake, which began on the 11th of *January*, at ten of the clock at night, and lasted three whole days, by which several buildings were overthrown, and other considerable damage done; soon after which, four *Sicilian* gallies arrived, which acquainted the grand master with the dreadful fate of the city of *Augusta*, which was totally overthrown by the same earthquake; so that he was now wholly taken up in sending proper assistance to the sufferers, in ordering public fasts, prayers, and processions, forbidding the usual diversions of the approaching carnival, and repairing the damages which the public and other edifices, as well as the vessels riding in the port, and other parts of the island, had received by it. In the interim arrived the grand prior of *Messina*, at the head of the *Maltese* squadron, bringing in a large vessel which he had taken from the *Tunisians* in his return from the *Levant*, in which were 150 soldiers. Upon his appearing before the grand master, he was accused of having suffered three *Barbary* corsairs and a tartan to escape. He was however acquitted soon after, when at his trial he made it appear, that he had chased them the whole day with all the sail and rowing he could make, till the night put an unavoidable stop to his pursuit. He was nevertheless deprived of his post, which was, the following year, conferred on *Francis Sigismund*, count of *Thum*, who, having joined the confederate fleet, assisted in the reduction of the city of *Chios*, which they took after an eight days siege. In the mean while *Lewis XIV.* and the duke of *Savoy* had begun to seize on several lands and revenues of the order, under pretence of carrying on the expensive war they were engaged in. The grand master failed not of making proper remonstrances to both courts; which, being backed by the pope's mediation, put a happy stop to that unjust attempt. That pontif at the same time was pleased to take a special cognizance

cognisance of the long contest which had reigned between the order and the republic of *Genoa*; and, partly by his address, and partly by his authority, put an effectual end to it; immediately after which several *Genoese* noblemen were admitted into the order.

In the year 1695 the admiral *Sigismond* sailed out with his squadron, and took a large vessel belonging to *Tripoli*, after a bloody contest of two hours, and sent it to *Maltha*. He then proceeded to join the confederate fleet; but the *Venetians* refusing to enter upon any enterprize, on pretence that the season was too far advanced, they all returned to their respective posts, without effecting any thing worth notice.

THE pope, next year, transmitted a considerable number of galley slaves over to *Maltha*, to reinforce the galleys of the order. The grand master falling ill of old age, and other infirmities, the candidates for the succession began their cabals and bribery betimes, and continued them till his death, which happened on the 4th of *February* of the following year, in the 97th year of his age, and 7th of his government. His remains were deposited in the chapel belonging to the tongue of *France*, and his just encomium was engraven on his tomb. 1696.

He was succeeded by *Raymund Perellos de Roccaspull*, of 62. Raim. the tongue of *Arragon*, and grand baily of *Negropont*; one *Perellos*. of whose first public acts was, to call a council of the order for the suppression of sundry abuses, particularly that crying and destructive one of bestowing the best commanderies on junior knights, at the recommendation of the pope, or other crowned heads; which so frequently disgusted the seniors, who had more just pretensions to so high a degree, that they bequeathed their riches and effects to their near relations, which ought in course to have been sunk into the public treasury. The first step that was taken, in order to prevent it, was, to make pressing instances to the pope against all such partial recommendations, which tended to subvert the design of their institution, and ancient discipline. The next was, to pass a decree, expressly forbidding all the religious of the order the carrying of either gold or silver about them, and suppressing all cards, dice, and other games of chance.

THE peace of *Reswick* being concluded between *France* and *Spain*, the grand master caused great rejoicings to be made throughout the island; about which time arrived *Boris Petrowitz Xeremetof*, a relation of the late czar of *Muscovy*, with recommendations from that prince, from the pope, and the emperor; and was received with all the ho-

1699.

nours due to his rank by the grand master and convent. In the next year, pope *Innocent*, having decided the contest which had so many years been warmly carried on between the bishop of *Malta* and the grand prior of that church, about their respective jurisdictions, to the satisfaction of the order, the grand master caused a brazen statue of that pontif to be set up before the great gate of the church of *Victory*, with the inscription which the reader will find in the margin (N). The same year some *Turkish* corsairs having escaped being taken by the *Maltese* squadron, by a sudden change of the wind, the grand master and council, afraid lest it should be owing to the negligence of the commanders, ordered them to be tried for it; when it plainly appeared to have been owing to a contrary wind which prevented their pursuit, upon which they were honourably acquitted.

An obli-
viate en-
gagement
at sea.
1700.

On the 15th of *February* of the following year happened a notable engagement between Don *Spinola*, the *Maltese* admiral, and a *Turkish* vessel near the coast of *Sicily*. The galley which first came up with the enemy having lost her mainsail by a sudden gust of wind, the admiral, who came next, advanced to the attack. The combat was sustained with great bravery; and the admiral's brother received a mortal wound in it, as he stood close to the grand prior of *Messina*, who, by reason of his great age, was incapable of standing upon his feet. His valet de chambre came next to keep him up, and was likewise shot to death by his side; upon which he supported himself by leaning his hand on the binnacle that contained the compass, and continued the fight with fresh fury. The victory was just upon the point of declaring for the *Maltese*, when the *Turkish* commander came with full force, and struck his prow into the capitana, and made a dreadful gap in her.

THE wind chopping immediately to the south, was followed by a sudden storm, which quickly parted them, and dispersed the rest. The commander *Javon*, captain of the *St. Paul*, made all the diligence he could to assist the sinking capitana, and saved about fifty persons, among whom were the admiral *Spinola*, and some other commanders. His extreme desire of saving still more of them from the shipwreck

(N) Innocentio XII. optimo
& sanctissimo pontifici, dissidiis
compositis inter ecclesias, tum &
magistrale forum exortis, utrique
juribus pie servatis, pluribus com-
mendis liberaliter restitutis, equi.

& rev. dom. frater D. Raimon-
dus de Roccafoull, grato &
unanimi omnium voto tot tantaque
beneficia æternitati dedicavit, an.
M.D.C.IX.

made

made him tarry so near that place, that his pilot was forced to apprise him of the extreme danger they ran; yet all in vain, *Jaxon* being more intent to save others, than solicitous about his own life, would in all likelihood have perished, had not the violence of the wind driven him away against his will, and preserved him from the same fate. The order lost, either in the fight or shipwreck, no less than 21 knights and 500 soldiers and slaves, besides a good number of brave officers. The rest of the squadron were scattered at a great distance from each other; but quickly rejoined at *Augusta*, and arrived safe at *Malta*, though very much shattered by the storm.

THE news of this disaster, attended with so considerable a loss, deeply affected the grand master; and that which more sensibly afflicted him was, to see what advantage the *Turkish* corsairs had gained by degrees over the order, and what prizes they were continually making upon the Christian merchants ever since the order had discontinued, as it had for many years, the maintaining of some stout men of war, to keep those freebooters in awe, and contented themselves with the bare keeping up of a squadron of gallies against them. He had for some time entertained a desire to revive the old custom, but feared the difficulty of gaining the consent of the order. The horrid depredations which they now made on those seas, the number of families ruined by them, and the vast number of Christians that were condemned by those pirates to a most dreadful slavery, joined, without doubt, to the daily complaints, if not harsh reflections, which were made on an order which had been for so many centuries the bulwark of Christendom, and security of their commerce, was now become a cogent motive for them to enter into his views; and he succeeded in it even beyond his expectations, as soon as he declared his design to them.

As soon, therefore, as he had gained their consent, and raised a proper fund for it, his next care was to commit the management of it to some of the most experienced members of the order, and the execution of it to some of the best shipwrights. The choice of the former fell upon a knight of the family of *St. Peter* in *Normandy*, who then commanded some *French* vessels, and who, by his signal services to that monarch, had been advanced to the command of the foot soldiery; and it is to that worthy commander that we are beholden for that noble project, so highly approved by most Christian princes, and since printed among his brother the abbot of *St. Peter's* works, for utterly extirpating the whole nest of *Barbary corsairs*, and which was closely followed

lowed by the grand master. In the same year the brave commander *Javon*, lately mentioned, was unfortunately cast away with his ship the *St. Peter*, which struck among the rocks of the small island of *Qsfrica*. He was drown'd, with three knights, and about 70 other persons, but the rest were saved by the other gallies.

A large
prize taken
from the
Turks,

1701.

1702.

IN the year following the *Maltese* Squadron, coasting along the *Barbary* shore, met with the great sloop *Binghon*, carrying 80 guns and 300 soldiers. They engaged her with their usual bravery, and met with a suitable resistance; the combat was long and furious, and had cost a great number of lives before the knights could make themselves masters of her. Upon her being brought to *Malta*, the grand master ordered her flag to be hung up in the church of *St. John d'Aix*, the birth-place of the commander *Ricard*, who had first boarded, and had the greatest share in taking her, in order to perpetuate the memory of that noble action. Soon after this the squadron set sail again towards the coasts of *Barbary*, and advanced as far as the *Goletta*, or citadel of *Tunis*, and brought away from thence a large *Turkish* vessel, and a brigantine, with the loss only of one knight and four soldiers. In the same year *Philip V.* having succeeded to the crown of *Spain* by the death of *Charles II.* confirmed all the rights and privileges of the order within his dominions, as did also *Clement XI.* who had succeeded *Innocent XII.* at *Rome*, by a new brief.

An ambaf-
sy to the
new pope.

1703.

THE grand prior of *England* was sent in the following year on a congratulatory embassy to the new pope, with order to obtain from him a regulation about the pretensions of the grand inquisitor of *Malta*, to a greater jurisdiction than was consistent with the privileges of the order. The court of *Rome*, according to custom, spun out the contest a considerable time, but it was at length decided by that pontiff to the satisfaction of the order.

1707.

IN the year 1706, the admiral *St. Peter*, at the head of his squadron, sailing into the *Levant*, encountered three vessels from *Tunis*, richly laden. One of his gallies, named the *St. James*, having lost its mainmast in the engagement, and being forced to retire, the *St. John* came forwards, and attacked and took the *Turkish* admiral of 50 guns, and 370 soldiers, whilst the rest of the *Turkish* vessels made all the sail they could from the *Maltese*. This prize, being brought to *Malta*, was soon after converted into a galley of the order, and added to the squadron, under the name of the *Holy Cross*. On the following year, the commander *Langon*, being ordered to convey a supply of ammunition, in the *St.*

Peter,

Peter, to the city of *Oran*, which was invested by the *Algerine* fleet, commanded by their bey, fought his way thro' the midst of the fire they made upon him on both sides, and, with that one galley of fifty guns, penetrated through the midst of them into the place, and conveyed the wished-for succour into it; for which he was advanced to the post of lieutenant-general of the Squadron, and commander of the *Maltese* fleet.

In the year 1708, the king of *Spain* wrote a very pressing letter to the grand master, desiring him to send some farther succours into that city, with which he readily complied; but whilst the preparations were making for it, news was *Oran* brought, that the *Turks* had made themselves masters of the *taken* place, which put a stop to that convoy. The news of the loss of that important place was soon followed by intelligence of a vast armament which was carrying on at *Constantinople*, and was commonly supposed to be designed against the isle of *Malta*; both which so deeply affected the grand master, that he was quickly after seized with a severe fit of the gout, attended with a violent fever, which would not permit him to attend to any public affairs for a day or two. On the third, finding himself a little better, he acquitted himself of some of his late obligations to the pope, by bestowing the commandery of *Viterbo* on his nephew *Alexander Albani*. Finding himself recover strength by degrees, he applied himself again to business with his usual diligence, especially about making preparations against the *Turkish* armament, which, he was now informed, consisted of 20 *soltanas* and 40 galleys, and a proportionable number of forces. His first care was, to send for the assistance of the pope, and other Christian powers; his holiness dispatched to him immediately one of his *tartans* laden with powder, and other warlike ammunition, against a siege, and 150 soldiers, with a promise of sending him in a little time a much more considerable reinforcment. His other ambassadors returned likewise from *France* and *Spain* with fresh supplies of troops and ammunition; and the whole amount of those forces, upon a review, were found to consist of 10,000 effective men, well armed and disciplined, and all of them, as well as their officers, fully resolved upon a brave defence.

THIS vast pretended armament appeared soon after to the *Turks*. consist only of five *Turkish* *soltanas*, which came to join with other vessels at *Tunis* and *Tripoli*; which made the grand master suspect that their first attempt would fall upon the *considerable* island of *Gozo*; upon which he immediately dispatched some of his best forces thither, together with all other necessaries for

for its defence, whilst the brave grand prior of *Messina*, lately mentioned, was, at his earnest request, notwithstanding his extreme old-age, nominated to go and command them, in conjunction with general *Langon*; and the commander *Mountfort*, governor of the island.

ALL these preparations, together with the repairs which had been lately made to its fortifications, which were not, in all likelihood, unknown to the *Turks*, did so far discourage them from making any attempt upon it, that they contented themselves with setting fire to some *Maltese* vessels and houses they found along the coasts; after which they sailed back directly for the *Levant*. This sudden retreat did not hinder the grand master's finishing those magazines which his predecessor had begun, and filling them with all sorts of stores both for the war and the mouth; by which means the island began again to enjoy a better commerce, and greater abundance, than it had done for a considerable time before. A rumour being afterwards spread, that the four sultanas, and a brigantine, were gone to make a descent on the coasts of *Calabria*, the grand master forthwith ordered the Squadron to sail away under the conduct of the commander *Florigny*.

Florigny
burns two
vessels
from Tri-
poli.

HE had not made above three days sail before he perceived a large vessel, which, upon closer inspection, proved the *Capitana* of *Tripoli*, commanded by a famed corsair, named *Basba-Ali-Anbulla-Ogli-Stamboli*, carrying 56 large pieces, and 40 patereroes, and about 600 men. This was followed by a tartane of 12 pieces and 30 patereroes, commanded by *Mohammed Ogli Casdali*, who, in spite of his general's orders, resolved to sustain the attack of the *Maltese* Squadron. *Langon*, who commanded the *St. James*, began the onset with such a brisk and continued fire, that he quickly set the whole rigging of both *Turkish* vessels in an universal blaze; the enemy, not being able to quench it, jumped into the water in the utmost consternation, but were for the most part saved by the *Maltese* long-boats, which came on all sides to their assistance; and, amongst them, took up the *Rais*, or commander of the sultana of *Tripoli*, and about 50 Christian captives, to whom they gave their liberty, and about 400 *Turks*, whom they carried off prisoners. The *Maltese* lost only one knight and five soldiers in this engagement. All the rest of the *Turks*, except the 400 above-mentioned, perished, as well as the two vessels. After this combat, the commander *Langon* sailed towards the coasts of *Spain*, and, in his way, met with the *Capitana* of *Algiers*, which mounted 50 guns, and had 500 men on board. A fierce engagement ensued, which lasted

lasted some hours ; neither did the *Algerines* yield till all their officers were slain. But this victory proved a dear one to the order, by the death of the brave *Lagon*, an officer of great courage and conduct, who lost his life in the engagement. His body was conveyed to *Carthage*, and interred under the great altar of the cathedral ; after which the grand master ordered an epitaph to be engraven on a sepulchral monument, set up in memory of him in the church of *St. John* in the new city of *Valetta*.

In the following year the grand master, not having been able to receive any supplies of corn from *Sicily*, according to the treaty, the viceroy obstinately refusing it, sent some of his galleys into the *Levant*, which returned soon after laden with it, and put a happy end to the scarcity which had prevailed in the island above a year.

THIS year the *Maltese* inquisitor, notwithstanding the pope's regulations concerning his jurisdiction, begun afresh ^{1711.} *The pope's* to make some encroachments on the infirmary of the order, *inquisitor* and took upon him to enter it in quality of visitor, accom- ^{renews his} panied with some of his officers, whom he sent to visit several apartments of the palace. The commander *Avernes*, ^{tyrannic} ^{practices.} the then grand infirmary, was no sooner informed of the insult done in defiance of the statutes, than he came in person, and forthwith drove them out of the apartment. The inquisitor not only complained of the opposition offered to his officers, but entered a protest against it as null, and done against his authority ; and, by that presumptuous step, laid the foundation for a fresh contest with the grand master, which he was in hopes would be decided more in his favour than the former had been. The grand master was again obliged to send two ambassadors, the one to *Rome*, to complain to his holiness of the insolence of his inquisitor, and the other to the *French* court, to desire his majesty to interpose his good offices with his holiness to put an effectual stop to the infractions made by that minister upon the rights and privileges of the order^m. Upon the memorial presented to that monarch by the infirmary himself, *Lewis XIV.* immediately wrote to the pope in the most pressing terms : but the inquisitor had by this time given the order fresh cause of discontent, by the frequent patents he had granted to several *Maltese*, by which he pretended to exempt them from their obedience to the grand master, their lawful sovereign. Against these the commander *Zondodari*, his ambassador extraordinary, made some very pressing complaints, the small success

^m Vide Memorial presented to *Lewis XIV.* 1712.

of which did but plainly shew that the pontiff was neither ignorant of, nor dissatisfied with, the proceedings of the inquisitor, and his tribunal.

1713. YET did not all these just complaints discourage him from writing pressing to the grand master the very next year, for the assistance of some galleys of the order to come and repress the frequent excursions of the infidels on the coasts of *Italy*, where they made very considerable prizes, and committed dreadful outrages, besides carrying off great numbers of inhabitants into slavery.

IN the same year *Adrian Langon*, a near relation of the brave warrior lately mentioned, who now commanded the *St. Catherine*, being on his cruise in these seas, attacked the *Algerine* squadron, consisting of seven galleys, which he put to flight, except one called the *Half-moon*, of 40 guns and 400 men, which he boarded and took; thirty-six Christian slaves, who rowed in it, were set at liberty by him, and a great number of *Turks* slain, and the rest made prisoners, with the loss of only seven men.

1714. IN the next year he attacked a stout *Algerine* corsair of 36 guns and 500 men, near the isles of *Hieres*, and fought with him near six hours, without being able to force him to surrender, tho' he shot away his main-mast; and killed a great many of his men; so that, to prevent his escape, he was obliged to sink him, by which only two Christians and five *Turks* could be saved out of the whole crew. He took soon after another *Barbary* corsair, out of which he made 95 of the crew captives.

Great preparations at the Porte. ALL this while the Soltan was carrying on a vast armament at *Constantinople* with more diligence than before. The grand master, still apprehending that it was designed against *Malta*, sent his summons all round to the knights, to repair thither with their usual arms and retinue, whilst he was taken up at home in putting it in a condition of defence. Upon receiving his summons, most of those knights and commanders, dispersed in several parts of *Europe*, made all the proper preparations to repair to the convent. Some who, by reason of old-age, infirmities, or other impediments, could not appear in person, resigned the revenues of their respective preferments towards the expence of the war, whilst others, tho' not less infirm and disabled, did yet cause themselves to be transported thither to assist the rest at least with their advice. Many of those that were unable to contribute to the public expence, either as being yet in their noviciate, or without any preferment, did yet signalize their zeal, by becoming sureties for a variety of large sums that were contracted by the order

for the procuring of arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, for a gallant defence. The grand master, over and above all those contributions, drew the sum of 150,000 crowns out of the public treasury, and borrowed a much larger sum, by help of which he provided the island with every thing that could be thought wanting for a vigorous opposition against so formidable a power. To all these preparations the pope contributed a small number of men and gallies, together with a full power to levy money on the ecclesiastic state.

WHILST these precautions were taking at *Malta*, an unknown person arrived there, of a good aspect, who offered his services to the grand master as an engineer, and gave such proofs of an uncommon skill in military architecture, that the grand master made no scruple to accept of them, and to let him take a full survey of the chief fortifications of the island, especially of the city of *Valletta*, which he did with much exactness and judgment, in company with some of the knights who had been deputed to attend him. He disappeared two days after, to their great surprise, which gave them just reason to suspect him to have been a spy sent from the *Porte* to take an exact view of the state and strength of the island, and confirmed their apprehensions that the *Turkish* armament was designed against it. To be fully satisfied about it, the grand master resolved to dispatch some trusty and expert person to *Constantinople*, to gain the best intelligence he could of the design of those preparations.

He pitched upon a wealthy merchant, named *Andrew Veran*, a native of *Provence*, whom he sent thither in a ship richly laden with a variety of merchandizes. *Veran* landed first at *Neapoli de Romania*, capital of the *Morea*, where he was informed by the captain-general of the *Venetians*, that the *Turkish* armament was designed against his republic; and, upon his sailing through the *Dardanelles*, he received the news of the *Porte's* having declared war against the *Venetians*. Upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, he applied himself to the *French* ambassador, the count *d'Alleurs*, and put himself under his protection, and was by him more fully assured of all the sultan's designs. All this while numbers of knights and commanders of the order arrived at *Malta*, and brought with them volunteers, forces, ammunition, and other kinds of supplies, which the grand master made use of to reinforce his squadron, and sent it to join that of the pope and the *Venetian* fleet. Whilst these were at sea, *Veran* returned from *Constantinople*, and informed the council, that, from all he had been able to learn or observe, either the grand signor never designed that armament against *Malta*, or; if he ever did,

ish spy takes a view of the fortifications.
1715-

did, he was since diverted from it by the information he had received of the state of defence which the grand master had taken care to put the island in, and of the number of knights and other forces which came flocking to his assistance from all parts of Christendom.

1716. In the following year the *Venetians* failed not to apply to the grand master for fresh succours against the *Turks*; upon which he ordered five large vessels, and some galleys, to sail out to their assistance. These meeting with some *Barbary* corsairs, gave chase to them, and took one of the largest, of 54 guns and 500 men, and brought her to *Malta*, together with several saicks laden with all sorts of provision. Soon after this a contest arose among the commanders of the auxiliary squadrons, which was like to have had some dangerous consequence, when his holiness was pleased to put an effectual end to it, by declaring the *Maltese* admiral his lieutenant-general. After this the *Maltese* squadron fell on several *Turkish* vessels laden with variety of rich merchandize, and carried them off to *Corfu*, where he found the commander *Langon*, who was admiral of the pope's galleys, and who, on his part, had been no less successful against the *Turks*, from whom he had taken a considerable number of vessels.

1717. In the following year the squadron set sail from *Malta*, reinforced by two frigates, and some other light vessels, in order to join the confederate fleet; and, in their way, sunk a large *Turkish* vessel, after a fierce engagement on both sides, but saved a great part of the men by the help of those light vessels, and made them prisoners. Soon after which the auxiliary forces had a fierce engagement with the *Turks*, in which the latter were so terribly treated, that they betook themselves to a speedy flight, after a combat of two hours, sustained on both sides with great obstinacy. The *Maltese* admiral *De Bellefontaine*, who commanded the whole fleet, behaved in that engagement with such conduct and bravery, that he was received, on his arrival at *Malta*, with the greatest marks of honour and distinction by the grand master.

1718. THE next year produced little that is worth recording: the grand master had indeed reinforced the squadron with the large galley called the *St. John*, and they actually sailed out at the usual time, and joined the confederates; but the *Turkish* courage was so effectually cooled by this time, that they did not care to give them a fresh occasion of signaling themselves against them. In the same year the pope honoured the natural son of the king of *Poland* with the cross of the order.

THIS year produced nothing considerable, except some prizes which the *Maltese* Squadron took from the *Turks*; two of which were richly laden for *Constantinople*, and on board another was the *basha* of *Ramelia*, with his whole family, bound for *Neapoli de Romania*.

1719.

THE next year was remarkable for the demise of the grand master *Rajmond Perellos de Roccafull*, who died of extreme old-age, accompanied with a lingering disease, under which he had laboured above a year, after a glorious reign of near twenty-two years, during which he bestowed most of his time and care in fortifying *Maltha* and *Gosa* with variety of works, in building of magazines, arsenals, and other public edifices, in making a necessary provision for the widows and children of those of his forces who died at sea or in the war, and in all other public acts which could add strength to the island, and a lustre to the order.

1720.

HIS was succeeded by *Mark Anthony Zondadari*, a native of *Siena*, and of an illustrious family, who had been some years before sent ambassador to the court of *Rome* by his predecessor, to complain to the pope of the insolence and encroachments of his inquisitors at *Maltha*. The general joy which accompanied his election, was soon after increased by the success which his squadron met with against the corsairs of *Barbary*, two of the largest of which were brought into the port, and, not long after, were followed by the *Algerina* admiral of 80 guns and 500 soldiers. In the same year the new grand master obtained a brief from the pope, by which every knight of the order, who had 300 livres *per annum*, was obliged to maintain one soldier at his own expence, for the security of the island; but we do not find that it produced any effect.

63. Mark Anthony Zondadari.

THE *Maltese* Squadron under the command of the brave *Adrian Langon*, who was sent, at the desire of the king of *Spain*, to cruise along his coasts, was no less successful against the *Barbary* corsairs. They began with chasing one of their galliots on the coasts of *Sardinia*, but this proving too brisk a sailer for them, they only retook a pink from it belonging to the Christians, which had been forced to surrender to it a few days before. Soon after this the *St. John*, commanded by the admiral, took an *Algerine* of 40 guns and 350 men, after an obstinate fight of an hour, by which about 20 Christian slaves were set at liberty, and 250 *Algerines* were chained to the oars. The next that fell in their way was the squadron of *Tunis*, consisting, among others, of the *Patrona*, the *Porcupine*, and the *Capitana*. The two former of which, taking advantage of a dark night, gave them

1721.

the ship, after having maintained a long and bloody fight; but the last of them, called the *Porcupine*, was obliged to surrender, after having stood a continual fire till ten of the clock at night. Above 30 Christian slaves gained their liberty by that prize; and the success and valour of the commander *Alogais* struck such a general terror among the *Barbary* corsairs, that they dared not to stir out of their ports.

1722.

IN the following year the grand master, who had been afflicted with a gangrene in his bowels above six months, expired on the 16th of *June*; in the 64th year of his age, and 24th of his government, greatly lamented by the order and the *European* princes, on account of his exemplary piety and extensive charity, and his strenuous application in putting the island in a better posture of defence than it had ever been in before, and in restoring, as well by his example as his authority, the ancient discipline and privileges of the order, both in church and state.

64. Antonio Manuel de Vilhena.

He was succeeded by Don *Antonio Manuel de Vilhena*, a *Portuguese*, of the *Castilian* tongue, a person of an illustrious family, who had, by his valour and merit, gradually passed through all the other dignities of the order, and was perfectly well acquainted with all the interests and machine of it. The island being still in danger from the *Turks*, he made it his first care to complete the fortifications which his predecessor left unfinished, and to add some others where they were thought wanting, especially on the peninsula of *Murza Musetto*, which still lay so exposed to the attacks of the *Turks*, that they might easily have made themselves masters of it, and by that means have facilitated their attempts on the adjacent works. On that he ordered a stout new fort to be erected, called by him *Fort Manuel*. Whilst that was constructing, he issued out an order, that all knights, who had attained the age of nineteen, should repair to him with their proper arms and retinue, in order to be ready to oppose the *Turks*, in case the armament that was carrying on at *Constantinople* should be designed against their island, as it really proved to be.

It must be here observed, that all these vast preparations at the *Port* were made at the instigation of a *Turk*, named *Hali*, who had been a slave at *Maltha* a considerable number of years, and had afterwards served among the marines; and, having acquired great favour with the *Maltese* knights, had been raised to be chief master of the *Turkish* slaves. This man did *Mohammed Effendi* redeem on his arrival at *Maltha*, in his way to *France*, whether he was sent ambassador, and brought

brought back by him to *Constantinople*; where he informed the ministers of the *Porte* of the state of that island, and of the orders, with the great number of *Turkish* captives of all ranks, who groaned under a cruel slavery, and would not fail of raising a general revolt among them, if a proper attempt was made to surprise the island, they being there much more numerous than the inhabitants.

By these remonstrances he easily obtained a squadron of ten men of war; commanded by *Abdi Capitan*; which he told them would be sufficient to accomplish the design, as they would have nothing to do but appear before the island, where they would find all the slaves up in arms. *Hali* was allowed to accompany them in this expedition, with the title of captain; and the squadron set sail accordingly for *Malta*; yet their design had not been kept so secret at the *Porte*, but the grand master had intelligence time enough to frustrate it, by the care he took to have all the slaves closely secured, and put out of a condition to answer their end; so that when the *Turkish* squadron appeared before the island, all their hostilities terminated in some few discharges of the artillery on both sides; after which they presently retired, only *Abdi Capitan*, the commander of it, took care to have the following letter conveyed to the grand master:

"The chief of the island of *Malta*, the officers of his *The Turk.*
 "council, and the heads of the tongues of *France*, *Venice*, *ish admiral's let-*
 "and other nations, who worship the *Messiah*, are given to
 "understand by this letter, that we have been expressly sent
 "by the grand signior, lord of the universe, and refuge of
 "mankind, to enjoin them to deliver into our hands all the
 "slaves who are found under their miserable government,
 "to the end they may go and present themselves at the foot
 "of his supreme and august throne. Such is his will, and
 "the end for which he has thus armed us; and if you fail
 "of complying with his commands, you will be made to re-
 "pent of it by the most dreadful punishments. Send your
 "answer to *Tunis*."

This haughty and threatening stile being so well known to *The grand*
 be the language of the *Porte*, the grand master did not fail to *master's*
 send a proper answer, which was to this effect: "That his *answer.*
 "order was not instituted merely to rove on the seas, and
 "make slaves, but to cruise upon them with their arma-
 "ments; in order to secure the navigation and commerce of
 "the Christians; that they attacked none but such as did
 "annoy it, and, by making slaves of the Christians, did justly
 "deserve to be made such themselves; that he had no-
 "thing so much at heart as to procure the liberty of those

“ that were captives in the sultan’s dominions ; and that if
 “ his highness entertained the same views, he was ready to
 “ enter into a negotiation with him for a mutual restitution
 “ of their captives, either by way of exchange or ransom, on
 “ the footing on which it was practised by other princes ;
 “ and that if his highness would be pleased to signify to him
 “ that such were his intentions, he would omit nothing that
 “ was in his power to second them.”

THIS answer was not sent, as was desired, to the admiral of the *Turkish* Squadron, but to the count *de Bonac*, then ambassador from the *French* court to the *Porte*, who was left at his liberty to deliver it to whom he should think best, who accordingly presented it to the grand vizier. He was a few days after agreeably surprised to find that minister disposed to treat not only of an exchange of captives, but even of a peace with the grand master. The vast advantage which not only the order, but all Christendom, would reap from such a peace, easily encouraged the ambassador to use all the address and application he was capable of to obtain it ; and as he was in high favour and esteem at that court, and especially with the prime minister, he quickly gained his assent to the articles which he had proposed to him.

THE plan was thereupon sent both to *France* and *Malta*, where it was equally liked and approved of, excepting only that the grand master preferred a limited truce to a peace, and apprised him of his reasons for it, which may be easily guessed at.

Articles
 agreed to
 by the
 grand
 master and
 prime
 vizier.

THE following articles were soon after agreed upon between the grand master and prime vizier ; viz.

1. THAT there should be a reciprocal exchange of captives ; and that if those of either side should be found more numerous than the other, they should be redeemed at the rate of 100 piastres per head.

2. THAT this exchange should extend no farther than to those captives which had been taken under the *Maltese* and *Turkish* flags.

3. THAT the truce should be for twenty years, which might be renewed after that time.

4. THAT the states of *Barbary* should be excluded out of the treaty ; and that the *Porte* should not give them any assistance directly, or indirectly, against the *Maltese*.

5. THAT these last should enjoy the same privileges within the grand signor’s dominions which the *French* did.

6. THAT this treaty should become null as soon as any Christian prince was at war with the *Porte*.

THESE

THESE articles, tho' generally approved, and even applauded at *Constantinople*, were nevertheless strenuously opposed by the captain basha, partly, as is reasonably supposed, because he had not been consulted about them; whereas, being of a maritime nature, they equally belonged to his province; and partly, because all such pacific treaties were generally disagreeable to the whole posse of sea-officers; so that he found no difficulty to exasperate them against it, whilst the grand vizier, apprised of the universal discontent they had given to that powerful body, saw himself obliged to suspend that negotiation for a time. It was not long, however, before he took an opportunity of acquainting the *French* ambassador, that it might easily be revived, provided some effectual methods were taken to induce the captain basha, and the rest of the maritime chiefs, to come into it; the plain meaning of which was to make it their interest to do so. The count *de Bonnac* easily apprehended him; but as that required time, as well as new instructions and remittances from *France* and *Malta*, the further negotiation was suspended till they could be procured.

IN the mean time the grand master being informed, that a *Tunis* vessel, followed by a tartane, had taken two barks, the one belonging to *Sicily*, and the other to *Genoa*, near the island of *Pantaleria*, dispatched the *St. John* galley, with another frigate, after them. The latter, being the better sailer, soon overtook and attacked the vessel, and after a mutual fire, which lasted near four hours, obliged it to surrender. It was a noble ship and excellent sailer, carrying fifty-eight guns, fourteen brass patereroes, and 400 men. It had been made a present of by the *Porte* to the Dey of *Tunis*, to serve him for a patrona, and had infested those seas for some time with no small success. As for the tartane, it was chased by the *St. John* a considerable time, and made a stout defence; but was at length forced to yield, and both were brought into the port of *Malta*.

IN the following year, with which we shall close the *Maltese* history, as having little or nothing considerable, except the yearly excursions and successes against the *Turks* and *Barbary* corsairs, pope *Benedict XIII.* to express his esteem and gratitude to the grand master and the order, for their vigilance over, and great services to, Christendom, sent to him, by one of his *Camerarii*, the helmet and estock which he had blessed on *Christmas-day*. The former of which is a silver gilt sword, and the other a purple cap or bonnet of velvet, embroidered with gold, and adorned

with a dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost, enriched with pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones; which present was received with the usual tokens of gratitude, and professions of loyalty and zeal for the holy see, by the whole convent.

BOOK XIX.

CHAP. I.

The History of Spain.

SECT. I.

The History of the Kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain, from the Accession of Euric, or Evaric, to that of Recared the First, who is also styled the Catholic.

THE *Visigoths*, who triumphed over the *Suevi* in Spain, *The situation of* under their king *Theodoric*, became masters of that extensive country under his successor *Euric*, who is *things in* therefore commonly, and with no great impropriety, considered as the founder of the *Gothic* kingdom in Spain^a. With *the time* his reign, therefore, the Modern History of that nation properly commences; but, to render it the more intelligible to the reader, it will be requisite to say something of the state *Euric ascended the throne.* in which things were, in that as well as the adjacent countries. The eastern coasts of Spain were the greatest part of them at that time in the hands of the *Romans*, tho' their power was in a manner ruined, the western empire at that juncture having no head^b. As for the empire of the east, *Leo* the First then held the sceptre; and not long after named, as we shall see, an emperor of the west^c. As for the western coasts of Spain, they were almost wholly in the hands of the *Suevi*; and their king *Reismund*, having married the daughter of *Theodoric*, remained in quiet possession of those territories which this conqueror had still left him^d. But for the interior provinces, together with those of *Gaul* bordering upon Spain, they were in the hands of the *Goths*,

A.D. 466.

^a MARIANA, *Historia de Hispania*, lib. v. cap. 5. MAYERNE TURQUET, *Histoire general d'Espagne*, l. v. c. 5. FERRERAS, *Historia de Hispania*, P. iii. sect. 5.

^c IDAT. JORNAND. S. ISIDOR.

CELLIN. *Chron. Alexandr.*

^b JORNAN. cap. xliv.
^d CASSIODOR, MAR-

who fixed the seat of their kingdom for the present at *Troulouse* *. As for the *Vandals*, who had transported themselves to *Afric*, and were masters of all the coasts opposite to *Spain*, they had for their monarch *Genferic*, who had been very successful against the *Romans*, and was now considered both as a lawful and a very potent prince †. In point of religion, all these nations were Christians; but the *Visigoths*, *Suevi*, and *Vandals*, were *Arians*, and are charged with dealing very harshly by the Catholics, that is, with the inhabitants of those provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain* which they had torn from the *Roman* empire § (A).

EURIC,

* SIDON. APPOLLON. IDAT. JORNAND.

cap. xlvii. S. ISID.

† JORNAND.

§ JORN. S. ISID. ENNQD. vit. §.

Epiphan.

(A) The history of the kingdom of the *Goths* in *Spain* is in itself fruitful of great events, and capable of affording the reader entertainment, at the same time that it is the fundamental history with respect to the inhabitants of that extensive kingdom; and without a thorough knowledge of which even the relations of much later times can be but very imperfectly understood (1). Besides, this history is of great consequence towards giving a just idea of the political constitution which originally subsisted among that brave and warlike nation, and the several alterations that became necessary in different conjunctures (2). Add to all this, that it affords us very full evidence against the prejudices of those who would persuade us, that all was so dark and barbarous within the compass

of that period, which is our present subject, as to exclude us from all hopes of seeing it reduced in any tolerable order or certainty. Yet amongst the original authors, on whose authority the principal facts are taken, some were very eminent for their abilities, learning, and veracity (3). As for instance, *Idacio*, bishop of *Lamego*, who wrote a chronicle grounded upon that of *Eusebius*, and continued down to his own times, in which he is allowed by the best judges to have set things down with great punctuality and exactness (4). *St. Gregory of Tours*, who wrote the history of the *Franks* in ten books, and delivered therein a multitude of particulars relating to the monarchy of the *Goths* in *Spain*, is also in very great credit (5). To these we may add *St. Isidore*, metropolitan of *Seville*,

(1) *Lesgles du Fresney, Méthode pour étudier l'histoire*, chap. xxiii. (2) *Selden's Titles of honour*, chap. iv.

(3) *Vida de Don Nicolas Antonio*, escrita por Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar.

(4) *Felix Tolet. de viuis illustr.* cap. viii.

(5) *Oudin, de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. I. col. 1447, 1448, 1449.

(5) *Oudin, de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. I. col. 1447, 1448, 1449.

EURIC, **EUVORIC**, **EUVARIC**, **EUTHORIC**, or **EVA-** *The title,*
RIX; for by all these names we find him mentioned, was a *temper,*
 younger son of *Theodoric* the First, king of the *Visigoths* in *and*
Gaul, and ascended the throne of his father by the murder *views, of*
 of *Theodoric* II. his brother, who had before fixed himself *this mon-*
 thereon by the murder of their elder brother *Thorismond* *arch.*
 It does not appear that *Euric* met with any difficulty in ob- *A.D. 466.*
 taining the possession of any part of those extensive domi-

• IDAT. JORNAND. C. XLV. ISIDOR.

who left not only a chronicle, in which the transactions, for which we have occasion to cite him, are set down according to the regular order of time, but also a history of the *Goths*, the *Sævi*, and the *Vandals*, extremely useful in this history, and a treatise of illustrious persons, which afford still farther light as to the passages in the two former works, that would otherwise be somewhat obscure (6). We have added, more especially at the beginning of every reign, the authorities of such general histories of *Spain* as are in the highest esteem, such as those of the Jesuit *Mariana*, who wrote concisely, but very elegantly, of the affairs of his country in *Latin* (7), and more largely in his own language, and with great spirit and freedom (8). We have quoted, as occasion required, from both these works. *Mayorné de Turquet* has written in *French* a general history of *Spain*, collected from *Mariana* and other authors (9). His work was for-

merly more considered than it is at present; but inasmuch as it serves for the ground-work of most of those histories of *Spain* which have been written in other languages, it is not amiss to indicate to the reader in what part of his performance the detail of those things which we have represented succinctly may be found. The history of *Spain* by *Don Juan de Ferreras* is allowed to be the most copious and exact of any now extant (10). This author lived in our own times, was indefatigable in the study of the antiquities of his own country, extremely accurate in chronology, very impartial in his narratives, and one, who, as he enjoyed great opportunities of correcting the errors and mistakes of other writers (11), so he has practised it freely and fairly, not with the dogmatic air of an angry critic, but with all the candour and modesty that becomes a man of letters, and a sincere inquirer after truth.

(6) Bellarmin. de Script. Ecclæs. L'Abbt Scriptor. Ecclæs. tom. ii. p. 644.

(7) Historia de rebus Hispaniæ, libri xxx. Mogunt. 1605, 4to. (8) His-

toria general de España compuesta, emendada, y añadida por el Padre Juan de

Mariana. Leon de Francia, 1719. 12mo. (9) Lenglet du Fresnoy, Mé-

thode pour étudier l'histoire, tom. iv. p. 277. (10) Don Juan de Ferreras,

Synopsis historica chronologica de España formada de los autores seguros y de buenos

fe. 4to. Madrid. 1700, 1702. 8to. (11) Preface pour le premier

volume de l'histoire generale d'Espagne, traduite par M. d'Hormilly.

niers which *Theodoric* acquired; neither does it appear, that *Rekmund*, king of the *Suevi*, made the least attempt to revenge the death of his father-in-law, or disputed the succession. On the contrary, mutual civilities and reciprocal embassies passed between them¹. *Lea*, emperor of the east, thought fit to associate *Anthemius* in that dignity; and soon after both emperors began to make great warlike preparations both by land and sea, with an intent, as it afterwards appeared, to attack *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, who, having entered into a close alliance with *Rekmund* and *Euric*, these two princes, as well to favour their own views, as to create a diversion, resolved to attack the countries in *Spain* which were still in the hands of the *Romans*; and this they did with so great success, that they both made very considerable conquests, the former making himself master of *Lisbon*, and the latter taking considerable tracts of country² which hitherto had made parts of the *Roman* province. *Euric* entered afterwards into a negotiation with *Anthemius*, probably that he might obtain better information as to the state of affairs in the empire, that he might take his measures more effectually for driving the *Romans* intirely out of *Spain*, where his power was already so great, that, instead of being jealous of the *Suevi*, he looked upon them rather as his dependents, and, being a prince of great address as well as ambition, managed them at his pleasure¹ (B).

As

¹ IDAT.

* ISIDOR. IDAT.

¹ EUSEB. VIC S. EPIPHAN.

(B) In the course of the ensuing history, we follow, generally speaking, the chronology established by *Ferreras*, not only because he has been remarkably careful in that respect beyond most other historians, but also because he had far better lights, and has shown very great judgment in making the best use of them. We may join to these two a third reason, which is, that the chronology of this author agrees the best of any with all the foregoing histories, in which there is incidentally

any mention made of transactions with the court of *Spain* (18). As for that era by which most of their old historians account, and which for that reason has been filled the era of *Spain*, men even of very great learning have been very much divided in their sentiments about it. *St. Hieron* of *Stridone*, in his etymologies (19), asserts, that this term is derived from the *Latin* word *as*, and that the occasion of it was the general description and taxation of the *Roman* empire in the reign of

(18) See the Preface to the first volume of *Ferreras's* history. sup. 24.

(19) Lib. 2.

As soon as he had obtained an account of the success of *He reduces the Vandals*, and that the western empire was in the utmost danger of being intirely subverted by domestic intrigues, *the greater part of Spain under his power.* *Euric* resolved to carry his scheme into execution without delay. His forces, having passed the *Pyrenees*, presented themselves before *Pampluna*, which speedily submitted. From thence they proceeded to *Saragossa*, which made no great resistance, any more than several other places in its neighbourhood. The nobility and gentry, assembling in arms, endeavoured to stop the progress of the *Goths*, but, being easily defeated, what is now stiled the principality of *Catalonia*, and the kingdom of *Valencia*, were quickly overcome. At this time, as some authors say, *Euric* himself A.D. 471. passed into *Spain*, and, putting himself at the head of his armies, penetrated as far as *Lusitania*; which giving him an opportunity of entering the *Roman* province on all sides at once, he became in a very short space intirely master of all that they possessed. Having settled garrisons in such places as he thought most convenient, and provided in the best manner he could for the administration of the civil government, he returned again into *Gaul*, without giving any disturbance to the *Suevi*, who by this time saw their error,

^a ISIDOR. Hist. Goth. esp. xliv.

^b ID. Chron.

^c JORNAND.

^d ISIDOR. Hist. Goth.

Augustus. As his opinion is both rational and probable, we may as well adopt it as any other. But then as to the time when this era commenced, it admits of as great, or rather greater, variation in sentiments. There has been printed of late years in *Spain*, by the care of *Don Gregorio Mayans y Siskar*, a very curious and judicious work, by one of the most eminent antiquaries in that kingdom, upon this subject (14). However, in this too we follow the sentiment of *Farreras*, and allow the

Spanish era to be earlier than the common calculation of the birth of *Christ* by thirty-eight years. We mention this, that in case the reader should have recourse to any of those ancient authors which compute by the era of *Spain*, he may be under no difficulty in reducing it to the computation followed by us; which may be done with the utmost facility, either by subtracting thirty-eight years from their computation, or adding the year of our Lord as it stands in ours.

(14) *Era Española, origen de su nombre, año de su introducción, i tiempo que precedió al cómputo de la natiuidad de Jeshu Christo. Obra chronologica de Don Gaspar Ibanez de Segovia, Peralta, i Madoz. Marques de Madoz, Est. en Valencia, 1744, Folio.*

and.

and that, by assisting to ruin the *Romans*, though they had extended their territory, they had notwithstanding diminished their power⁹.

He conquers almost all the country between the Loire and the Rhosne.

THE confusions in the western empire, where *Olybrius* had defeated and put to death *Anthemius*, encouraged *Euric* in his views of enlarging his dominions by attacking the *Romans* in *Gaul*. While he meditated this expedition, *Olybrius* dying, *Glycerius* assumed the purple; and, that he might be in a better condition to oppose the *Visigoths*, he took a great body of *Ostrogoths*, under the command of *Widimer*, into his service, and sent them into *Gaul* for the defence of the provinces^r. The subjects of the empire, being catholics, behaved so indifferently towards these strangers, who were *Arians*, that they quickly deserted the service, and went over to *Euric*, who was of their own communion^s. *Sia-*

A.D. 473.

grius, at the head of the *Roman* forces, and *Childeric*, king of the *Franks*, had assembled a numerous army, in order to oppose *Euric*; and, by bringing things to a quick decision, were defeated in a general engagement; soon after which, *Euric* made himself master of *Tours*^t. His victorious army being strongly reinforced by the troops under *Widimer*, the monarch of the *Visigoths*, he turned his arms against *Bourges*, which he likewise reduced, after defeating an army raised for its relief^u. He was prevailed upon by *St. Epiphanius*, bishop of *Paria*, to make peace with the emperor *Julius Nepos*. This however he soon after broke, and besieged *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, which, not without some difficulty, he reduced^w.

A.D. 475.

After this conquest, he gave some time to repose, and, keeping his court at *Bordeaux*, received there, as we are told by an eye-witness, in a royal manner, the ambassadors of all the neighbouring princes^x (C).

THE

⁹ IDAT. ISID. JORN. ^r GREG. TUR. lib. ii. ^s JORN.
cap. 45, 46. ^t GREG. TURON. lib. ii. ^u JORNAND.
GREG. TUR. ^w JORNAND. ^x SIDON. APPOL. l. viii.
ep. 9.

(C) The author, upon whose credit these facts are related, is one of the most celebrated of that age, *Sidonius Appollinaris*, who was upon this occasion at the court of our Gothic monarch, and speaks of his grandeur

and magnificence from his own knowledge (15). It is from him likewise that late writers have taken what they object to the memory of this prince, in relation to his ill usage of the catholics; but then it is to be ob-

THE western empire being intirely overthrown, on the *His con-* deposition and death of *Augustulus*, by *Odoacer*, king of the *quests in* *Heruli*, who thereupon assumed the title of monarch of *Italy*, *Gaul, in* that prince thought he could not take a more prudent step, *the time of* in order to establish his new-founded state, than to make an *his death.* alliance with *Euric*, king of the *Visigoths*, to whom, at the same time that he proposed this alliance, he made an offer of all the places that were still in the hands of the *Romans* ¹. *Euric* readily embraced these terms, and soon after took the field, in order to reduce the cities to which this treaty gave him some colour of title. He besieged, and, after some resistance, made himself master of *Arles*, and soon after *Marseilles* shared the same fate; yet he did not enjoy these conquests in peace ². The *Burgundians*, who had before seen the increase of his power with envy, grew jealous now he was become their neighbour; and, to stop the progress of his arms, made an irruption into his territories with a mighty army. *Euric* marched against them with his veteran troops; and the dispute being ended by a decisive battle ³, in which he gained a complete victory, he returned afterwards to *Arles*, where he spent the few remaining years of his life in peace. He turned his thoughts now to the cultivation of the milder arts; and as he knew that a government could never subsist long where the laws were uncertain, he caused a complete code of those made by his predecessor and himself to be collected and published ^b (D). He was a zealous *Arian*, ^{A.D. 477.} ^{A.D. 478.} ^{A.D. 479.}

¹ JORNAND, ISIDOR.² PROCOPIUS. Bell. Goth. lib. i.^a JORN. ISID.^b SIDON. APOLL. lib. ii. ISIDOR.

served, that they carry things much farther than our author did, and make him appear a much greater bigot than he really was.

(D) The person chiefly employed by our monarch in compiling this code was *Leo*, his prime minister; he was descended from *Cornelius Fronto*, preceptor to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and the most eloquent person of the time in which he lived (18). This descendant of

his was also in all respects a man of singular abilities; he professed the catholic religion in the court of a monarch who was an *Arian*. He was a person of great learning, unblemished character, and, which is no less to our present purpose, was esteemed the best civilian of that age (19). In all probability it was from him the advice came of collecting and publishing these laws by the authority of king *Euric*, whose pre-

(18) SIDON. car. xxi. p. 412. sp. 3. p. 215.

(19) Id. lib. iv. ep. 22. p. 119. lib. vii.

Arrian, and is said to have persecuted the catholics in *Gaul* with great severity; but the accounts we have of this seem to be exaggerated, since it is allowed, that his subjects in *Spain* enjoyed, during his reign, a profound peace^c. He is on all hands allowed to have been a magnanimous and a magnificent prince, and to have ruled wisely the territories which he had valiantly acquired. He died in the month of *September*, in the year of our Lord four hundred eighty-four, and in the nineteenth of his reign^d. He had by his queen *Ragnachild* a son, who succeeded him, and a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to *Sigismar*, a prince among the *Franks*^e.

Alaric II.
succeeds,
and go-
verns his
subjects
with great
mildness.

ALARIC the second succeeded his father, and reigned quietly over all his dominions in *Spain* and in *Gaul*^f; but, if there be any credit due to some writers, he sullied the very beginning of his reign with a very mean and unworthy action. *Siagrius*, a *Roman* general, who still held *Seiffons*, and some other places, was attacked by *Clouis*, king of the *Franks*, and, in his distress, took refuge in the dominions of *Alaric*, who at first received and protected him, but afterwards delivered this unfortunate person to that vindictive monarch, who put him to death^g. *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, having, at the instance of the emperor *Zeno*, entered *Italy*, where he defeated and put to death *Odoacer*, king of the *Herali*, remained quiet possessor of his dominions, and governed them with such wisdom, as induced *Alaric* to court his alliance. Accordingly he espoused *Theudigata*, who some say was the natural daughter of that monarch; which was very acceptable to his subjects, as it seemed to promise a lasting peace, without prejudice to the interests of their nation^h. Two brothers, *Condeband* and *Godofill*, at that time governed the *Burgundians*, the former making *Lyons*, the latter *Geneva*, the seat of his residence; and, entering into a war with each other, drew *Clouis*, king of the *Franks*, into their quarrel, who took part with *Godofill*, as *Alaric* did with *Condeband*, who, having slain his bro-

^c JORNAND. SIDON. APOL. GREG. TURON.

APOL. lib. vii. ep. vi. ^e JORN. GREG. TURON.

^d SIDON. APOL. lib. vii. ep. vi. ^f MARIANA, Historia de Hispania, l. v. c. 6. MAYRANE THOUVET,

l. v. FERRERAS, Histoire generale d'Espagne, P. iii. sec. 5.

^g GREG. TURON. AIMON. ^h JORN. PROCOZ.

face stands before them, and is confirmed by an assembly of
is said they were considered and seventy bishops (20).

ther, and united his dominions to his own¹, soon after defeated the *Visigoths*, and reconciled himself to the *Franks*; A.D. 500. which, as may be gathered from the historians of those times, produced a jealousy between *Clavis* and *Alaric*, who appear to have been both of them naturally haughty and suspicious².

THE *Goths* having now enjoyed many years peace, lawsuits and disputes about property became much more frequent than in former times, which induced *Alaric* to direct *Anian*, one of the most famous lawyers of that age, to make an abridgment of the *Theodosian* code for the benefit of his subjects, which was afterwards published by his authority³ (F). He likewise laboured to compose amicably the differences that had arisen with *Clavis*; and, for that purpose, there was an interview between the two princes, which, tho' it produced a good correspondence in appearance, was far from putting an end to their animosities, as to the cause of which historians differ; but it seems most probable, that *Clavis*, who had lately become a Christian, was excited to make war upon *Alaric* by the bishops and clergy in his dominions, who hated their sovereign for being an *Arian*, and this notwithstanding he had permitted them to hold a council very lately, at *Agde*.⁴ *Theoderic*, king of *Italy*, offered his mediation, and threatened to act with all his forces against the aggressor; which however did not hinder *Clavis* from making an irruption into the territories of the *Visigoths*, where the city of *Tours* was presently yielded to him by his partisans⁵. *Alaric* marched against him with a numerous army, with which he acted for some time upon the defensive; but, not being able to restrain the ardour of his forces, it came at length to a decisive battle, in which the *Visigoths* were totally routed, and *Alaric* killed, as the *French*

¹ GREG. TURON. *Enstap. Præcor.*
EUSSEB. *Mazæzar.*
TURON. *Stoæstet.*

² GREG. TURON.
³ *Moralea*, l. iii. c. 41.
⁴ Idem, & *CASSIODOR.*

⁵ GREG.
TURON.

(F) In order to have a clearer conception of this matter, it may be necessary to observe, that the subjects of this monarch being *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, as well as of his own nation, the *Goths*, and as these had lived long under the dominion of the *Romans*, they had contracted not only a deep reverence, but a warm affection, for their laws, upon the capital maxims of which those of the *Goths* were likewise founded (21).

historians say, by the hand of *Clovis*^o. This engagement happened within three leagues of *Poitiers*, in the year of our Lord five hundred and seven, according to the best historians; tho' *Mariana* places it in the year before ^P (G).

AFTER this unfortunate battle, some of the most prudent captains in the army of the *Visigoths* retired into *Spain* with

^o GREG. TURON. JORN. PROCOPI.

^P *Historia de Hispana*, l. v. c. 6.

(G) It is somewhat strange, that *Mariana* and *Ferreras*, writing after the same authority, should differ in almost every circumstance relating to this event, as well as the year in which it happened. The former represents *Alaric* as intirely in the wrong, as having given protection to the enemies of *Clovis*, held secret correspondencies in his kingdom, and had even formed a design to murder or assassinate him at their late interview (22). The latter, on the contrary, assures us, that these ought to be regarded rather as calumnies than as facts, since they are not mentioned by the most considerable writer of that age (23), but have been taken upon the credit of later and less credible authors (24). He therefore ascribes the war to the ecclesiastics about *Clovis*, who pressed him to undertake it, and to the intrigues of the catholic prelates in *Alaric's* dominions, who invited the *Franks* (25). They are wide of each other also as to the place where

this decisive battle was fought; *Mariana* says, that it was *en Campos Vogladeses*; which his French translator, father *Charenton*, interprets the plains of *Vavillé*, and places them at the distance of thirteen leagues from *Poitiers* (26); whereas *Ferreras* assures us, that *Alaric* encamped within three leagues of *Poitiers*, in sight of a town which he calls *Voclad* (27), and which is believed to be that now called *Vougle* (28), where his people forced him to give the *Franks* battle. *Mariana* is very express as to the year; he not only says that it was 506, but adds, that he had published his body of laws mentioned in the former note in the month of *February* preceding (29). His French translator acknowledges this to be an error (30), and [it is not the affair of a stranger to decide this difference; but *Ferreras*, who places it a year later, agrees better with the French and other foreign historians (31).

(22) *Hist. de Espana*, lib. v. c. 6.

(23) *Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Francor. lib. ii. cap. 35.*

(24) *Einemar in vit. S. Rem. Aimon. lib. i. c. 20.*

(25) *Hist. de Espana*, P. iii. sec. 6.

(26) *Histoire d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 498.

(27) *Hist. de Espana*, P. iii. sect. 6.

(28) *La Martiniere, Diction. Greg. au mot Vougl.*

(30) *Histoire d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 500.

(29) *Hist. de Espana*, lib. v. c. 6.

(31) *Memoire Abrégé chronol. de l'Histoire de France*, tom. i. p. 34. P. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 61.

Id. le Président Hénault, nouvel Abrégé de l'Histoire de France, p. 3.

Amalaric,

Amalaric, the only son of their deceased monarch, by his queen *Theudicota*; but the rest of the troops, judging a prince of five years old very unfit to restore the disturbed state of their affairs, readily consented that *Gesalaic*, who was the natural son of *Alaric* by a mistress of his, should assume the royal dignity^a. His first action was against the *Burgundians*, who, under the command of *Gondebaud*, marched to besiege *Narbonne*, which *Gesalaic* could have hindered; but, being defeated in a general action, he fled into *Spain*, where he raised new disturbances^b. In the mean time *Theodoric* sent *Ibbas*, one of his generals, with a great body of troops, to the assistance of the *Visigoths*, who, having in some measure recovered their spirits, behaved with so much courage and resolution, as obliged both the *Franks* and *Burgundians* to abandon the best part of their conquests, for which they stood at least as much indebted to the disaffection of the clergy as to the success of their army^c. After this, *Ibbas* marched against *Gesalaic*, who had taken possession of *Barcelona*, recovered that city, and forced the usurper to transport himself and his few adherents into *Africa*, where they were received by *Thrasamond*, king of the *Vandals*, tho' he was brother-in-law to king *Theodoric*, who, in consideration of the trouble and expence he had been at, kept the country of *Provence* for himself, and administered the affairs of the rest of *Alaric's* dominions, as regent for *Amalaric*; appointing *Theudis*, an *Ostrogoth* by birth, but a person of great prudence and merit, to have the chief direction in the councils of the young prince^d.

WITH the help of those pecuniary supplies which he received from the king of the *Vandals*, *Gesalaic* returned into *Gaul*; and, having raised a considerable body of forces, he passed the mountains, directing his march towards *Barcelona*, within four leagues of which city he was encountered by a part of *Theodoric's* army, and, being intirely defeated, was forced to fly back into *Gaul*; but being overtaken, before he could reach any place of safety, by a party of the *Ostrogoths*, they put an end to his troubles and his life: by this incident, and the death of *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*, the *Visigoths* were equally freed from the miseries of an intestine war, and the apprehensions of a foreign invasion^e. *Theudis* governed

^a MARIANA, *Historia de Hispania*, lib. v. c. 7. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. FERRERAS, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, P. iii. sect. 6. ^b PROCOPIUS. ISIDOR. ^c CASSIODORUS. JORN. ISIDOR. ^d CASSIODORUS. ^e ISIDORUS. *Hist. Goth.* ^f PROCOPIUS. *de bell. Goth.* l. i. ISIDORUS. *Hist. Goth.*

Spain with great ability, and yet not without giving some kind of umbrage to *Theodoric*; for though, pursuant to his orders, he sent him the revenues of that kingdom, yet he could not be prevailed upon to return into *Italy*, to render an account of his administration. He married also a *Spanish* lady of distinguished family, and who brought him immense riches; so that when he surmised either his life or liberty to be in danger from the suspicions of *Theodoric*, he was in a condition to raise and maintain a body of two thousand men, in the nature of guards *. The king of *Italy*, therefore, having no other method to recover that power which he had put into the hands of *Theudis*, declared his grandson *Amalaric* of full age, and ordered him to be put into possession of his father's dominions, which was accordingly done † (H).

ON

* PROCOF.

† CONCIL. TOLET. III.

(H) We are told by *Mariana*, that *Amalaric* did not assume the government of his dominions till after the demise of his grandfather (32); whereas *Ferreras* asserts the contrary, which makes the difference of above three years. The former has the honour of being followed by *Petavens*, a very learned chronologer, though he produces no authority to support that fact, which cannot be said of *Ferreras* (33); though it is agreed by both, that the years of the reign of *Amalaric* were not reckoned from the time of his accession, but from the time that he assumed the government. It is from a date of this kind that *Ferreras* proves his computation, since an author of indisputable credit tells us, that *Montanus*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, who died in the year five hundred thirty-one, sat in that

see nine years during the reign of *Amalaric*, which, according to *Mariana's* account, would be impossible, since he allowed him to reign but five (34). What some writers say of the marriage of *Theodoric* in *Spain* (35), is plainly a mistake for that of *Theudis*, who actually married a *Spanish* lady; which was one circumstance that made him so formidable to his own master *Theodoric*, as to determine him to send his grandson, then about the age of twenty one, to take upon him the administration of his own affairs. This is at once so natural and so consistent an account of this transaction, that it is not easy to find any reason to question it; but then it must be allowed, that this is a fact established from consequences, and which it was very easy even for so great a man as *Mariana* really was, to overlook,

(32) *Hist. de España, lib. v. c. 7.*
scilicet 6.
Gotb. lib. i.

(34) *Ildifons, de vir. illustrib.*

(33) *Hist. de España, P. III.*
 (35) *Procop. de bello*

ON the death of *Theodoric*, he was succeeded in his dominions by his other grandson, *Athalaric*, the son of his daughter *Amalasuntha*, by *Eutharic*, a *Goth*, born in *Spain*, who deceased before his father-in-law². The new monarch of *Italy* was very young; and, to prevent any dispute with the king of the *Visigoths*, it was agreed, that the river *Rhone* should be the common boundary of their territories; that no part of the revenue of *Spain* should be any longer remitted to *Italy*; and that the treasures which *Theodoric* had removed should be restored² (1). His affairs thus settled,

Amalaris

▪ CASSIODOR. JORNAND.

▪ PROTOP.

We see clearly from the whole current of this history, that it was the power of *Theodoric* which protected the whole monarchy of the *Visigoths* from crumbling to pieces (36). He is however said to have taken a considerable part of their dominions in *Gaul*, by way of indemnification for the expences he was at: however, as this would certainly have fallen into the hands of the *Franks*, if he had not taken it, and as it enabled him to keep a body of troops there sufficient to restrain the attempts of that ambitious and warlike nation, we cannot tax him with any great injustice (37).

(1) We have the particulars of this agreement set down by *Ferreras*, and that upon very good authority; but he does not tell us when these treasures were carried away from *Carcaffone* (38). On the other hand, *Mariana* tells us, that, immediately after the defeat and death of *Alaric*, the *Franks*, under the command of *Clowis*, made them-

selves masters not only of his riches, but of all the treasures collected by his predecessors, and, amongst the rest, the holy vessels which belonged to the temple of *Jerusalem*, which *Alaric*, the first king of the *Goths*, brought away from *Rome*, after he had sacked that famous city, and left as perpetual monuments of his victories to his successors. Some of this wealth, it is said, fell into the hands of the *Franks*, when they plundered the camp of the *Goths*, and made themselves masters of *Thoulouze* (39). It is however acknowledged, that, according to some authors, the treasures of the crown were lodged at *Carcaffone*, and that it was the desire of having them in their power which brought the *Franks* and *Burgundians* before that place; from whence, however, they were obliged to retire, by *Theodoric's* sending a numerous army to his relief; and upon this occasion, in all probability, it was, that this monarch thought fit to remove those riches, that the

(36) *Mariana*, Turquet, *Ferreras*.

(37) *Isidor. Hist. Goth. Gregor.*

Twonens. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. Procop. de bello Goth. Jorn. c. 47. (38) *Procop.*

cap. de bello Gotico, lib. i. cap. 13. Ferreras, Hist. de España, P. iii. j. 8. 6.

(39) *Mariana, Historia de España, lib. v. c. 6.*

He marries *Amalaric* found himself inclined to marry; and the princess upon whom he cast his eyes, was *Clotilda*, the daughter of *Clotilda*, *Clovis*, and the sister of those princes amongst whom the kingdom of the *Franks* was divided ^b. They listened very readily to this proposition; and the marriage being concluded, *Clotilda* was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by her subjects, and the wedding celebrated with the utmost solemnity.

A.D. 528. At this time, in the opinion of all parties, there could not have been a more judicious alliance, or one that afforded a fairer prospect, either in respect to public peace, or to private happiness; yet it was not long before those uneasinesses commenced, which, in their issue, proved so fatal both to the king and kingdom of the *Visigoths* ^d.

Her brother, provoked by her ill usage, invades the dominions of *Amalaric*, who is slain in this quarrel.

AMALARIC was either desirous himself, or was influenced by his priests, to bring over his queen to the *Arian* heresy; and, as she was a zealous catholic, this was the source of those differences that broke out early, and continually increased between them, till at length the poor queen was so ill treated, that she wrote a long letter of complaint to her brethren, in which she gave a large account of her sufferings, and the daily insults she received, not only from that monarch, but from his subjects; and, with it, sent a handkerchief stained with her blood, occasioned by the blows she had received ^e. Upon this, *Childebert*, king of *France*, marched with a numerous army into the territories of *Amalaric*, who, collecting as great a force as he was able, took the field against the invader; but had the misfortune to be defeated, and was forced to take refuge on board his fleet ^f. But, recollecting that his treasures were left in the city of

^b GREG. TUR. PROCOP. AIMON.

1. iii. c. 10.

Turon.

^d PROCOP. de bel. Goth. l. i.

^f PROCOP. JORN. ISID.

^c GREG. TUR.

^e GREG.

Franks might not have so strong a temptation to continue their invasions, it is not very strange that *Theodoric* should not be in any haste to restore these valuable effects to his grandson; and, on the other side, it is far from being difficult to account for the restoring of them at this juncture (40). The dominions of the *Visigoths* in *Italy*

were then governed by a princess who was a widow, as regent for her son, who was a child; and therefore we need not wonder that, for the sake of preserving the friendship of a powerful young monarch, she should readily comply with his demands, more especially as those demands were founded in justice (41).

(40) Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 37. lib. iii. c. 1. Merians, Ferreras, Mézeris Turquet.

(57) Jornand. Hist. Goth. Turon.

Narbonne, he went on shore again, in hopes of recovering them; and had scarce entered the city, before it was surprised by the enemy; on which, retiring for safety into a church belonging to the catholics, a common soldier ran him through with his spear². Others say that he retired to *Barcelona*, and was assassinated there by his own subjects (K). It is more credible that he was killed in the month of *December*, in the year of our Lord five hundred thirty-one³. The victorious *Childebert* carried all his treasures and queen *Clotilda* back into his own dominions; and that princess dying on the road, her body was interred with that of her father, in the monastery of *St. Genevieve*, which at that time was consecrated to the apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*: amongst those treasures were sixty chalices, fifteen patens, and many other vessels, all of solid gold, which the victor distributed amongst the churches in his own kingdom⁴.

THE royal family of the *Goths* being intirely extinct, their monarchy, which seems hitherto to have been in some measure hereditary, became afterwards strictly elective. The first who mounted the throne, by the choice of the nobility, was *Theudis*, who had governed *Spain* with so much reputation during the minority of the deceased prince. He was scarce seated on the throne before he saw the neighbouring kingdoms of the *Vandals* in *Africa* subverted by the armies of the emperor *Justinian*, under the command of the famous *Belisarius*, and this before he could determine with himself whether it would be consistent with his interest to interpose in the quarrel⁵. It appears, however, that he did not neglect any opportunity of recovering the places that had been conquered by the *Franks*, and that he met with considerable success in these endeavours. But the princes of that nation, having at length put an end to the kingdom of *Burgundy*, resolved to employ all their forces in driving the *Visigoths* intirely out of *Gaul*; which however they were not able to effect⁶. Some years after they revived the same project.

² GREG. TURON. l. i. c. 10.
TURON. JORN. ISID.,

³ ISIDORUS.
⁴ JORN. ISID. PROCOF.

⁵ GREG.
⁶ GREG.

(K) We have the former of those two accounts mentioned in the text from *St. Gregory of Tours*, who lived in those times (42), and therefore it seems to deserve better credit than the latter, which however is reported by *Isidore of Seville*.

(42) *Hist. Franc. lib. iii. cap. 10.*

Childebert, king of the isle of *France*, and *Clotaire*, whose residence was at *Soissons*, passed the mountains with a very numerous army, and, having reduced every thing in their passage, advanced with great rapidity to *Saragossa*. *Theudis*, who found it impossible to raise an army capable of withstanding them, very judiciously determined to make his utmost efforts against them upon their retreat, and gave his orders accordingly to *Theodisela*, whom he appointed his general^m. *Childebert* and *Clotaire*, after having made a composition with the inhabitants of *Saragossa*, returned with the spoils they had collected in the course of this expedition; but when they came to repass the *Pyrenees*, the general of the *Goths* harassed them continually, and would probably have destroyed their whole army, if *Childebert* had not engaged him, by a present of a great sum of money, to leave the passage free for twenty-four hours, which gave him and *Clotaire* an opportunity of saving themselves and the best part of their armyⁿ. The *French* historians are very silent on this head; but the facts, however, seem both probable and certain:

Makes an
expedition
into Africa
without
success, and
is assassinated
after
his return.

THIS war thus ended, the king of the *Visigoths* was alarmed by the prospect of new dangers; for the imperial forces, not content with overturning the kingdom of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, turned their victorious arms against the city of *Ceuta*, which, though we have no account how it came into their hands, was at this time in the possession of the *Goths*, and reduced it before *Theudis* was in a condition to afford the garrison any relief^o. He had however assembled an army for this purpose; and, becoming better apprised of the importance of this place, from its loss, he caused his troops to be embarked as soon as possible, in hopes of recovering it before the *Romans* had time to repair and provide for its defence. But, though an *Arian*, it seems he was so strict in his observation of *Sunday* as a day of rest and devotion, that the enemy, taking advantage of his piety, made a general sally with such success, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and return with his fleet and army into *Spain*^p (L).

He

^m ISID. GREG. TURON.
Hist. Goth. GREG. TURON.

ⁿ VIT. T. AVIT.
^p ISID. ubi supra.

^o ISID.

(L) All the modern *Spanish* historians concur in relating this expedition of king *Theudis* into *Africa* as we have represented it in the text; and all

cite, in support of what they say, the authority of St. *Isidore* of *Seville*, which would admit of no dispute, if we were sure that he said what they make him

He did not long survive this disgrace ; for a person, who either was, or pretended to be mad, having formed a design against his person, without any provocation that history mentions, found means to enter into, and stab him in, his palace *. He died a few days after of this wound, with all the testimonies of pious resignation, and, by a very extraordinary strain of clemency, forbade the putting the assassin to death *. This fatal accident happened in the year of our Lord five hundred forty-eight *.

THE throne of the *Visigoths* being again vacant, the nobility elected, in the room of their deceased prince, *Theodisela*, who is also called by some historians *Theudisela*, *Theodigela*, and *Theodiges*, who then commanded the troops. In all human probability, his true character was not then known, or so much as suspected ; but, after his elevation, it was quickly discovered : for, being extremely given to women, he set no bounds to his lust, or, where it was necessary to the

Theodisela succeeds him, and proves a very wicked prince.

* GREG. TURON. ISID. * ID. HIST. GOTH. * Appendix ad chronic.

him say (43). But, notwithstanding the unanimity of the *Spanish* writers, a modern *French* historian is fully persuaded, that the *Septim Oppidum*, in *Isidore*, does not refer to *Ceuta* in *Africa*, but to the little town of *Sette* in *Languedoc*, which the *Franks* having taken from the *Goths*, king *Theudis* thought it a point of such importance, as to sail with a body of troops, embarked on board a fleet collected in haste, in order to recover it ; and that in this expedition his forces received that signal blow which obliged him to return into *Spain* with much disgrace (44). The same author likewise adds, that the medals still preserved, having on one side the face of *Clotharius*, and on the reverse a cross, with these words inscribed round it, *Victoria Gothica*, alludes to this action. In order to remove the

great difficulty, which is, that *Septa Oppidum* should signify *Sette* in *Languedoc*, as well as *Ceuta* in *Africa*, he assures us, that, in some *Spanish* maps, he has found *Cap de Sette* called *Monte Septa* ; and he farther asserts, that *Bernard Guido*, bishop of *Lodeva*, who flourished more than four hundred years ago, affirmed, that the country was called *Septimania* from the name of the promontory ; which conjecture though he does not approve, yet he thinks that it is a strong argument of its being antiently called *Septa*. However, notwithstanding all he says, it will be difficult to find any author in which this cape is called in *Latin* by any other name than *Settium Promontorium*. We do not pretend to decide upon this head, because much may be said on both sides.

(43) *Hist. Goth.*

(44) *P. Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. II. p. 148.*

gratification of it, to his cruelty. This in a short time made him universally odious: as he had already taken off several persons of distinction, some of those who were nearest his person began to be jealous of their own safety, and therefore resolved to provide for it at the expence of a tyrant, who, by violating all laws, had forfeited, at least in their opinion, all title to fidelity, and even to compassion. They waited therefore only a favourable opportunity to remove him; and it was not long before they met with one, which, in effect, was of his own procuring. He invited them to a splendid entertainment, which was one of his principal delights; and, when the evening was far advanced, and most of the company warm with wine, those who were in the secret suddenly put out the lights, and, before he could recover himself from his surprize, buried a dagger in the bosom of *Theodisfe*. This dismal tragedy was acted in the year of our Lord five hundred forty-nine, so that he enjoyed, or rather abused, the regal dignity about a year and five months (O).

It

* ISID. JORN. GREG. TURON. *MARIANA* Historia de Hispania, l. v. c. 8. FERRERAS, *Histoire de Hispania*, P. iii. sec. 6. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. * ISID. JULIAN. * GREG. TURON. ISID.

(O) We are assured by *Mariana*, that this monarch was the son of the sister of *Totila*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, which might in all probability be one motive for raising him to the throne, an honour he so little deserved. We are assured by a very grave historian (45), that this king of the *Visigoths*, suspecting a miracle which the catholics gave out to be wrought annually on the eve of *Whitsunday*, in the cathedral church of *Offes*, where, tho' wiped ever so dry, the fountains were continually filled with water, he came two years together, and examined it with all the care imaginable;

and, though he was not able to detect any appearance of forgery, he came thither again the third year, when he not only caused the doors of the church to be shut and sealed as he had done before; but, previously directed a deep trench to be thrown up round the church, to prevent water from coming by any adjacent springs; all which, however, was without effect, to the king's great surprize. *Mariana* says, that he was employ'd in surveying this trench at the very time that he was stabbed (46); which would do so great honour to the miracle, if we could suppose it to be true. But

(45) *Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 8.*

(46) *Hist. de Espana, lib. v.*

IT was natural enough for those who had thus removed *On his as-*
 one king, to think they had a right, under the same plea of *assassination,*
 necessity, to make choice of another; and therefore, without *Agila is*
 waiting for the usual forms, they placed *Agila* on the throne. *advanced to*
 This disgusted many of the nobility, who had no share in *the regal*
 the election; and his irregular conduct soon increased the *dignity.*
 number of his enemies^r. The city of *Cordova* was the first
 that refused to acknowledge him for their sovereign; which
 provoked him to such a degree, that he marched thither
 with a numerous army, fully resolved to chastise the inha-
 bitants in such a manner, as might deter others from fol-
 lowing their example^s. The people of *Cordova*, issuing out
 of the city, attacked him in the field, defeated his forces,
 killed one of his sons, and obliged him to retire with great
 precipitation. This success of theirs excited revolts in several
 places; which *Athamagilde*, a noble, but a very ambitious
Goth, managed with such dexterity, that those who were in
 arms, and without a chief, invited him to put himself at
 their head, and proclaimed him king^a. He might very prob-
 ably have attained his views without foreign assistance, but
 he was in haste to be a king; and, that he might be so the
 sooner, demanded assistance from the emperor *Justinian*, to
 whom this application was very welcome, more especially as
 he proposed at the same time to give a certain district on the
 coast of *Spain*, in return for these auxiliaries^b. The emper-
 or, therefore, sent over a body of troops from *Africa*, under
 the command of *Liberius*, who was immediately put into pos-

^r MARIANA, *Historia de Hispania*, l. v. c. 9. FERRERAS,
Historia de Hispania, P. iii. sec. 6. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v.
^s ISIDOR. *Hist. Goth.* ^a JORNAND. ISIDOR. GREG. TUR.
^b ISID. GREG. TURON.

Ferreras allows there are great
 objections to it (47): in the first
 place, there is no such city as
Offen, Offer, or Offet, in Lusita-
nia; in the next, *Theodisela*, as a
 multitude of *Spanish* writers
 agree, did not reign above a
 year and half (48), which makes
 it impossible that he could exa-
 mine this miracle three years
 together; but, besides all this,

St. Isidore of Seville, who men-
 tions a miracle of this kind,
 and who would have been the
 best authority that could have
 been cited in favour of this,
 places it in *Sicily* (49), which
 plainly proves, that what was
 said to have happened in *Spain*,
 had never come to his know-
 ledge.

(47) *Hist. de Espana*, P. iii. sec. 6.
reg. Visigob. Chron. Abbad.

(48) *Jornander, Chron de*
(49) Chron. Goth.

He is also
destroyed by
a conspi-
racy, and
is succeeded
by Atha-
nagilde.

session of the maritime country, from the fortress of *Gibraltar* to the confines of the kingdom of *Valencia* ^c (P).

THE *Spanish* inhabitants were very well pleased with this change of masters, for they had always a strong propensity to submit to the imperial authority, on the score of their religion; so that *Liberius* found it not at all necessary to weaken the body of troops he commanded, by separating them into garrisons ^d. He made haste, therefore, to join *Athanagilde*; and they were about taking the field, when they were informed that *Agila* was marching directly towards them, with an intent to give them battle, or to besiege the city of *Seville* ^e. They began, upon this, immediately to move towards him; and it was not long before a decisive engagement ensued, in which, after an obstinate resistance, the army of *Agila* was defeated, and himself, with its broken remains, compelled to retire to *Merida* ^f. He did all in his power to revive the spirits of his party, and to recruit his troops; but the nobility who were about him, considering the many miseries brought upon their country by this civil war, the danger they were in by admitting a foreign force, and disgusted with the insolent behaviour of one who had so indifferent a title, and who, notwithstanding, was continually threatening the utter extirpation of those in rebellion, resolved at last to take that step which appeared to them most for their interest; and,

* ISID. Hist. Goth. ^d MARIANA. * ISIDOR. Hist. Goth.
^f JORNAND. ISIDOR.

(P) We have observed in the text, that the *Spanish* historians call the foreigners, that were now invited over, by different names. As for instance, they very frequently stile them *Romans*, because these people themselves affected that title, as subjects of the *Roman* empire; and for another reason which deserves notice, which is this, that the *Goths*, who were *Arians*, unwilling to call the *Spaniards* Catholics, stiled them *Romans*, as living in communion with the bishop of *Rome*, and might possibly apply the same title to these strangers in the very same sense.

They called them likewise *Greeks*, the modern historians more especially, because they were the subjects of the *Greek* emperor. But the title of imperialists is clearer than either of these, as it conveys an idea at once of people subject to an emperor, and governed by his lieutenant, who, in those days, was stiled the patrician, an office of very high rank at court, and with which it seems such of the nobility were honoured as the emperor of *Constantinople* thought fit to trust with his province in *Spain* (50).

(50) *Greg. Tar. Isidor. chron. Idatii chron.*

having

having secretly concerted their measures, removed him much in the same way that those who proclaimed him king had removed his predecessors. This happened in the year of our Lord five hundred fifty-four; and at the same time that his death was made known to the army, *Athanagilde* was proclaimed king with universal acclamations^b. He was no sooner informed of this unexpected and surprising resolution, than he sent to give the army assurance of his kind acceptance of their good wishes, and soon after came and joined them with his own. From this time he was, without any farther dispute, acknowledged the legal sovereign of the *Goths*, whose affairs were now in such a situation, that, if this civil war had not been thus determined, they might very probably have been reduced again under the power of the emperor, who, having recovered *Afric* and *Italy*, was very ambitious of retrieving *Spain*^c.

ATHANAGILDE, according to some historians, established the residence of the *Gothic* monarchs at *Taledo*, as being a city most happily situated for that purpose, being almost in the centre of their dominions; yet, being strictly examined, this will be found perhaps no more than conjecture^k. He was without doubt a prince of a very gracious disposition, and one who chose to establish his authority rather on the affection, than, as his predecessor had done, on the fears, of his subjects, which however made him generally and cheerfully obeyed. The *Romans*, or, as they are called by some modern writers, and not improperly, imperialists, either believing they could never be paid for the service which they had rendered this king at the beginning of his reign, or prompted by the native *Spaniards*, who, on account of the difference of their religion, hated the yoke of the *Goths*, began to extend their power, and added several important places to those which had been yielded to them, whether by consent or force, does not appear. This, however provoked the *Goths*, who represented their fears in such strong terms to *Athanagilde*, that, finding nothing was to be done by persuasion, he had recourse at length to force, and quickly took from the imperialists all their new conquests. It is possible that some events of importance happened in this war, and that there might be other causes than those we have mentioned; but the silence of the historians of those times has

^a GREG. TURON.^b JORN. ISIDOR. GREG. TURON.^c ISID. Hist. Goth.^k MARIANA, Historia de Hispana. FER-

RERAS, Historia de Hispana. MAYERNE TURQUET.

concealed them from our notice¹. It appears, however, that, from his conduct in this and other respects, *Athanagilde* rendered himself universally beloved by his subjects, and generally respected by his neighbours^m.

His family, the marriages of his daughters, and the death of that monarch.

THIS monarch of the *Visigoths*, by his queen *Gesuinta*, had two daughters of admirable beauty, the fame of which reached to *France*, now governed by four young princes. Of these, *Sigebert*, king of *Austrasia*, the youngest but one, seeing with regret how much his brethren had dishonoured themselves by unequal marriages and their dissolute lives, resolved to demand in marriage *Brunichilde*, or *Brunehaud*, the youngest of *Athanagilde's* daughters; and accordingly sent *Gogon*, who was his prime minister, at the head of a splendid embassy, for that purposeⁿ. To him that princess was delivered, with a large sum of money, and conducted into *France*, where she quickly became a catholic; and, though some *French* historians represent her as a very bad woman, yet others, as well as *Mariana*, of the *Spanish* writers, give her a very high character^o (Q). This marriage was so much applauded in *France*, that, the year following, *Chilperic*, king of *Soissons*, the youngest of the four brethren, resolved to request of *Athanagilde*, his other daughter *Galsuintha*, though he had already two wives, *Audovere*, and the infamous *Tredegonde*^p. It was with great reluctance the

¹ GREG. TURON.

^m ISID. HIST. GOTH.

ⁿ FREDEG.

in chron. GREG. TURON.

^o CORDEMOY, Histoire de

France.

^p GREG. TURON.

(Q) The apology written by *Mariana*, in favour of this princess, is far from being the least shining part of his history (51), as it must be allowed, that he has offered many probable arguments against receiving in the gross all the imputations that have been thrown upon her. In doing this, he has followed the steps of *Boccace* and *Paulus Emilius*, both of them elegant and judicious writers, who saw the ill usage this unhappy queen received in the same light that he did. The

strict examination of this matter belongs to another part of our history; and the main intention of this note is, to direct the reader's regard to the consequences that followed with respect to the *Goths*, from this marriage; which, with a little attention, he will perceive to be the source of the principal events of the two succeeding reigns, in which the greatest changes were brought about, in respect both to church and state, that happened during the continuance of the *Gothic* kingdom (52).

(51) *Hist. de Espana*, lib. v. cap. 10. *Corde moy, Hist. Francor.* tom. ii.
(52) *Ferreras*, P. iii. sec. 6.

king of the *Goths* yielded to his desire, and not till the kings his brethren guarantied his promises, which however were very ill kept, since, at the instigation of *Tredegonde*, he caused the queen to be strangled; upon which his brethren invaded his dominions, and he was at length obliged to yield to *Brunihaud* those places which had been given by way of dowry to her sister¹. *Athanagilde*, having reigned in peace, and with great reputation, thirteen years, deceased in the year of our Lord five hundred sixty-seven, and before his death, as some writers say, was reconciled to the church².

AFTER the death of this wise and great prince, there followed an interregnum of five months; a certain historian says, of five years³. The nobility pretended, that they were not able to fix upon a person who had the virtues requisite to support so high a dignity; but, as *Mariana* well observes, it is much more probable that they had their private views and particular interests at heart, since ambition and jealousy have usually a much larger share than the love of peace, or regard to the public interest, in all disputes of this kind⁴. But, from whatever cause these divisions might arise, they had a dismal effect on the affairs of the nation; for the imperialists, taking advantage of this untoward situation of things, extended their conquests⁵ daily, at the same time that several great men began to oppress their vassals; so that, for want of a king, there started up many tyrants⁶. This however produced one good effect; the people in general, and more especially the inhabitants of great cities, began to express their dislike in very loud terms; so that the nobility found, that the best way to provide for their own safety, was, to proceed, without farther delay, to the choice of a prince⁷ (R).

UNDER

¹ Gest. Reg. Franc. c. 31. GREG. TURON. ² MARIANA, Historia de Hispana, lib. v. cap. 9. ³ LUC. TUDEN.
⁴ Historia de Hispana, cap. xi. ⁵ J. BICLAR. ⁶ MARIANA, FERRERAS. ⁷ J. BICLAR.

(R) There is great discordance in the accounts given us by historians who lived in and near these times of this interregnum, at the same time that what they say is so very concise, that it is not easy to comprehend with any certainty their true meaning (53). It is not however altogether improbable, that *Liuvva* was governor of the territories which the *Goths* possessed in *Gaul* during the reign of *Athanagilde*; and that his administration was so wise and just, that the people remained

(53) *Isidor. Chron. Gotbor. Cbron. J. Biclár.*

*Liuva is
at length
elected king
of the Vi-
sigoths,
and dies
after a
short
reign.*

UNDER these circumstances, the majority of the nobles at last cast their eyes upon *Liuva* (so his name appears upon his coins), or, as historians commonly call him, *Liuba*, who was at that time governor of the *Gothic* provinces in *Gaul*, whom they elevated to the throne⁷, though not with the universal consent of the nation, which perhaps is the reason that the historian before-mentioned includes the years of what others stile his reign, in that interregnum which followed on the death of his predecessor. It is indeed agreed, that no prince ever deserved a crown better; for he was not only pious, prudent, and brave, but of so public a spirit, and preferred the welfare of his subjects so much to his private advantage, that, perceiving affairs would suffer if he removed out of *Gaul*, and that the *Visigoths* were in great danger of being driven out of *Spain* if they had not a chief of distinguished abilities at their head, he proposed to the nobility associating his brother in the regal dignity, as a measure which this conjuncture required, and which led him to propose it⁸. The then state of things, the nature of the expedient, and the disposition of the people, who loudly applauded the king's generous disposition, obliged the nobility to yield to this motion. *Liuba*, therefore, having made this provision for the security of that part of his dominions, continued to reside in *Gaul*, where he kept his subjects in the full possession of peace and prosperity to the time of his decease, which happened in the year of our Lord five hundred seventy-two⁹. We have chosen to represent the few events in this short reign all together, that they might appear with greater perspicuity to the reader, than they would have done if intermixed with that of his brother, who became the sole monarch of the *Goths* at his decease, and one of the most dis-

⁷ MARIANA, *Historia de Hispana*, l. v. c. 11. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. FERRERAS, *Historia de Hispana*, l. iii. se 2. 6.
⁸ J. BICLAR. ⁹ ISID. *Hist. Goth.* J. BICLAR.

firm in their obedience, while the inhabitants of *Spain* were in a state of confusion, for want of a prince; and that it was the observation of their different circumstances that induced the latter to insist upon an election, and perhaps determined them

likewise to desire that the crown might be placed upon the head of that worthy person, who, while their domestic dissensions exposed them to their foreign enemies, covered *Spain* on that side, which most otherwise have been the weakest (54).

(54) *Mariana, Hist. de España; lib. v.*

tinguished

tinguished princes of that nation who had hitherto reigned in Spain^b.

LEOVIGILDE, whom his brother had associated in the government^c, was a person of great power and distinction. Before that event happened, he had espoused *Theodofia*, the daughter of *Severian*, duke or governor of the province of *Carthagena*, whom the *Spanish* historians conceive to have been the son of *Theudis*, once king of the *Visigoths*. By this lady, who was dead before his elevation to the throne, he had two sons, *Hermenigilde* and *Rechared*, and, in virtue of this alliance, had a great interest among the native *Spaniards*, as well as the *Goths*^d. In order to extend this still farther, and to put an intire end to those disputes that still subsisted, he thought proper to espouse *Gofwintha*, the widow of the late king, which contributed not a little to augment his authority^e. He then proceeded to assemble an army, with which he attacked the imperialists, and laid siege to *Medina Sidonia*, which made an obstinate resistance. At length he found means to enter into intelligence with one of the inhabitants, by whose assistance his soldiers entered into the place, and put all that were in it to the sword, that it might strike a terror into those who had revolted during the time of the late troubles^f. The city of *Cordova* felt next the weight of his arms; which he was the more desirous of reducing, as it was a place of great strength, and very important by its situation, but more especially as its inhabitants had shewn a very great zeal for their new masters. They made therefore, as might well be expected, a very vigorous and even obinate defence, till the king found a weak place. This he prudently battered with that artillery of the first invention and greatest force, a large sum of ready gold, by which he gained admittance; and, being once master of *Cordova*, reduced many other cities and fortresses, rather by the terror than the application of his arms^g. Thus while the prudence of *Luiba* kept all things quiet in the *Gothic* province in *Gaul*, the valour and vigilance of *Leovigilde* restored the reputation of the *Goths* in *Spain*.

WHEN he became sole monarch of the *Goths*, and saw, that partly through hope, partly from fear, the nobility testified in general a very great affection for his person, and found obedience to his commands, he resolved not to lose so favourable an opportunity, but, under various plausible and

^b GREG. TUR. J. BICLAR. ^c ADONIS Chronic. ^d ISID. Hist. Goth. GREG. TURON. ^e J. BICLAR. ^f Id. ibid.

^g By his great address, he prevails on the nobility to raise his sons to the rank of princes.

popular pretences, intimated the expediency of associating his two sons, as heirs expectant of the kingdom; and possessors likewise of such a share of authority as he thought proper to intrust them with; which being received with applause by many, and opposed by none, *Hermenigilde* and *Rechared* were publicly proclaimed princes of the *Goths*^b. Thus the reader sees what an influence the personal virtues of a king will always have, even on an elective constitution. This great affair finished, the king turned his arms against the inhabitants of *Cantabria*, then a very large province, comprehending not only what is now called *Biscay*, but all the neighbouring mountainous countries. Notwithstanding the hardness of the people, and the natural strength of the places which they inhabited, *Leovigilde* reduced them by degrees, chastised them severely for their revolt, and obliged them, though not without great difficulty, to submit to that form of government which he judged convenient to impose; which conquest added not a little to the reputation of his arms, and the security of his governmentⁱ.

*Hermenigilde
espouses the
princess
Ingonde,
daughter to
king Sigbert.*

In the course of these wars, *Mir*, king of the *Suevi*, had afforded some assistance to his neighbours, who were in arms against the king of the *Goths*, which was sufficient to provoke a prince of *Leovigilde*'s disposition, and who was on the point of turning the whole force of his dominions against the *Suevi*, when their king made such submissions by his ambassadors, as diverted the storm for that season^k. *Leovigilde* invaded next the inhabitants of the mountains of *Oressede*, which are thought to comprehend the *Sierras* of *Cayo*, of *Molina* and *Guenca*, to the frontiers of the kingdom of *Murcia*, lying in the very heart of his dominions, and which, notwithstanding, depending on their wild inhospitable country, thought to preserve their savage freedom from suffering any controul through him, as they had done against his predecessors. But the king, who understood perfectly the art of war, and his troops that were continually used to conquer, soon taught them a new lesson, obliged them to submit to his mercy, and, upon a second revolt, punished them, as his manner was, with extraordinary rigour^l. The peace of his dominions being thus settled, he, by the advice of his queen, resolved to demand the princess *Ingonde*, her granddaughter by *Brunebaud*, for his son *Hermenigilde*; and this marriage being quickly concluded, to the satisfaction of both parties, he put the young prince and his consort into pos-

^b ISID. J. BICLAR.
CLAR. ⁱ Id. ibid.

^k VIT. S. MILLAN.

^l J. BICLAR.

feffion of part of his dominions, and sent them to keep their court at *Seville*^m. The joy occasioned by this match did not last long; for *Hermenigilde*, by the persuasion of his wife, became a catholic, upon which a civil war ensued between him and his father, in which the young prince expected assistance from the imperialists; but the old king prevented that by bribing their general^a; and in a short time reduced his son to such distress, that, at the persuasion of his brother *Rechared*, he submitted, and, being despoiled of all ensigns of royalty, was sent prisoner to *Toledo*, notwithstanding which he remained firm in his religion^o (T).

THE

^m GREG. TUR.^a J. BICLAR.^o GREG. TUR.

(T) There seems to be some confusion in the account which *Mariana* gives us of the disputes between the king and his son *Hermenigilde*, which may be easily excused; for, amongst many of the antient historians who have undertaken to record these events, there are hardly two that agree about a fact, much less in reference to its circumstances. If we may depend on some, *Goswintha*, the grandmother and mother-in-law of the princess *Ingonde*, was very deformed in her person, had lost an eye, and was not only very hasty and passionate, but obstinate also and implacable (97). She pressed the princess, who was but sixteen when she was married, to quit the catholic religion, and to be rebaptized, as the practice was amongst the *Arians* at that time; and, upon her refusal, had recourse not only to menaces but blows, threw her on the ground, stamped upon her with her feet,

and pulled her on the floor by the hair of her head (98). All this happened in the first year after their marriage, which induced the king to send the prince and his consort from court, one author says to *Merida* (99), and another to *Seville* (1); but as the latter was upon the spot, and bore a share in this persecution, it is more probable that he is in the right. *St. Leander*, who was then metropolitan of that city, confirmed the favourable inclinations *Hermenigilde* had to the catholic faith, and admitted him into its communion (2). An antient historian asserts, that, upon this occasion, he took the name of *John* (3); which *Mariana* thinks improbable, because that name does not appear on the gold medals which he caused to be struck soon after his conversion, and distributed amongst his friends (4). Before the end of the year the rupture happened, and prince

(97) *Hist. de España, l. v. c. 12.*
 (99) *Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. v.*
Mariana, Turquet, Ferreras.
de España, l. v. c. 12.

(98) *Ferreras, P. iii. sect. 6.*
 (1) *Cbron. Joan. Biclár.* (2) *Mariana.*
 (3) *Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. l. v.* (4) *Hist.*

Troubles in
different
parts of
Spain,
and the
retreat of
the Vas-
cons.

THE dispute between the father and the son had, as might be well expected, the most dismal effects upon the catholics; all of whom were considered by *Leovigilde* as rebels from principle; and therefore he treated many of the catholic bishops and clergy with that rigor which was natural to him, and which, by degrees, increased into a general persecution; the rather because of their intrigues with the *Sævi*, and with the kings of the *Franks*, from whom, as they were of the same religion, it was natural for the catholics in *Spain* to expect assistance and encouragement^p. Queen *Brunehaud* interposed her good offices in favour of the prince, and of her daughter, but to no purpose; for her mother *Goswintha*, who was a bigotted *Arian*, prevented any good effects that might otherwise have attended her solicitation^q. These religious debates, amongst other mischievous consequences, are supposed to have been the principal cause of the general revolt of the *Vascons*, who inhabited the countries of *Guipuscoa*, *Navarre*, and *Jacca*; whom, notwithstanding, king *Leovigilde* quickly reduced by force of arms; and, as well to preserve the memory of his success, as to provide the more effectually against any future revolts, he built, in the district of *Alava*, a new city and fortress, to which he gave the name of *Victoriac*^r. But so short-sighted are the views

^p ISIDOR. de Script.

^q GREG. Turon.

^r J. BIC-

CLAR.

Hermenigilde, through the perfidy of the imperialists, found himself under a necessity of taking sanctuary, out of which he was drawn by the intercession of his brother, to whom the king had promised that he would use him tenderly; notwithstanding which he reproached him bitterly, when he came into his presence, and ordered him to be confined (5). The true reason that the king's resentment ran so high, was from an apprehension that *Hermenigilde's* conduct would produce an irreparable breach between the Catholics and *Arians*, which would

exceedingly weaken his power. In order to prevent this, he caused an assembly of the clergy to meet the next year, who were directed to try to frame such forms of public prayer as might be used by both parties; in the management of which scheme the king succeeded tolerably well in this assembly; but when it came to be put in execution, this project proved abortive (6); and as the king attributed this to the hopes the catholics had of *Hermenigilde's* accession, it incensed him the more against that unfortunate prince (7).

(5) *Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Franc. lib. v. c. 12. Chron. Joan. Biclari.*

(6) *Isidor. de Script.*

(7) *Ferreras, p. iii. sec. vi.*

of all human politics, that this had an effect of which the king never entertained the least suspicion; for though it preserved the country, it lost him the people*. The *Vascons* saw that it was impossible for them to resist the monarch of the *Goths*, whose forces, by a continual course of action, were become invincible; and therefore, quitting their native seats, they passed the mountains in great multitudes, and, in spite of all the resistance that could be made, possessed themselves of a part of *Aquitaine*, which from them received the name of *Vasconia*, or, according to the French pronunciation, *Gascony*†.

WHILE the king was thus occupied in the northern part of his dominions, his son *Hermenigilde*, having made his escape from the place of his exile or imprisonment, began to take the best measures he could for his own security. But it was not long before *Leovigilde* marched against him with a numerous army, took *Merida* in his passage, and advanced directly towards *Seville*. As in the former war he was deceived in his expectation of assistance from the imperialists, so in this he was undone by his dependence upon the *Suevi*, tho' with this difference indeed, that *Mir*, king of that nation, raised all the forces that he was able to assemble, and marched with them to join prince *Hermenigilde*; but the old king, having exact intelligence of all his motions, brought him into such distress, that he endeavoured to pass out of *Lusitania*, by intercepting his communication with his own country, at the same time that the bulk of the *Gothic* army lay between him and prince *Hermenigilde*, who was at a great distance; so that at length he was constrained to abandon his alliance, and, as some *Spanish* historians say, obliged to send a part of his troops, which served as auxiliaries at the siege of *Seville*‡. That inflexible temper, for which the king was so remarkable, displayed itself to an extraordinary degree in the course of this siege; for a number of persons being turned out of the place, to prevent a famine, he caused them to be put to death without mercy*. In a short time the city was in all respects so distressed, that prince *Hermenigilde* was, with great difficulty, able to make his escape to *Cordova*; soon after which the place surrendered, and the king marched to besiege his son in *Cordova*. This he quickly reduced; and *Hermenigilde*, being made prisoner, was sent loaded with chains to *Seville*, and not along after removed

The war between Leovigilde and Hermenigilde, which ends in the death of the latter.

* FERRERAS Hist. de Hispania, p. iii. sec. vi. † J. BICLAR.

‡ GREG. TURON.

§ ISIDOR. Hist. Suevor. J. BICLAR.

GREG. TURON.

‡ J. BICLAR.

from thence privately to *Tarragona*; but that prince having sent an ambassador to *Constantinople*, to solicit the assistance of the *Greek* emperor; and orders being sent from thence to the general of the imperialists in *Spain*, to attack the *Goths*; and that general marching directly towards the place of the prince's confinement, his father caused him to be removed again privately to *Seville*, and shut up in a tower¹. He had not continued long there, before an *Arian* bishop was sent to persuade him to change his religion; which he absolutely refused to do, or to communicate with that prelate at the feast of *Easter*; and of this as soon as the king was informed, he caused him secretly to be put to death in the night of the thirteenth of *April*, in the year of our Lord 584²; which day, therefore, is dedicated to his memory, as a saint and martyr, by the church of *Rome*³. As for the princess *Ingonde*, he had by her only one son, named after her grandfather *Atbanagilde*, who was sent to *Constantinople* after his father's death^b (V).

AFTER

¹ ISIDOR. de Script. & Hist. Goth. S. GREGOR. J. BICLAR.
² S. GREG. Dialog. lib. iii. J. BICLAR. GREG. TUR. * MO-
 RALES. ^b GREG. TURON.

(V) We find in *Mariana* no mention at all made of the first submission and imprisonment of *Hermenigilde*; but the whole of his story is prosecuted in a continued narrative, in which, however, are inserted the king's letters to his son, exhorting him to alter his sentiments and his religion, and the prince's answer; whereas *Ferreras*, by a comparison of the several facts and dates that occur in antient authors, makes it highly probable that the second war between the king and his son took its rise from *Leovigilde's* violent persecution of the catholics, who thereupon revolted in many places; which, with the hopes of being assisted by the *Suevi*, induced *Hermenigilde* to make his escape, and put himself again in arms. We find also great differences, and even

contradictions, in the relations given by antient writers of the events of this war; and the only point of consequence in which they seem to be agreed is, that the city of *Seville* suffered extremely, and was at last reduced by a long siege.

Some writers say, that *Hermenigilde* retired first to the imperialists, and finding himself but coldly received, withdrew from thence, and shut himself up in *Ofset* with no more than 300 men; that though the place was very strong, yet being suddenly invested by the king, and being attacked before the garison recovered their surprise, it was carried by assault. Others affirm, that the people of *Cordova*, to whom *Hermenigilde* fled for refuge, fearing the king's resentment, endeavoured to make their peace by deliver-

ing

AFTER the death of his son, *Leovigilde* prosecuted the *A war* war against the imperialists but faintly; yet guarded his own *breaks out* frontiers so well, that they were able to make no impression. In the mean time, however, he augmented his forces, and *Suevi,* filled his magazines; from whence it was evident that he had *which* some military expedition in view; and the imperialists, sensible of their inferiority, apprehending his intention was to drive them intirely out of *Spain,* sued to him for peace; *proved the* which was readily granted ^{*ruin of*}. He then turned his arms against the *Suevi,* who were at that time under the power of an usurper, named *Andaca,* who having deposed *Eboric,* the son of *Mir,* their lawful sovereign, had obliged him to shave his head, in order to keep it upon his shoulders; that is, to render himself incapable of the regal dignity, by becoming a priest ^{*kingdom.*} ^d; which had created such jealousies and animosities in the minds of the people, that *Leovigilde* met with but a very feeble resistance in his passage to *Brague,* where the usurper kept his court; which city being invested, was quickly surrendered; *Andaca* falling into his hands alive, whom he banished to *Badajoz,* where, as he had served his master, he was, by the command of *Leovigilde,* shaved a priest ^e. Thus the dominions of the *Suevi* were added to those of the *Goths,* and the two nations had thenceforward the same sovereign. The *Franks,* who had afforded *Hermenigilde* little or no succours while he was living, invaded his father's dominions in *Gaul,* under pretence of revenging his death; upon which, *Leovigilde,* who was grown old and infirm, sent his son *Rechared* to repel this irruption; believing his own presence necessary to prevent any stir in *Spain,* where, by persecuting the catholics, he had excited a spirit of disaffection among his subjects ^f. The young prince discharged his office so well, that the *Franks* were every-where repulsed; but his marriage with *Rigorite,* the daughter of king *Chilperic,* upon which his father depended chiefly for restoring peace before he died, proved abortive, occasioned by the death of her fa-

^c ISIDOR. J. BICLAR.
ISIDOR. J. BICLAR.

^d Iidem.
^e GREG. TURON.

^f ADONIS CHR.

ing him up. Here it is that *Mariana* introduces *Hermenigilde's* taking sanctuary in a church, where his brother had a conference with him, by his father's permission; and that historian also gives us *Rechared's* speech. The princess *In-*

gonde, who was then in the hands of the imperialists, endeavouring to retire privately with her son to her mother, they seized her, and sent her over into *Africa,* where she died.

ther ^c. *Gontrand*, king of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, continued to arm against the *Goths*, notwithstanding the little success he met with in his former expedition; and *Rechared* was again sent by his father into *Gaul*, to resist these invaders; where having defeated their forces, and settled the peace of the province, he returned into *Spain*, and married, by the advice of the old king, *Bada* the daughter of a rich and powerful *Goth*, which was universally acceptable to the nation ^b. A little after this, and towards the close of the year, *Leovigilde*, worn out with age and infirmities, breathed his last at *Toledo*, and, as some historians say, quitted his errors a little before his end, and was reconciled to the catholic faith by *St. Leander*, metropolitan of *Seville*, who had been highly instrumental in the conversion of his son *Hermenigilde*; but this is doubtful, as is also the exact time of his death; but the best historians place it in the year of our Lord 585, when he had reigned eighteen years; (X).

THE

^c P. DANIEL *Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 283, 284, 285.
^b J. BICLAR. ^d S. GREG. *Dialog.* lib. iii. J. BICLAR.
 GREG. TURON.

(X) There are two questions that arise upon the death of *Leovigilde*, which are not easily settled; the first is as to the time which *Mariana* fixes to the year 586; tho' he cites one *Maximus*, who pretends to have been present at his death, and who, not content with marking the year, tells us likewise the day of the month, and of the week, which, according to him, was *Wednesday, April* the 12th, 587; but the work attributed to this historian has been long ago detected by the ablest *Spanish* critics to be a gross forgery. The abbot of *Biclar* fixes it to the latter end of the year 585, and is followed therein by *Morales*, *Baronius*, *Pachilla*, *Ferreras*, and other judicious writers; and with very good reason. It appears from the acts of the 3d council of *Toledo*, that the 8th of *May*

589, was in the 4th year of king *Rechared*, which shews that his accession must have been before that day, in the year 586; and we shall see that he did not assume the regal dignity without the form of an election. *Isidore* of *Seville*, and the best of the old historians, agree that *Leovigilde* reigned 18 years, or rather that he died in the 18th year of his reign, which, as it began in 568, must therefore have ended in 585. *Isidore* of *Seville* fixes the accession of *Rechared* to the year of the *Spanish* æra 624; from which if we take, according to *Ferreras*, 38 years, it leaves 586 for the year of our Lord; in the beginning of which he succeeded, according to our computation. But if, according to the sentiments of the best *Spanish* critics, we find the year of our Lord by subtracting 39 years, his accession

THE great actions performed by this monarch, and the consequences of them, in respect to this nation, are of so extraordinary a nature, as oblige us to enter more particularly into his character. *Leovigilde*, like most other heroes, was equally distinguished by good and bad qualities; if he was ambitious in a high degree, if he was avaricious in a greater, if he was severe and inflexible beyond measure, he was at the same time extremely brave in his person, a great oeconomist, a lover of justice, and one who was desirous that all, who kept within the measure of their obedience, should enjoy his protection in its full extent*. He is not much obliged to the historians who lived in or near his time; and yet they furnish us with facts that sufficiently prove all we have advanced. He found the government in great confusion; he reduced it into perfect order. The laws, which, from the time of *Alaric*, had been very much neglected, he revised, repealed such as were useless, and added others agreeable to the circumstances of the times. He settled a royal treasury, which had been wanting to his predecessors, and brought the finances under some regulation†. He was the first of the *Gothic* kings that distinguished himself by robes, and other regalia; and it is observed, that he behaved himself on all occasions with

* *Isidor. Hist. Goth.*
p. iii. sect. vi.

† *FERRERAS Hist. de Hispania,*

sion will be placed in the year 585, which agrees exactly with what the abbot of *Biclar* says, and with the records of the council of *Toledo*; and is at the same time a direct proof that the account of the pretended *Maximus* before-mentioned is mere fable. The other question relates to his conversion; as to which *St. Gregory of Tours* says, it was reported in *Spain*, that he abjured his heresy, did penance, and was reconciled to the catholic faith, before he died. *Pope Gregory the Great* assures us, that he died an *Arian*; but both these authors must speak from hearsay; and therefore their authority seems to destroy each other. It is pretty clear that he recalled *Leander*,

metropolitan of *Seville*, a little before his death; and it is said that he assisted him in his last moments; from whence *Ferreras* thinks it probable that he might die a catholic, and recommend the establishing this religion to his son. *Mariana* is so sure of it, that he gives us the speech which he made, or might have made, upon this occasion. But *Ferreras* thinks the whole was transacted with great secrecy, from an apprehension that the nobility among the *Goths*, who were almost all *Arians*, might be prejudiced against prince *Rechared*, if the king's conversion had been publicly known. The judicious reader will form upon this subject what judgment he pleases.

such firmness, prudence, and majesty, that he was much more respected, and, out of comparison, better obeyed, than any of the princes he succeeded; and this by all ranks and degrees of people, in some measure through fear, but chiefly from a conviction of the great advantages that arose from his wise and uniform administration, which, while it kept the nobility in awe, secured the commons from oppression^m.

His peculiar advantages in the administration of government.

BUT the principal point in his, and indeed in almost every great prince's character, is this, that he was endowed with talents exactly suited to the conjuncture in which he lived; so that his virtues, and even his vices, concurred to the establishment of his government. He comprehended clearly the defects in the *Gothic* policy; he applied the proper remedies, and he applied them in due order. He began with restoring military discipline; and, when he had restored it, he kept his troops always in action. His predecessors, either thro' want of inclination or leisure, had suffered the inhabitants of *Cantabria*, and other mountainous countries, to live after their own manner, and without paying the same respect to the laws and regal authority with the rest of their subjects; which he corrected, and took away numberless evils that flow'd from it. He took care to make all places accessible, and to exact obedience alike from all his peopleⁿ. He knew how to cajole, to corrupt, and to divide his enemies, and, by these arts, he gradually prepared them for conquest. He attacked them always separately, and, whilst his preparations were supposed to be intended against one party, he suddenly made peace with them, and turned his arms against another^o. He acted on the defensive against the *Franks*, because he knew that conquest on that side would be very difficult to make, and more difficult to keep. He laid hold of proper occasions; so that his designs were never rendered abortive by his impatience. He made the imperialists feel the weight of his arms, that they might be afraid of offending him; and, as soon as an opportunity offered, he reduced the countries inhabited by the *Suevi*, while the power of their neighbours was but low, and their own affairs in great confusion^p.

^m MARIANA Hist. de Hispana, l. v. c. xiii.

Goth. J. BICLAR. GREG. Turon.

FERRERAS.

^p ISID. J. BICLAR.

ⁿ ISID. Hist.

^o MARIANA, TURQ.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Suevi, Sueves, or Suevians, settled in Spain, from the Restitution of their Government under Remismond, to the total Destruction of their Kingdom by the Visigoths.

THE manner in which the *Suevi*, with other barbarous nations, entered into *Spain*, in the beginning of the fifth century, as also how the *Visigoths* came to engage in a war with this nation, at the request, or at least with the consent, of the *Roman* emperor, many years after, have been clearly and copiously explained in their proper places ^a. We are, in this section, to take up the thread of the history there, and to shew how, after the defeat and death of that obstinate prince, who had involved this nation in an unjust, and, at the same time, an unnecessary war, by which they were undone, they came to retrieve their affairs, so far as to think of reviving their government, and of demanding leave from *Theodoric* king of the *Goths*, without whose permission they durst not do it, to proceed to the election of a new prince; in consequence of which they began once more to make a figure, tho' by no means such an one as they had made, or at least were capable of making, before the subversion of their former monarchy ^b. It is true they were still, in point of numbers, very considerable; but, as they were less brave, they were still more barbarous in their manners than the *Goths*, and were at the same time so pent up in that small district, which they still retained, and which comprehended part of *Lusitania*, and part of *Galicia*, that they scarce knew how to act, or on which side to turn ^c. For the *Romans* were still in possession of the opposite coasts of *Spain*, and of the best part of *Lusitania*, and the *Goths* enjoyed all the interior part of the country ^d; at the same time that the people of *Galicia*, though they might have been absolutely free, yet chose to stile themselves subjects of the empire, and, in that quality, acted against the *Suevi* with all the force they were able to raise; and yet with no great effect ^e (A).

The condition of this nation after the subversion of their first monarchy.
409.

456;

THE

^a Ancient Hist. vol. xix. p. 356. ^b IDATII Episcopi Chronicon, p. 34. ISIDOR. Chron. & Hist. Suev. FERRERAS, p. iii. sect. v. ^c IDAT. ^d ISIDOR. Chron. & Hist. Suev. ^e IDAT. p. 35.

(A) The monarch of the revolution happened, was *Rescendus*, at the time this great *chiarus*, a prince who had been extremely

Maldras, **Frontan**, **Remifmond**, **Frumarius**, bear the title of **kings**. 458. THE proposition made on behalf of this nation to *Theodoric*, as it was a mark of their submission, met with a favourable reception; and they might have brought their affairs into some tolerable order, if they could have been unanimous in an election; but, instead of this, they split into parties, and set up two kings; *Maldras*, who had been at the head of such as endeavoured to preserve their independency, and *Frontan*, who was in the greatest credit with the opposite faction.

extremely fortunate in several military expeditions, and who, seeing the distress of the *Roman* provinces, had flattered himself with the hopes of making an intire conquest of *Spain*; in which it is highly probable that he would have succeeded, if he had struggled only with the *Roman* power (1). But *Mariana* observes, and, as far as we can collect from the meagre chronicles of those times, not without probability, that *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, had framed to himself a project of making himself master of *Spain*, but in a better manner, and with a fairer colour, than that of attacking his neighbours in the time of their distress. It was for this reason that he set up *Avitus* for emperor, from whom he obtained a permission to conquer all that he could from the barbarians, that is, from the enemies of the *Romans* in *Spain* (2). *Rechiarius*, intent upon executing his own project, invaded what the *Romans* called the *Carthaginian* province, without the least apprehension that, in doing this, he was really taking the first step towards facilitating *Theodoric's* design, whose sister he had married. The king of the *Vistgots* immediately sent an em-

bassy to his brother-in-law, to expostulate on the matter, and to engage him to desist from making war on the subjects of the empire; tho' he had good reason to believe this could not produce any great effect. *Rechiarius* did not so much as give his ambassadors a civil answer; but having shewn, in coarse terms, how little he was pleased with their presence, he dismissed them, and made a new irruption into the territories of the empire. *Theodoric* sent his deputies again to complain of this proceeding, and to intimate the necessity he should be under of giving assistance to his allies (3). *Rechiarius* fiercely answered, that he would speedily come, and give an account of his conduct at *Theulouze*. *Theodoric*, who expected such an answer, immediately passed the mountains with a numerous army; and *Rechiarius*, being informed of his approach, marched with the whole force of his kingdom to oppose him. A decisive action ensued in the month of *October*, *Anno Domini* 456, near the city of *Urbice*, on the frontiers of *Galicia*; in which, after an obstinate dispute, the *Suevi* were totally routed, and *Theodoric* pursued his victory with great clemency

(1) *Jornand. Isidor. bist. Suev.*
Chron. 32, 33.

(2) *Hist. de Espagne*, lib. v.

(3) *Ibid.*

towards

faction¹. The former of these princes fell with his adherents into *Lusitania*, where he committed great cruelties upon the *Romans*, and treacherously surprised the city of *Lisbon*, while the latter, and those who stuck to him, remained in *Gallia*, where they made peace with the natives². *Frontan* did not long survive this; and, upon his demise, *Remismond* was chosen king by his adherents. In a short time after, *Maldras* made another irruption into *Lusitania*, where he committed great cruelties; and *Remismond*, on the other hand, forgetting the treaty that was so lately concluded, renewed his incursions into *Gallia*; but the inhabitants defended themselves so well, that the *Suevi* were able to make no great impression³. The subjects of *Maldras* being offended with his barbarous temper, which had prompted him to the murder of his brother, killed him in a tumult, and set up *Frumarius* for his successor⁴. *Remismond*, taking advantage of the *Easter* holidays, which in those days were observed with great devotion, surprised the city of *Lugo*, put the governor and most of the inhabitants to death; after which they pillaged the place. But *Neposianus*, at the head of the *Roman* troops, and *Sueneric*, who commanded the forces of the *Goths*, advancing to the relief of the *Galicians*, killed great numbers of these invaders, and forced them to abandon their new conquests⁵. Some false reports having engaged these generals to retire, the *Suevi* renewed their incursions, and did as much mischief as ever; till *Remismond* had intelligence that *Frumarius* was advancing towards him with a numerous army; upon which he disposed every thing to meet him, in order to decide their pretensions by a battle¹ (B).

460.

THIS

¹ IDAT. p. 35. JORNAND. Panag.
² IDAT. p. 38. p. 39.

³ IDAT. p. 37. ⁴ SIDON.
⁵ ISIDOR. CHRON. ¹ IDAT.

towards such as submitted, and with unrelenting severity towards those who resisted. *Rechiarus* fled to *Porto*, with an intention of making his escape from thence to *Africa*; but the vessel being forced back by contrary winds, he was quickly seized, and sent prisoner to the conqueror, who, in the month of *December* following, put him to

death (4). Some say, that the emperor *Avitus* being deposed the next year, *Theodoric*, who had made these conquests as his ally, and who refused to acknowledge the new emperor *Mazorian*, thought he had a good title to keep them for himself (5).

(B) The Chronicle of *Idacio*, as he is called by the *Spaniards*,

(4) *Isidor. Chron. & Hist. Suev. Idat. p. 33.*
Tarquetta, Ferreras.

(5) *Marians, Mayerna*

or,

An ob-
stinate and
bloody
battle be-
tween the
last.

460.

THIS gave some relief to the long-harassed natives of *Galicia*; and their quiet lasted longer than it otherwise would have done, from the event of this action, which, tho' fought with great resolution on both sides, and extremely bloody, yet proved only a drawn battle, by which both parties were so weakened, that it was agreed to send ambassadors to king *Theodoric* ^a, and to desire his interposition; yet as soon as they had breathed a little, and notwithstanding this reference, *Remismund* renewed his incursions into *Galicia*; of which the natives complaining to the king of the *Visigoths*, he sent *Cy-rilla* to the city of *Lugo*, where he had a conference with the chief men amongst the *Galicians*, and afterwards made a temporary pacification with the king of the *Suevi*, which was of no long continuance ^a. In the midst of these transac-

^a *Isidor.*^a *Idat. p. 39.*

or, as his name is written in *Latin*, *Idatius*, and other an-
cient histories, are writ in a
manner so concise, that it is ex-
tremely difficult to frame any
thing like a narrative out of
them. *Mariana* has certainly
succeeded as well in general as
any other writer; for, with
much quickness and penetra-
tion, and with an admirable
vein of eloquence, he had a
sound judgment, and spoke his
thoughts with great freedom,
yet, in this part of his history,
he was not a little embarrassed
(6). He makes *Frontan*, or
Frantan, as he calls him, to be
chosen at the same time, or ra-
ther before *Maldras*, whom he
calls *Masdras*; whereas *Idacio*
clearly acknowledges that *Mal-
dras* was king of the *Suevi* be-
fore the election of *Frantan* (7);
and whereas *Mariana* makes
Remismund the son of *Maldras*
(8), it is evident from the same
old author, that they were

kings at the same time, and
headed the contrary factions;
and that when *Maldras* was
killed by his own faction in a
tumult, they elected for his
successor *Framarius* (9), whom
Mariana will have to be the
successor of *Frontan* (10), and
whom some writers, without
any foundation, will have to
be the brother of *Remismund*,
and the son of *Maldras* also
(11), which occasions strange
confusion in the history, and
renders it at once improbable
and unintelligible. In respect
to this period, therefore, of
Suevis history, *Ferreras* has
been our principal guide (12),
as well on account of the pains
he has taken to range facts in
their proper order, as because
he agrees precisely with the old
authors; whereas *Mariana* very
rarely quotes his authority, and
sometimes perhaps trusted his
memory a little too much.

(6) *Hist. de España, lib. v. c. 4.*
de España, lib. v. c. 4.
lib. v. c. 4.
p. iii. sect. v.

(7) *Cbron. p. 35.*(9) *Cbron. p. 37.*(11) *Antient History, vol. xix.*(8) *Hist.*(10) *Hist. de España,*(12) *Hist. de España,*

ions, *Frumarius* died, and those who had remained subject to him, considering the mischiefs their whole nation had suffered by setting up two kings, while their territory was scarce big enough to require one, and reflecting on the slaughter they had made of each other in the last battle, very prudently dispatched deputies to acquaint *Remismond* with what had happened, and to offer him their obedience, which he very willingly accepted. At this time, therefore, the restitution of their monarchy may be properly placed, and the former looked upon as times of confusion.

THE first step taken by *Remismond*, after he became the sole monarch of this nation, was to send ambassadors to *Theodoric*, to acquaint him with this event, and to desire that he would bestow upon the king of the *Suevi* one of his daughters in marriage; which proposition was very kindly received, and the princess, with a large sum of money for her dower, committed to the care of the ambassadors, and sent with a numerous escorte of troops from *Thoulouse*, where *Theodoric* kept his court, to the frontiers of *Galicia*, where *Remismond* received her, and the marriage was solemnized with great pomp and splendor. About two years after, *Remismond*, taking advantage of the confused state of affairs in Spain, surprised the city of *Coimbra*, and, after having pillaged it, abandoned his conquest. About the same time, this monarch, in compliance with his queen, embraced the *Arian* heresy, and sent ambassadors to his brother-in-law the king of the *Visigoths*, to desire that he would send certain prelates to instruct his subjects in that belief; and accordingly one *Ajax*, who was by birth a *Gaul*, repaired to the court of *Remismond*; and thus the *Suevi*, who, it seems, were ready to embrace their monarch's religion, received the first tincture of *Arianism*. This alliance with the *Visigoths* did not hinder the king of the *Suevi* from making fresh irruptions into *Galicia*, where he pillaged the town of *Aunona*, or *Abona*, between the rivers of *Douro* and *Minho*, notwithstanding that they were under the protection of *Theodoric*, and treated the inhabitants with great cruelty; upon which they sent deputies to *Thoulouse*, to complain of this treatment to *Theodoric*, who thereupon sent ambassadors to expostulate upon the matter with his son-in-law, but without effect; which might possibly have raised some disputes between them, if the monarch of the *Goths* had not been killed by his brother *Euric* about this time, as has been already mentioned.

463.

466.

* IDAT. p. 43. † ISID. CHRON. IDAT. p. 39. ‡ ISID. CHRON. IDAT. p. 45. § ISID. CHRON. IDAT. p. 43. ¶ ID. p. 44. † JORNAND. ISID. IDAT.

A chasm
of up-
wards of
four score
years in
this bi-
story.

467.

THIS circumstance seems to have been favourable to the views of *Remismund*, who gave a kind reception to the embassadors of *Euric*, renewed his alliance with the *Goths*, and soon after plundered all the adjacent country ^u. The year following, in consequence of intelligence he had with *Leudius*, he entered and made himself master of *Lisbon*; upon which the *Goths*, who were in *Spain*, and saw his soldiers enriched by these predatory expeditions, followed their example, and plundered without the least distinction the territories of the *Suevi*, and of the *Romans* likewise ^w. All this time *Remismund* had embassadors at *Thoulouse* and at *Rome*, who, it is probable, acted the part of spies also, and gave him intelligence of the situation things were in, and the understanding that there was between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, that he might take his measures accordingly, and extend his territories on both sides, while it was not in the power of either of those princes to send a number of forces into *Spain*, sufficient to curb these insolent and perfidious breaches of peace ^x. It is highly probable, that, in the course of his reign, he made very considerable acquisitions, and reduced his subjects into better order than that in which he found them ^y. But what were the consequences of this, how long he reigned, whether he established the royal seat at *Braga*, when or where he died, or was buried, is out of our power to relate, since there is an absolute chasm in the history of this nation for upwards of four score years; so that we know not so much as the names of those kings who reigned during that space, at least with any tolerable degree of certainty ^z. We must therefore rely upon the indulgence of the reader for this involuntary omission, and proceed to the next prince, of whom we find any account, either in the antient chronicles or *Spanish* historians ^a of later date, who have been very industrious in their researches (C).

CAR-

^u ID. p. 46. ^w ISID. Chron. ID. p. 47. ^x JORN. ISID. IDAT. ^y ISID. Hist. Suev. ^z FERR. p. iii. sect. v. ^a MAR. Hist. de España, lib. v. FERR. p. iii. sect. v. MAYERNE TURQUET.

(C) Upon the irruption of *Euric* into *Spain* with a great army of *Visigoths*, and extending his conquests on every side, *Remismund*, without doubt, took his advantage, and made himself master of the remaining part of *Galicia*; for he durst not now stir round the side of *Lusitania*, part of which *Euric* himself subdued; and, as we have shewn in the foregoing section, secured to his successors the greatest part of *Spain*.

In

CARRIARIC, or *Theudemir*, was king of the *Suevi* in the middle of the sixth century, and cotemporary with *Agila* king of the *Visigoths*. He appears to have been a prince of a mild and pacific disposition, and under whom the *Suevi* were in a very flourishing condition, since it is manifest that his dominions comprehended the kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Galicia*, and the best part, if not all, of the principality of *Asturias* ^b. This monarch had an only son, who fell into a wasting dangerous disease, which baffled the skill of the physicians of those times, and inclined his father, abandoning all other helps, to address himself wholly to devotion ^c. He had heard of miracles wrought by the intercession of *St. Martin* bishop of *Tours*, and therefore he made a vow, that if, thro' the interposition of this saint, his son recovered, he would embrace the faith of this holy bishop; that is, he would become a catholic. Having taken this resolution, he sent deputies to visit the tomb of *St. Martin* on his behalf, who carried presents to the saint in gold and silver, equal in weight to his son ^d. At their return, they made a large relation of wonders they had heard and seen; but, in the mean time,

king of the Suevi, converted to the catholic faith.

550.

^b *FERR.* Hist. de Hispan. p. iii. sect. vi. ^c *GREG.* Turon. de Mirac. S. Martini Turon. c. 2.

^d *FERR.* ubi sup.

In the confusion that happened afterwards in the kingdom of the *Visigoths*, upon the death of *Alaric*, and again upon the death of *Amalaric*, we have little reason to doubt that the *Suevi* might enlarge their territories a little, because, as we shall see hereafter, their kingdom became much more considerable than it seems to have been in the days of *Idacio* bishop of *Lamego*, whose chronicle ending here leaves us entirely in the dark as to this nation (13). He was a catholic bishop, and zealous for his religion, which made him less favourable to that nation, by whom he had been very ill-treated, even before they had

become *Arians*, and, through the suspicions of *Frumarius*, had suffered a long imprisonment, without any just reason (14). *Ferreras* complains loudly, and not without cause, that none of the bishops of Spain continued his chronicle. It is indeed true, that, in some manuscript histories of the churches of *Oviedo* and *Salda*, there is mention made of two kings of the *Suevi* between *Remismund* and *Theudemir*, viz. *Rechila* and *Theudemund*; but as it is evident that those named are interpolated, *Ferreras* thinks they deserve no credit; and therefore has not so much as admitted them into his catalogue of the kings of this nation (15).

(13) *Obras chronologicas del Marques de Mondijar*, p. 262, 263. *Cron.* p. 39, 40.

(15) *Hist. de Espana*, p. iii. sect. iii.

(14) *Ibid.*

the young prince was not at all better. *Carriatic* attributed this to his remaining still an *Arian*; upon which he thought fit to embrace the catholic religion without delay, caused the plan of a fine church, which he intended to dedicate to St. *Martin*, to be drawn, and laid the foundation; immediately after which he dispatched deputies a second time with richer presents than before, and orders to obtain some of the relicks of that saint for his new church *. They succeeded in all their requests, and the prince perfectly recovered; upon which he embraced the catholic religion as well as his father, and, at his confirmation, took the name of *Theodomir* †. We know nothing farther of this monarch; and we should have known nothing of him at all, if this transaction had not been related at large by *Gregory of Tours*. This king died in the year 559, and was buried in the new church he had built to the honour of St. *Martin*, which is believed to be the cathedral of *Orense*, a province of *Valencia* § (D).

THEO-

* *Greg. Turon. de Mirac.*
p. iii. sect. vi.

† *Ferr. Hist. de Hispania,*
§ *Isid. de Script. Ferr. ubi sup.*

(D) We have assigned in the text the reasons which induced, and indeed obliged, us to mention these miracles, which we have done as concisely as possible. *Mariana* and *Ferreras* expatiate largely on this head in their respective histories; but with this difference, that *Mariana* calls the king of the *Suevi*, whose son was miraculously cured, *Theodomir*, without mentioning *Carriatic* at all, and places this event at least ten years later than it ought to be. *Ferreras* has rectified both these mistakes, and has also shewn us whence they arose. It seems, in some late editions of the works of St. *Gregory of Tours*, the name of *Theodomir* is inserted; and as this agrees with what another ancient author has written, *Mariana*, without

scruple, took *Theodomir* for the king whose son was so strangely cured; and this drew him into the other mistake. We are assured, however, by *Ferreras*, that all the manuscripts have *Carriatic* (16), and particularly one of 800 years old, which was in his own possession (17). As to the date, it is agreed on all hands, that *Martin* bishop of *Dumio*, who went into *Galicia* from *Tours* with the relicks of St. *Martin*, was the great conductor of this important affair; and St. *Gregory* relates, that this prelate died A. D. 580, when he had been thirty years a bishop (18). On his authority, therefore, the fact is stated in the text; and as it renders the thread of the history perfectly smooth and consistent, and is also confirmed from the records

(16) *Greg. Turon. de virtut. & mirac. S. Martini*, l. i. c. ii.
Hisp. p. iii. sect. vi.

(18) *Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. l. v. c. 37.*

(17) *Hist. de*

THEODOMIR, who succeeded his father, held, in the 3d year of his reign, a council at *Braga*, which was his capital, where he made a solemn abjuration of the *Arian* heresy; in which, it seems, he was followed by most of the prelates and clergy in his dominions, to the general satisfaction of his subjects, many of whom were catholics before^b. About six years after he held another council in the city of *Lugo*, in which it was resolved to render that see metropolitan; which circumstance we mention, because it affords us the fairest opportunity of coming at a distinct knowledge of the provinces which made up this monarchy¹. To the old metropolitan of *Braga* the following bishops were to remain suffragans, viz. *Porto*, *Lamego*, *Coimbra*, *Viseu*, *Idogna*, and *Dume*; whereas the new metropolitan of *Lugo* had for his suffragans the bishops of *Iria*, *Orense*, *Tuy*, *Britonia*, now called *Mon-dognedo*, and *Astorga*; so that, in the dominions of *Theodomir*, there were twelve dioceses^k. This prince died in the latter end of the year 569 (E).

MIR,

^b Conc. tom. v. p. 836. Card. d'AGUIR. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 292. ¹ FERR. Hist. Hispana, p. iii. sect. vi. Conc. tom. v. p. 874. Card. d'AGUIR. tom. ii. p. 299. ^k Conc. tom. v. p. 874.

of the first council held at *Braga*, at which this bishop assisted, there seems to be not the least colour of doubt that this transaction is rightly placed, notwithstanding that the celebrated *Petavius*, and other writers of great credit, have followed the chronology of *Mariana* (19), without taking pains to examine the original authors (20), who have mentioned this event.

(E) We have by no means the least intention to stray beyond our proper bounds, and to invade the province of ecclesiastical historians, by mentioning the time when councils were held; but the councils held in *Spain*, during this period, were

in some measure parliaments also, or assemblies of the states; for the great men sat in them, as well as bishops; and as they were called by the authority of the king, so the canons made in them were very often approved and confirmed by him also (1). It is this that makes the assembling of councils, where any records of them remain, that renders them of so great use in illustrating the civil history of this country. In respect to this first council of *Braga*, it is agreed that it was held A. D. 563, and in the third year of *Theodomir*; and this it was that induced *Mariana* (2) to place the conversion of the *Suevi* so much lower than he ought to

(19) *Hist. de Hispana*, lib. v. c. 9.
(1) *Geddes's Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 21, 22.

(20) *Isidor. de Script. Ecclesiast.*
(2) *Hist. de Espan. lib. v. c. 9.*

Mir, or Myro, *as Mariana calls him, Miro*, succeeded his father *Theodomir*, and was also a prince of great piety. He *becomes* seems, however, to have found himself under a necessity of acting under the influence of *Leovigilde*, king of the *Visti-Suevi, and goths*, in conjunction with whom he attacked the territories *an ally of* which the imperialists possessed in *Spain*, and forced the *Ru-*
the Visti- *cones* to acknowledge him for their sovereign¹ (F). It has
goths. been
 A.D. 572.

¹ J. BICLAR. *MARIANA*, *Historia de Hispana*, l. v. FER-
 RERAS, *Historia Hispana*, P. iii. sect. 6.

have done, as may be proved from the proceedings in that council; for the acts are signed by *Lucretius*, metropolitan of *Braga*, *Andrew*, bishop of *Iria*, *Flavia*, and, in the third place, by *Martin*, bishop and abbot of *Dumio*, after whom subscribed five other prelates (3). Now as it was the custom of those times to subscribe according to the seniority of their consecrations; it is evident that *Martin*, bishop of *Dumio*, must have been some years a bishop, since there were five prelates in this assembly younger than he. This agrees exactly with what was said in the former note, on the authority of *Gregory of Tours* (4), who places the date of *Martin's* becoming bishop of *Dumio* in the year 550 or 551, which, as the reader sees, is very consistent with the records of this council, in which, as *Mariana* himself observes, there is mention made of king *Ariamer* (5), which he supposes to be a mistake for *Theodomir*; but it is more probable that it should have been *Carriaric*. To put this

matter out of all doubt, and to convince the reader that *Theodomir* was not the king, but the son of that king, who sent deputies to the tomb of *St. Martin*, let it be considered, that this council was held in the third year of *Theodomir's* reign, and that *Martin*, who came a private man to *Braga* with those deputies at their return, had been twelve years a bishop when this council assembled (6).

(F) The abbot of *Biclar* (7) calls these people, who were at this time attacked by the *Suevi*, *Arragones*, which is very probably supposed to be an error in the print or in the manuscript (8). *Isidore*, metropolitan of *Seville*, styles them *Rucones*, or *Rocones*, but where to find them is the difficulty (9). Some authors, and, amongst these, *Mariana*, conceive them to have been the inhabitants of the little province of *Rioja*, which indeed lay very conveniently on the confines of this monarch's dominions, and, though it be but small, is nevertheless celebrated for having as pure air, as rich

(3) *Concil. tom. v. p. 836. Card. d'Aguirre, Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 292.*

(4) *Greg. Tur. de virtut. & mirac. S. Martini, lib. i. c. 11. (5) Hist. de Hispana, lib. v. c. 9.*

(6) *Card. d'Aguirre, Concil. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 292. Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. v. c. 37.*

(7) *In Cbron. (8) Ferreras, Hist. de Espana, P. iii. sect. 6. (9) Isid. Hispal. Hist. Suevor.*

been matter of doubt who these people were, or where their country was situated; but there seems to be no room to question, that till this time they had been subject to the *Roman* governors, and that the *Suevi* made war upon them as the allies of the *Visigoths*^m. It was not long after this that the king assembled the second council of *Braga*, at which both the metropolitans, and most of their suffragans, assistedⁿ. He called, in the following year, an assembly of the states of his kingdom, at *Lugo*, where various regulations, chiefly respecting the church, were made^o. In the disputes that happened between the king of the *Visigoths* and his son, *Mir*,

^m J. BICLAR. ⁿ Conc. tom. v. p. 894. Card. d'AGUIRRE, Conc. Hisp. tom. i. p. 316. ^o Morales, lib. ii. cap. 26. Conc. tom. v. p. 902.

a soil, and as great plenty of corn and fruits, as any part of *Spain* (1). If this be the true account of the matter, then these people must have been deprived of their liberty, or subdued after some revolt, since they lay at a distance from, and quite out of the way of, the imperialists. But others again suggest, that this might have been the country of *Alpujarras*, the inhabitants of which, from their living amongst rocks, had the name of *Rocons*, or *Rucons*, who it is thought might depend upon the imperialists; yet this notion is not a little embarrassed; for, in the first place, this small country, which, in spite of all the negligence of nature, is, if not one of the most fruitful, yet one of the best cultivated districts in *Spain*, owes all this to the industry of its present inhabitants, descendants from the *Moors*, formerly masters of the kingdom of *Granada*, within the bounds of which this little

country lies (2). We have therefore no reason to suppose, that, in former times, it wore the same aspect that it does at present; or, if we should grant this, it will do us but little service, since, however probable it may be, that at this time the inhabitants were subject to the *Greek* emperor, yet how the *Suevi* could have any quarrel with them, or why the king of the *Visigoths* should suffer king *Mir* to march with an army through his territories, to conquer these people, is not easily understood (3). The former, therefore, seems to be the more probable opinion; and, it may be, where-ever the *Spanish* inhabitants could preserve or recover their liberty, they thought it an honour to stile themselves *Romans*, though they had little or no correspondence with the countries that were still governed by a patrician sent from *Constantinople* (4).

(1) Prefacion de las obras cronologicas del Marques de Mondejar. (2) Ferreras, Historia de España, P. iii. sec. 6. (3) Mariana, Turquet, Ferreras.
(4) Prefacion de las obras cronologicas del Marques de Mondejar.

out of his zeal for religion, was inclined to favour *Hermenigilde*, or at least to support the catholics; but not having a strength sufficient to do this by force of arms, he sent ambassadors to *Gontran*, one of the monarchs of the *Franks*, to engage his assistance in the same cause; but his ambassadors unluckily passing through the territories of *Chilperic*, king of *Soissons*, that prince caused them to be seized, and kept in prison, till, by another embassy to him, king *Mir* procured their release¹. We have shewn, in the foregoing section, what share this monarch took when things came to extremities between king *Leovigilde* and his son *Hermenigilde*, and how, after raising an army in favour of the latter, he was constrained to employ it, or at least to suffer it to be employed, against that unfortunate prince, in whose defence it was raised². Whether this misfortune had an effect upon his spirits, or whether the fatigues of the expedition, joined to bad air and unwholesome waters, proved injurious to his health, so it was, that, upon his return to *Braga*, he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he speedily died, in the year of our Lord five hundred eighty-two³.

Euric or Eboric succeeds, and is deposed by Andaca.
A.D. 583.

HE was succeeded by his son *Eboric*, *Evoric*, or *Euric*, who was very young, and who, before he had wore the crown a year, was dispossessed of it by an ambitious nobleman, whose name was *Andaca*, contracted to his sister, but who, to fortify his usurpation, espoused *Segonce*, the widow of king *Mir*, and the mother-in-law of *Eboric*, whom he thrust into a monastery, and obliged to enter into holy orders, that he might be incapable of resuming the crown⁴.

The Visigoths defeat the usurper, and reduce the whole kingdom.
A.D. 584.

ANDACA did not long enjoy the fruits of his disloyalty, or the title of king which he had usurped; for, as soon as *Leovigilde* had reduced the imperialists to sue for peace, he suddenly turned his arms against the *Suevi*, wasting all the country with fire and sword, till he entered *Braga*, which was the capital, where he deposed *Andaca*, obliged him to enter into holy orders, and then banished him to *Badajoy*⁵. Thus an end was put to the kingdom of the *Suevi*; for the country was reduced to the condition of a province, notwithstanding the efforts made by one *Amalaric*, who assumed the title of king, but was quickly defeated by the generals of *Leovigilde*, who sent him prisoner to their master: the sub-

¹ GREG. Tur. l. v. cap. 42.

² J. BICLAR. ³ GREG. Tur. l. vi. cap. 43.

⁴ ISID. Hist. Suevor. GREG. Tur. J. BICLAR.

⁵ ADONIS Chron. p. 188. ISID. Hist. Suev. J. BICLAR.

version

version of this kingdom happened in the year of our Lord five hundred eighty-four ^v.

As we have no mention made at all of the affairs of the *Suevi*, in any other than church chronicles, and the writings of other ecclesiastics, as in truth the learning of those times was wholly among the clergy, so we cannot reasonably expect, that, from their short memorials, we should be able to collect much, either as to the manners or the circumstances of this nation; yet, notwithstanding their silence, there are several good reasons why we may conclude, that the *Suevi*, at the time of their being subdued by the *Goths*, were at least as opulent, if not more so, than the rest of the inhabitants of *Spain* ^{*}; for all the antient writers agree, that the countries occupied by them were very fertile in corn, abounding in rich fruits, and exceedingly rich in metals, so that if it was well peopled, and those people industrious, they must have been rich. Secondly, they had enjoyed a profound peace for near a century; for, if they had but engaged in any wars either against the *Visigoths* or *Romans*, there could not have been such a gap in their history; and, lastly, having so long a tract of coast, it is not possible that they should have been without commerce. It is true, that these are conjectures only; but it is also true, that they may be supported from facts, since what is reported of king *Carriaric*, the presents sent by him to the tomb of St. *Martin* at *Tours*, the building and endowment of churches and monasteries in his reign, shew him to have been rich, at least for those times ^v. The number of bishops *sees* in his dominions, which, though in extent not a third part of *Spain*, were at least half the number of dioceses in that country, is an additional proof; and the seizing some ships belonging to the *Franks*, on the apprehension of a rupture, demonstrates, that the ascribing some degree of commerce to these people is far from being a groundless supposition ^z.

^v ISID. Hist. Suevor. J. BICLAR. ^z ISID. Hist. Suevor.
GREG. TUR. ^v ADONIS, Chron. GREG. TUR. ISID.
Hist. Suevor. ^z MARIANA, FERERRAS,

S E C T. III.

The History of the Visigoths, from the Reign of Reccared the First, the Catholic, to the intire Subversion of their Monarchy by the Moors.

*The accession of Reccared the First, war with the Franks, and victory at Carcas-
sone.*

THE principal nobility of the *Goths* readily concurred in raising to the throne *Reccared*, the only, surviving son of their deceased monarch, who had deserved so well of the whole nation in his campaigns against the *Franks*^a. His first care, as soon as he was seated on the throne, was, to pursue the negotiations his father had begun, in order to establish peace with that potent nation. It was with this view that he sent ambassadors to *Gontran*, king of *Orleans* and of *Burgundy*, who, notwithstanding his late defeats, absolutely refused to hear of an accommodation; but at the court of *Childebert*, king of *Astasia*, these ministers were better received, and, on the assurances they gave, that *Reccared* was so far from having any share in the death of his brother that he beheld it with the utmost detestation, a treaty of peace was speedily concluded^b. In the mean time *Sisbert*, by whose hands *Hermenigilde* was said to be put to death, and who had been captain of the guard to the late king, engaged in some dangerous designs against the new monarch, which brought upon him the punishment he deserved^c. This summer the forces of *Gontran* made an irruption, under the command of *Didier* and *Austrovalde*, into the provinces which the *Goths* still held in *Gaul*, and, being very numerous, carried all before them^d. At length the army of *Reccared* endeavoured to stop their progress, and were quickly routed; but *Didier*, with that impetuosity natural to his nation, pushing the victory too far, and appearing with a small body of forces before *Carcassone*, where the *Goths* had taken shelter, they suddenly marched out, and, having surrounded, cut him and his people to pieces; which so elevated their spirits, that they proceeded directly to the attack of the rest of the army under *Austrovalde*, whom they also defeated with a vast slaughter^e. The news of this victory were extremely welcome at the court of

^a MARIANA, *Histor. de Espana*, lib. v. c. 14. ^b MAYERNE TURQUET, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, lib. v. c. 15. ^c FERRERAS, *Histor. general de Espana*, P. iii. sect. 6. ^d GREG. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* l. ix. c. 1. ^e JOAN. BICLAR in *Chron.*
^a GREG. Tur. lib. viii. c. 45. ^b JOAN. BICLAR. in *Chron.*

Toledo, and might perhaps contribute not a little to facilitate the great work the king had then upon the carpet (A).

THE conversion of the king had been early brought about by *Leander*, metropolitan of *Seville*; but the declaring himself publicly a catholic was still considered as a very delicate point^f. At length, after the great victory obtained over the *Franks*, it was resolved that the king should propose to the grandees and prelates about his person introducing the catholic religion throughout his dominions; which he accordingly did, in the month of *October*; and the motion was received, as those things generally are, with all the exterior marks of approbation and applause^g (B).

His declaration of his conversion, and its influence on the Visigoths.

IN

^f GREG. TUR. lib. ix. c. 15.

^g J. BICLAR. in Chron.

(A) According to the *French* historians, the true cause of that extraordinary and obstinate aversion, shewn by king *Gontran* towards the monarch of the *Visigoths*, was openly imputed to the intrigues of *Leovigilde* with that restless princess *Fredegonde*, which were alleged to have been carried on in the darkest manner, and for the worst purposes (1). At the bottom, however, it is owned, that the real source of this implacable hatred was an ambitious desire of driving this nation intirely out of *Gaul*, which produced a resolution of continuing the war, notwithstanding any propositions for putting an end to it, so long as their domestic troubles continued in *Spain* (2). Upon these principles it was that the king of *Burgundy* would not suffer *Reccared's* ministers to come into his presence, but ordered them to retire to *Macon*, from whence they were directed to send him an account

of their commission; upon receiving which, he declared he would have nothing farther to do with them, and prohibited all correspondence between his subjects and the *Visigoths* (3). Soon after this (as the *Spanish* authors affirm) the *Franks* invaded *Reccared's* territories, beat the army that was assembled to oppose them, and advanced towards *Carcaffone*, where *Didier*, by an imprudent contempt of an enemy once beaten, was cut off with a small body of horse; and this unexpected blow intimidated the *Franks* so much, that they made a hasty retreat, which put an end to the campaign (4). On the whole, it is evident enough, that as the historians of one country are disposed to exaggerate, so those of the other are inclined to extenuate, this business; and it is also worth observing, that *Gregory of Tours* places this event in the life-time of *Leovigilde* (5).

(B) On his first accession to

(1) GREG. TUR. lib. viii. c. 38. p. 312.

(2) P. DANIEL, *Hist. de France*, vol. I.

(3) GREG. TUR. lib. ix. c. 1.

(4) Id. lib. viii. c. 45.

(5) JOAN. BICLAR. in Chron. GREG. TUR. lib. viii. c. 45.

Several
conspira-
cies formed
by the
Arians
against the
king's per-
son and go-
vernment.
A.D. 587.

IN the very beginning of the next year *Autalacus*, an *Arian* bishop, and zealous for his opinion; caballed with two counts, *Granist* and *Vildegern*, who were likewise dissatisfied with the king's measures, to raise a general insurrection^b. In this they succeeded so far, that, at their instance, a considerable body of people took up arms, and falling suddenly upon the catholics, killed many of them, and, amongst them, several ecclesiastics^c; but the principal officers of the king's troops, being firmly attached to their duty, quickly assembled an army, and put the rebels to flight, the two counts being killed upon the spot, which put an end to this affair, and to the life of the *Arian* bishop, who is said to have died of discontent^d. This did not hinder the forming a new and more dangerous conspiracy, of which *Sunna*, an *Arian* prelate, who had been metropolitan of *Merida*, and in high favour with the late king, was the author^e. He drew to his party two counts, *Witeric* and *Siggon*; and, after mature deliberation, doubting of their interest in the city of *Toledo*, they resolved to open their enterprize at *Merida* with the murder of *Mausonia*, the metropolitan, who, after being exiled to make way for *Sunna*, was now recalled, and *Claudius*, who had the chief command of the forces, and was governor of the city^m (C). The scheme laid for bringing their design about

^b MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^c GREG. Tur. lib. ix. c. 15. ^d MARIANA, & al. ^e J. BICLAR in Chron. ^m PAUL DIACON. Emeritenf. de vijs Patrum Emeritenfium, cap. 17, 18.

the throne, we are assured, that *Reccared* manifested the most upright intentions. His behaviour towards *Goswintha*, whom he treated as if she had been his own mother, was not only admired by his own subjects, but celebrated by foreigners; and it was by her advice, and with her assistance, he reconciled himself to the court of *Austrasia* (6). She seems to have gained his confidence by pretending to become a catholic; in which artifice, no doubt, she was imitated by many of the courtiers, who, to carry on their

intrigues the better, appeared very probably the most zealous converts. This might induce the king to believe the conversion of his subjects to the catholic faith a work of greater facility than in truth it was, and in this opinion he might be confirmed by arguments drawn from political motives.

(C) These honours, which in Latin are *dux* and *comes*, in Spanish *duc* or *duque* and *conde*, were unknown to the ancient Romans, and first introduced under the Greek emperors. When, therefore, the kings of the *Visigoths*

(6) J. Biclár in Chron. Greg. Tur. lib. ix. c. 15.

became

about was this: *Sunna* proposed a conference with *Mau-sona*, under the pretence of abjuring his heresy; this conference was to be held in the portico of the cathedral church, and in the presence of *Claudius*. *Witeric*, who was that nobleman's great favourite, undertook to dispatch him and the metropolitan as he stood behind their backs; and count *Siggon* was to assemble a number of *Arians* to support this action when it was done, and to seize the city". All things went to their wish; *Witeric* took his post, at the interview, behind the duke and the prelate; while *Sunna* made a long speech, to give him an opportunity of performing what he promised; but *Witeric's* dagger stuck so fast in the scabbard, that he was not able to draw it ° (D). Another plan was then

" J. BICLAR in Chron.
ubi supra.

° PAUL. DIACON. Emeritens.

became so potent, as that they apprehended very little difference between them and the emperors of *Constantinople*, they judged it a manifestation of their own greatness to introduce the same titles; the rather, because the inhabitants of their dominions, having been subjects of the empire, were accustomed to those titles, and to give such as were clothed with them all the reverence they could expect (7). The duke was in those days a military honour, and the person who bore it was commander in chief of the forces within a certain province, whence in process of time he was distinguished by the name of that province (8), came gradually to have a nearer relation to it, and to exercise, in the name of the sovereign, a civil jurisdiction also; which in *Spain*, if we may credit *Mariana*, advanced pretty early to the prerogative of directing the

mint, whence that species of money called ducats (9) received its name. Count, again, was not originally a local honour, but a title of office (1); some were governors of towns; others officers in the army, and denominated from the nature of the corps they commanded; so that there were counts of the archers, counts of pioneers, &c. Others were officers in the king's household, and they were distinguished in the like manner; so that there were counts of the butlers, counts of the stable, whence the title of constable is derived; and others were counts by their names, which was a mere honorary title (2). It is requisite farther to observe, that the same person was often both duke and count, and that these honours were in this age, and long after, personal only, and not hereditary.

(D) This *Witericus* was a young nobleman, who attended

(7) Salazar de Mendoza, Orig. de las Dignidades, lib. i. c. 7. (8) Garibay, Compend. Hist. Hisp. lib. xv. (9) Hist. de Espana, lib. vi. c. 1. (1) Garcias de Loyasa, in Conc. Toletan. tom. viii. p. 459. Alonso Lopez de Haro, Nobil. gen. lib. iv. (2) Garcias de Loyasa, in Concil. Tolet. tom. viii. p. 459. Mariana, Ferreras.

then laid, which was to have taken place at a public procession; but in the mean time *Witeric*, from motives either of piety or ambition, disclosed the whole matter to *Claudius*, who caused the principal conspirators to be apprehended, gave the king a distinct account of all that had happened, by whose orders they were severely punished ^p (E).

A plot of the queen dowager fatal only to those concerned in it.

THESE proceedings taught the *Arians* to act with greater caution, as they still persisted in their design of retrieving their lost power. With this view *Gofuintha*, the dowager of *Athanagilde*, and *Leovigilde*, who had embraced the catholic religion in appearance, took her measures privately

^p *MARIANA*, & al.

on the person of the king, and was in great credit with him, which in all probability recommended him to the favour of *Claudius*, duke of *Lusitania*, who appears to have been the ablest man in the service of this monarch, and the person upon whose military skill his master chiefly depended (3). It is suggested that he entered into this base design, through the persuasions of an *Arian* bishop, and out of his zeal for that sect (4); but though religion is the common pretence for most conspiracies, they are rarely entered into by men of any religion, more especially if they have any parts, as *Witeric* certainly had.

(E) The detection of this plot gave the king, and his minister duke *Claudius*, an opportunity, which they did not let slip, of crushing the heretics effectually, by seizing on the persons of the principal leaders, disarming the common people, and taking proper measures to put resistance out of their power. As to the chief conspirator *Sun-*

na, so much regard was shewn to his episcopal character, that it was offered to his choice, whether he would abjure his heresy, or quit the kingdom. He chose the latter; and was sent to *Africa*, where he died (5). Count *Vacrilas*, who was very deep in this detestable design, fled to the church of St. *Eulalia*, and obstinately refused to submit himself to justice. Upon this, judgment was given against him, that he should remain the servant or slave of that church for life, and be employed in such kind of work as the clergy should think proper (6). Count *Paul Siggon* had both his hands cut off, and was banished into *Galicie* (7). Those of the better sort, who had been engaged with them, lost their offices and estates, and the meanest of the conspirators were sent into exile. In all these proceedings it is evident, that the king shewed his prudence rather than his resentment, and made the necessity of being secure the only argument for his severity (8).

(3) *Paul. Diacon. Emeritenf. de vitis Patrum Emeritenfium, cap. 17, 18.*

(4) *J. Biclari in Chron.*

(5) *Paul. Diacon. ubi supra.*

(6) *Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.*

(7) *J. Biclari in Chron.*

(8) *Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. v. c. 14.*

with *Ubila*, an *Arian* bishop, to remove the king, whom they considered as the great obstacle to their designs; but, the plot being discovered, *Ubila*, out of respect to his character, was banished only; and, while it was under deliberation what should be done with *Gosuintha*, that miserable princess died, either through remorse or despair¹. The king, to give a check to this spirit of heresy, so dangerous to himself and to the public, ordered all the writings in favour of *Arianism* to be brought in and burnt². He next renewed, or rather attempted to renew, his negotiation with *Gontran*, king of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, who remained as inflexible as ever; and sent a fresh army of sixty thousand men, under the command of *Boson*, to support *Austrovalde*, who, having recruited his army, had taken *Carcaffone*³. The king of the *Visigoths* sent *Claudius*, who was governor of *Lusitania*, to command in *Gaul*, where he had the good fortune to gain a surprising victory, which would have done more honour to the *Spanish* arms with posterity, if their authors had not related it with such circumstances as render it altogether incredible⁴ (F).

KING

¹ J. BICLAR in Chron. Tur. l. ix. c. 15.

² FREDEG. in Chron. ³ GREG. ⁴ P. DANIEL, tom. i. p. 320.

(F) The French general *Austrovalde* entered the territories of the *Visigoths* first with a numerous body of troops, and, meeting with little resistance, advanced to *Carcaffone*, of which he took possession. Soon after this event arrived *Boson* with a more considerable army, and vested with the chief command. He was displeased with the conduct of *Austrovalde*, and the disputes between these commanders had a very bad effect on their inferior officers and their troops, which, joined to the want of any apparent strength to oppose them, occasioned such a contempt of discipline, and such general licentiousness, as must have rendered them an easy conquest to the *Visigoths*, if they had had any army in the field (9); but, it seems, the forces in the *Spanish* province were so much inferior, that they retired to the very mountains, and satisfied themselves with taking possession of the passes, where they waited the arrival of duke *Claudius* with the troops under his command. After their junction, *Claudius* found his army much inferior to the enemy, but without finding that they wanted discipline, and were without intelligence (1). He caused, therefore, his army to advance towards them with as much secrecy as it was possible; and, having brought them as near the camp as was practicable without a discovery, and made

(9) Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. ix. c. 31.

(1) Isid. Hispal. in Chron.

such

The catholic religion KING *Reccared*, being very desirous to settle the affairs of the church on so firm a basis that it should never be shaken, summoned for that purpose a council at *Toledo*, where five metropolitans and sixty-two bishops assembled, and made several canons, which were signed by the king, the metropolitans, and the prelates; and thus the conversion of the *Goths* to the catholic faith became a national act. But, notwithstanding the seeming unanimity with which this great affair was transacted, *Argimund*, a nobleman in great credit with the king, governor of one of the principal provinces in his dominions, and who had free access to his person, framed a treacherous design against his life, in which he found

in the first council of Toledo.
A.D. 589.

Concil. tom. v. p. 997. Concil. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 338.

such a disposition as he judged most expedient, he then put himself at the head of a small body of his best men, and boldly attacked their camp, where, finding them feasting, and in confusion, he made a prodigious slaughter before they were in any condition to make a proper defence. At length *Beson*, having put part of the army into tolerable order, attacked the *Visigoths* in his turn; upon which duke *Claudius* made at first a slow, and in a little time a precipitate retreat. The *French* general pushed him vigorously, the whole army joining in the pursuit, till they found themselves on a sudden attacked by the *Visigoths* on both their flanks, while duke *Claudius*, with that handful of brave men under his immediate command, made a noble stand; so that in a little space the rout became general; and the *French*, abandoning the field of battle, placed all hopes of safety in a speedy flight (2). This, as far as we are able to collect from a

comparison of different accounts, is an impartial representation of this signal victory. A contemporary *Spanish* writer asserts, that it was gained by duke *Claudius* with three hundred of his guards (3); which some treat as an improbability, and others as a miracle. The truth seems to be, that he ascribed the victory to those who made the first attack. A *French* historian, who also lived in those times, acquaints us, that there were five thousand killed, and three thousand taken prisoners (4); but the *Spanish* historians unanimously affirm, that this was the most decisive victory gained in that age, and so it appears to have been from its consequences, for the *French*, who were before altogether intractable, began to be well inclined to peace; and *Reccared*, who was a prince remarkable for his moderation, made a right use of his victory, by concluding an advantageous treaty, without trusting to the uncertain hopes of future victories.

(2) *Greg. Turon. ubi supra.*
Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ix. cap. 31.

(3) *J. Biscar in Chron.*

(4) *Greg.*

means to embark a great many persons of different ranks, which very probably made way for the discovery and punishment of himself and other offenders ^w. The *Jews* petitioned the king to abrogate one of the canons of the late council, by which they were rendered incapable of public offices, of keeping Christian slaves or concubines; and, that they might induce him the more readily to exert his authority, they offered him a very large sum of money, which *Reccared*, with a magnanimity worthy of so great a prince, rejected with disdain ^x. Upon the death of his queen *Bada*, *Reccared* demanded in marriage *Clodofinde*, the daughter of *Brunehaud*, and the sister of *Ingonde*, whom he obtained, notwithstanding she had been promised in marriage to the king of the *Lombards*, who was an *Arian*; but it is thought that he in some measure purchased this marriage by the cession of the two fortresses of *Jubiniac* and *Corneillan*, part of his dominions in *Gaul*, to queen *Brunehaud*, who entered immediately into the possession of them ^y; and it is believed that *Clodofinde* was sent into *Spain*, notwithstanding we have no distinct account of the celebration of this marriage by any of the ancient historians ^z. *Reccared* also sent ambassadors to compliment pope *Gregory the Great*, and to carry him presents of a considerable value, to facilitate a request he made him to procure an extract of the treaties between his predecessor *Athanagilde* and the emperor *Justinian*, that he might be precisely acquainted upon what terms the imperialists held the territories which they still possessed in *Spain* ^a (G).

THE

^w J. BICLAR in Chron.^x S. GREG. Epist. lib. vii.

ep. 228.

^y GREG. Tur. lib. xix. c. 16. 25. Moral.

lib. x. c. 1.

^z P. DANIEL, tom. i. p. 328, 329.^a S. GREG. epist. lib. vii.

(G) This count *Argimond*, the principal conspirator, was chamberlain to the king, and might therefore have executed his detestable design with very little difficulty, if the death of his master had been all he sought; but he had his own advancement likewise in view, and proposed, when the throne was vacant, to fill it with his own per-

son, which obliged him to seek assistance among the nobility, and this made way for the detection of his designs (5). The king, who saw how much his clemency had been abused, dealt with this nobleman and his associates much more severely than had been practised in regard to the former conspirators; for, in the first place,

(5) J. Bicular in Chron.

the

Reccared's excellent government.
A.D. 595.

THE patrician, who at this time governed those countries on behalf of the *Greek* emperor, had suffered his people to make some excursions into the dominions of king *Reccared*, who resolved to take this occasion of reducing these people within bounds, which, by various successful expeditions, he performed; for, it seems, he was a prince of so great justice, that, notwithstanding the provocation he had received, and the superiority of his forces, he would not attempt an absolute conquest, but granted them a peace upon equitable terms^b. This war was hardly finished, before he found himself embarked in another against the *Gascons*, who had retired into *Gaul* in the reign of his father, and, elevated by their success there, made an irruption into the country which they had formerly possessed in *Spain*; however, the forces which *Reccared* sent against them quickly recovered the places they had taken, and compelled them to repass the *Pyrenees*^c. These military exploits interrupted, in some measure, the king's endeavours to regulate the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his monarchy, upon such a foot as might equally contribute to the glory of his successors, and to the welfare of his subjects; but, as soon as peace was restored, he resumed those salutary projects: he took care to revise the laws of the *Goths*, and to make such alterations as the change of customs and manners had rendered necessary^d. He was employed in this and other acts of a like nature, when he was seized with that illness which deprived *Spain* of so great and good a prince^e, in the month of *February*, in the year of our Lord six hundred and one.

Liuva II. He left behind him three sons, *Liuva*, *Suintila*, and *Geila*; but who were the mothers of these princes, is by no means clear^f. The eldest is supposed to have been a natural

^b ISID. Hist. Goth. de Script. cap. 32.

^c VASÆI Chron.

^d ISID.

^e Hist. Goth.

^f MARIANA,

Historia de Hispana, lib. vi. c. 1. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. FERRERAS, Historia Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

the count's head was shaved, which, as *Mariana* remarks, degraded and rendered him infamous, then he was whipped, and his right hand cut off; after this, being mounted on a mule, he was led through the streets of the capital, and ex-

posed to the derision of the people; and, lastly, was beheaded; all his accomplices were likewise punished with death, which put an end to those conspiracies that had been hitherto so frequent (6).

(6) *Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.*

child,

child, begotten on some woman of mean condition, five years *quickly de-* before his accession to the crown; and it is very likely the *posed, and* other two were the sons of *Bada*, since there is no author *soon after* that mentions his having issue by queen *Clodofinde* ^{*murdered.*} The respect of the nobility, and the affection of the people towards his memory, was so strong, that, notwithstanding the blemish in his birth, and his being but twenty years of age, *Liuvva* was elected and proclaimed king without opposition ^{A.D.601.} The dawn and the close of his reign, however, followed close upon each other; for, notwithstanding he was a young prince of great hopes, and did nothing that ought to have deprived him of the affections of his people, yet he was quickly despoiled of his crown, his liberty, and his life ¹. The instrument of all this mischief was *Witeric*, whose life his father had spared. We have but a very dark account how it was brought about, and shall therefore follow the sentiments of an eminent historian, who suggests, that this cunning traitor first inveigled the young prince to signalize his very accession to the throne by the expulsion of the imperialists; which having represented to him as a very easy thing, and being intrusted with the army that was to perform this great action, he corrupted the principal officers, and, with their assistance, not only deposed the king, but ^{A.D.603.} cut off his right hand, thrust him into a prison, and not long after put him to death ^k (H).

WITERIC

^s MARIANA.^h ISID. Hist. Goth.ⁱ VASÆT

Chron.

^k FERRERAS, *Historia Hispana*, P. iii. sect. 7.

(H) The deficiency of ancient and contemporary historians renders this part of our history somewhat obscure. The chronicle of *San Juan de Valclara*, as the *Spaniards* stile him, or, as he is generally called, the abbot of *Biclar*, notwithstanding that he was bishop of *Girona*, ends under the former reign (7); so that all the light we have now left is the history of *St. Isidore of Seville*, an author very succinct, more especially in such passages as do no honour to his country. There is indeed a certain writer who pretends to fix the very day on which *Liuvva* was murdered, which he says was the fourteenth of *April* six hundred and four; and that he was buried in the church of *St. Mary* at *Toledo*, with great lamentation; but as his authority is of no credit, we cannot rely upon his information (8). *Mariana* assures us, that this young monarch ren-

(7) *Don G. Mayans* in *Prefacion de las obras chronologicas del M. de Mondejar*, p. 15, 16.
 (8) *D. N. Antonio* *Censura de Historias fabulosas*, p. 439.

Witeric
raised to
the throne,
and en-
gaged in a
dispute
with the
Franks.
A.D.604.

WITERIC was immediately declared king by those who had assisted him in the perpetration of these cruelties; and, as if he intended to have shewn that he was not altogether unworthy of that dignity to which he was raised in so unwarrantable a manner, he prosecuted the war against the imperialists with vigour, and, in a general action in the neighbourhood of *Siguenca*, gained a complete victory, and brought their affairs into the utmost distress^l. This gained him some reputation, for the populace are always on the side of success. Soon after *Theodoric*, king of *Burgundy*, demanded in marriage the princess *Hermembergus* his daughter, testifying, at the same time, a desire that the feuds which had so long subsisted between the *Franks* and the *Visigoths* might, in consequence of this marriage, be buried in perpetual oblivion^m. This flattered the vanity of *Witeric* extremely; he was doubtful how the neighbouring princes would relish the method by which he rose to sovereignty, and was charmed with this mark of deference and esteem which he could so little expect. He treated the ambassadors with all imaginable kindness, yielded very graciously to their request, and sent the princess *Hermembergus* back with them into *France*, with a numerous and magnificent equipage. This scene of triumph was, however, quickly interrupted; *Theodoric* took some distaste to *Hermembergus*, and sent her back again to her fatherⁿ. Some say, and it is not at all improbable, that *Brunehaud* effected this by her intrigues; but, however it was brought about, this so exceedingly offended *Witeric*, that he endeavoured to form a confederacy with the monarchs of

A.D.608.

^l ISIDOR. Hist. Goth. ^m FREDEG. in Chron. ⁿ P. DANIEL, Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 372.

dered himself respected and beloved by his sweet and majestic air, his beneficence, and other royal virtues, which he inherited from his father, so that his loss was bitterly bewailed by the whole *Spanish* nation. He farther remarks, that some pieces of gold coin, bearing the impression of this prince, are still extant, having on the reverse *Hispali Pius*, to shew that they were coined at *Seville* (9).

He farther observes, that we may be certain these pieces ought to be attributed to *Liuvva* the Second, and not to his uncle *Liuvva* the First, because the prince they represent has a crown upon his head, which regal ornament was not in use before the reign of *Leovigilde*, of whom, and of *Reccared*, there are several pieces of gold coin extant in the *French* king's cabinet.

(9) *Hist. de Espana*, lib. vi. c. 2.

the *Franks* and *Lombards* against the king of *Burgundy*, in order to strip him totally of his dominions, in revenge of the affront offered to his daughter (1).

THIS negotiation, which he pursued with indefatigable *A conspiracy* zeal, and at a vast expence, succeeded to his wish; *Clotaire, racy form-* king of *Soissons*, *Theodobert*, king of *Austrasia*, together with *ed against* *Agilulph*, king of the *Lombards*, entered into the alliance; *him, which* and the division of *Theodoric's* dominions was already settled, *brings him* when, by promising *Theodobert* better conditions than were *to a dread-* allowed him by this treaty, *Theodoric* drew him to his side, *ful end.* and the rest of the princes growing diffident of each other,

(1) The history of this lady's marriage, which was very near being fatal to two of the greatest nations in *Europe*, has in it something so strange, that the principal circumstances deserve our notice (1). This *Theodoric*, king of *Burgundy*; was so well disposed to an alliance with the king of the *Visigoths*, that he sent *Aridius*, bishop of *Lions*, his high constable *Eborim*, and count *Rogon*, a nobleman of high rank at his court, as his ambassadors to *Witeric* at *Toledo*. The monarch of the *Visigoths* objected the bad behaviour of some of the *French* kings to their wives, and particularly the dissolute behaviour of their master, who had several mistresses, and children by them; so that he was unwilling to proceed in the negotiation, unless these ministers would bind themselves by an oath, that the princess should be always treated in a manner suitable to her quality, and that the king should never remove her from the throne, which security they accordingly gave. When they brought the princess into *France*, the king came to meet her at

Chalons on the *Saone*, where he seemed to be extremely well pleased with her, and behaved with all the respect and tenderness imaginable (2). While this marriage was treating, *Brunebaut* had represented to the king's sister *Theudelane*, that, without doubt, her influence would be intirely lost from the moment the queen was espoused. This put her upon practising every art of which she was mistress, to delay the solemnity; and, having carried this point, she insinuated, that the princess had some personal defects, by which the king was gradually disgusted. After having kept her about a year, he resolved, against all the rules of honour and decency, to send her home again; and, having broke through these, he made the less scruple of being dishonest likewise, and detained a large sum of money which she brought with her out of *Spain*. In one respect he seems to have acted right; he cast no aspersions whatever upon the lady, but suffered the blame of this action to lie wholly where it ought to lie, upon himself (3).

(1) *Fredjar Chron. c. 30.*
cap. 2.

(2) *Mariana, Hist. de Espana, lib. vi.*
(3) *Ferreras, Hist. de Espana, P. iii. sec. 6.*

the league was dissolved *. This renderic *Witeric* despised at home, where the ill usage the daughter had received was ascribed to the wickedness of the father; and a rumour being spread at the same time, that he was privately an *Arian*, and meant to restore that heresy, such a general defection ensued, as prompted some, whom he had disoblged, to fall upon him as he sat at dinner, without the least suspicion of what happened, and, having stabbed him, they threw the body out to the people, who, after dragging it through the streets, and offering a thousand insults, they at last buried it amongst malefactors executed for their crimes, in the year of our Lord six hundred and ten †.

Gundemar's election, and short reign over the Visigoths. AMONGST those who directed the resentment of the popu-
lace against the miserable *Witeric*, there was one *Gundemar*, a man of great quality, and adorned with many virtues. He had previously formed schemes for placing himself upon the throne, and they were attended with success; for, very soon after the death of *Witeric*, he was elected and declared king.
A.D. 610.

He studied to maintain a constant correspondence with the *Franks*, which for many ages was looked upon as a mark of prudence and good policy; but, from some papers which have been seen by *Mariana*‡, and other *Spanish* historians, it appears, that he bought their friendship by annual pension, which did him no honour in the sentiments of the *Visigoths*, accustomed to receive rather than pay such kind of tributes (K). Yet in his person he was brave; and had no sooner

information

* FREDEG. in Chron. † ISID. Hist. Goth. ‡ Historia Hispana, l. vi. c. 2. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sec. 7.

(K) The substance of this note will shew the reader with what discretion public histories are to be read; for none of those that have been hitherto published of the kingdom of the *Goths* in *Spain*, written either by contemporary writers, or by those who lived near these times, say the least word of that connection, which, it seems, subsisted between king *Gundemar*, *Theodoric*, king of *Burgundy*, *Theodobert*, king of *Austrasia*, and *Clotaire*, king of *Soissons*; which last, in the reign of *Gundemar*, became the sole king of the *Franks* (4). Yet, in the opinion of the best modern historians, it incontestably appears from the letters of count *Bulgerano*, at that time governor of the territories possessed by the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, which papers are still preserved in the archives of the university of *Alcala*, and

(4) P. Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 377.

information that the *Gaseons* had renewed their incursions, than he marched against them with an army, entered their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword, obliging them to take shelter in their mountains¹. After his return to his capital, he directed a council to be held at *Carthagera*, in which several canons were made by the prelates who assisted therein, which he afterwards signed and confirmed; a plain proof that the king's supremacy remained as yet unimpeached in *Spain*². While he was thus employed, the imperialists committed hostilities against his subjects, which constrained him to turn his arms against them; and they, finding their forces far inferior to the *Goths*, retired to a strong camp, where they fortified themselves in the best manner they were able. *Gundemar*, however, attacked and carried their intrenchments, gaining a signal and a bloody victory, which terribly distressed their affairs, and extinguished all desires of revenge for the present³. He then returned into his own do-

A.D. 610

¹ *Isid. Hist. Goth.* ² *Concil. tom. v. p. 620. Card. d'AGUIRRE, Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 453.* ³ *Isid. Hist. Goth.*

in the library belonging to the church of *Oviedo*, that *Gundemar* paid these princes an annual tribute, amounting to a considerable sum for those days; and, as is very natural in such cases, was had in great contempt by those to whom he paid this pecuniary acknowledgement (5). It seems that, to cultivate a friendship with that nation, he sent an embassy into *France*, composed of persons of distinction, who were very ill treated; which he was so far from resenting, that he sent other ambassadors, who were still worse used, and sent back again without being admitted to an audience. Count *Bulgerano*, who it is probable was not let into the secret of his master's extraordinary complaisance, was so provoked at this,

that he refused to suffer the *French* ambassadors sent to *Gundemar* to pass through the province; and even went so far, as to declare war in his master's name, in order to obtain satisfaction for the indignity that had been offered to the crown, and recovered the two fortresses which *Reccared* had yielded to *Brunebaud*, that princess being dead, and none of her descendants remaining (6). The boldness of this proceeding had a good effect; and, as the count stopped there, the *French* did not think fit to make any attempts on that side; so that in this posture things remained till the death of *Gundemar*, and a better understanding between the two crowns was restored under the reign of his successor.

(5) *Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. vi. c. 2. España, P. iii. sec. 6.*

(6) *Ferreras, Hist. de*

A.D.611. ~~minions, and held another assembly of the clergy; soon after which he fell sick, and died in the beginning of the year six hundred and twelve, when he had governed but a short time, and had rather raised than satisfied the expectations of his subjects, who, notwithstanding, expressed great concern for his death, on account of the unquestionable proofs he had given of his piety, courage, and zeal for the public welfare.~~

Sisebut advanced to the throne, who resolves on expelling the Greeks. SISEBUT was elected upon the demise of *Gundemar*, with the universal approbation of the nobility and clergy, on account of his many excellent qualities, amongst which his learning was not the least conspicuous*. He was scarce seated on the throne, before the public tranquillity was disturbed by two insurrections, one of the *Asturians*, and the other of the *Rucons*: against the former the king sent a body of troops commanded by *Rechila*, and another against the *Rucons*, at the head of which was prince *Suintila*, in the sentiments of many the son of *Reccared*; and both these officers met with all the success that could be expected, obliging the people to return to their duty, after they had chastised them for departing from it*. This gave the king great satisfaction, as it did credit to his arms at the beginning of his reign, and afforded him rational hopes of success in the design he had formed of completing, what several of his predecessors had made some trials to effect, the intire reduction of what the imperialists possessed in *Spain*, where at this time they were masters of the whole coast, from the straits of *Gibraltar* to the frontiers of *Valencia*, and had also the little country of *Algarve*, with a line of numerous little

A.D.613. fortresses along their frontiers. As he knew that this would be very acceptable to his subjects, and would deliver his successors from many inconveniencies, he made the necessary preparations for assembling a potent army, and for providing all things necessary for their keeping the field longer than was usual in those days; which could not be done without affording the enemy an opportunity of guessing at least at his design, and consequently of providing for their own defence; though it does not appear, from their method of managing the war, that they fully penetrated the scheme of king *Sisebut*, or believed there was any danger of his executing it if they did; since, if they had, they would certainly have acted

* VASÆI Chron. * MARIANA, Historia Espana, l. vi. c. 3. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Historia Hispania, P. iii. sec. 7. * ISID. Hist. Goth. LUC. Tudens.

only on the defensive, and availed themselves of the strong places they had fortified with so much care.

THE patrician *Cesarius* had at this time the direction of the affairs of the imperialists in Spain; and, as soon as he was informed that *Sisebut* was at the head of his army, he marched with his forces to give him battle, in which he was totally defeated with great loss^b. *Sisebut* prosecuted his victory like a great captain, and one who did not fight for the honour of victory, but for the consequences of it, and actually reduced several great towns on the frontiers, which none of his predecessors had ventured to attack. *Cesarius*, believing that the only method left to deliver his country from so formidable an enemy was to bring on another engagement, in which he might have better fortune; took all imaginable pains to recruit his army, attributing the success of the *Goths* in their last action to their superiority in number. Experience convinced him of that error; he fought again, and was again defeated, with much greater loss than before; for, exclusive of those who were killed on the field of battle, many thousands of his soldiers were taken prisoners^c. *Sisebut* availed himself fully of this victory like an able general, and a good prince; for he gave directions that the utmost care should be taken of the wounded, paid the ransom of all the prisoners to his own soldiers, and then released and sent them home^d (L).

A.D. 615.

^b ISID. Hist. Goth. LUC. Tudens.^c ISID. Hist. Goth.

VASÆI Chron.

^d ISID. Hist. Goth.

(L) The very high character this monarch had obtained, both as a statesman and as a general, might well induce us to believe, that in this there was at least as much of policy, as of generosity and tenderness of heart. An ancient writer, however, assures us of the contrary; and "that king *Sisebut*, when he saw the great slaughter his troops made of the enemy, cried out in a transport of passion, *Unhappy man, that I am, to see so much blood spilt through my means!* whereupon, at the hazard not only of the victory, but of his

person, he prevented any farther carnage, and rescued with his own hand many who were on the point of being killed" (7). He might, without doubt, have had the honour of driving the imperialists out of Spain; but, whether from a motive of justice, or policy is uncertain, he chose to leave them still a small district, which they held rather by his courtesy than by their own power, or that of the emperor; whose affairs at that time were in a very low condition, and likely to fall still lower (8).

(7) *Fredeg. Chron.* (8) *Paul. Diac. lib. xviii. Cedren. Sigebert.*

This behaviour put it out of the power of *Cesarius* to raise another army, and most of the fortresses surrendered as soon as he appeared before them. The patrician knew not what to do with a prince whose clemency was more fatal to him than his courage; and, perceiving that he had conquest in view, he very prudently resolved to make the best terms he could^e. He sent, for this purpose, an ambassador to king *Sisebut*, under colour of doing honour to *Cecilius*, a bishop among the *Visigoths*, who, desirous of leading a quiet and retired life, had quitted his see, and taken shelter in a monastery among the imperialists, from whom *Sisebut* had demanded him at the beginning of the war^f. By this ambassador *Cesarius* sent a letter to the king, desiring to know what terms the imperialists might expect, in case, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, they should be disposed to submission. The king received the minister kindly, answered the letter graciously, acquainting *Cesarius* with his terms; who consented to them, provided he might have leave to send them to his master the emperor *Heraclius*, for his approbation^g.

Heraclius, the Greek emperor, ratifies the treaty, the very disadvantageous.

We are assured by *Mariana*, that king *Sisebut*, having made choice of *Theodoric*, a nobleman much in his confidence, to repair with *Ansemond*, whom *Cesarius* had appointed to carry the treaty to *Constantinople*^h, the emperor readily accepted it, adding only this condition, that the king of the *Visigoths* would rid his dominions of the *Jews*; for *Heraclius*, who was much given to judicial astrology, and other superstitions, was exceedingly troubled about a prophecy; that the empire should be speedily subverted by a wandering and circumcised nation, enemies to the Christian faith, which he applied to the *Jews*; and, not contented with persecuting them in his territories, pursued them into *France*, *Spain*, and other countries, with implacable resentmentⁱ. However this matter may be, there are two things equally certain; the first, that *Sisebut* did actually prosecute the *Jews*, compelling numbers to be baptized, and obliging the rest to leave his territories^k (M); the other, that the emperor *Heraclius* ratified

^e Epist. Patric. CÆSAR. ad regem Sisebutum, in biblioth. sanct. eccles. Tolet.

^f FERRERAS, *Historia Hispana*, P. iii. sect. 7.

^g VASÆI Chron. ^h *Historia Hispana*, l. vi. c. 3.

ⁱ PAUL. ÆMIL. de Gest. Franc. in Dagob. l. p. 21.

^k ISID. Hist. Goth.

(M) We have stated this matter in the text as it is related by *Mariana* (9), always a most elegant, and, generally speaking,

(9) *Historia Hispana*, lib. vi. c. 3.

tified this treaty, and gave up all the country he possessed in *Spain*, along the coast of the *Mediterranean*, reserving only *Algarve*, as it is now called. Upon the execution of this treaty, it is believed that king *Sisebut* caused the city of *Evora* to be fortified, and several towers to be erected on his frontiers, for the protection of his subjects, in case the imperialists should ever grow sick of being confined within such narrow bounds¹. Such was the issue of this war, which A.D. 616. did honour to the courage, the clemency, and the capacity, of this victorious monarch, who in so short a time atchieved a conquest so important.

His accomplishing one great design was, with this wise and able prince, only the first step to another; for the inhabitants of the opposite coast of *Africa* committing frequent piracy upon those who were now become his subjects, he brought the whole naval force of his kingdom round to that side; and, as the most effectual method of putting an end to these disorders, he embarked the best part of his army that had subdued the imperialists, and, making a descent in *Mauritania*, reduced *Tangier*, *Ceuta*, and all the adjacent district, into which he put strong garrisons, and so freed his people at once and for ever from the dangers they were exposed to on that side². This was the last great action of his life, except that which some would persuade us brought upon him the judgment of a sudden death³, the reader will judge with what probability. The bishop of *Barcelona* permitted a play to be acted in his church, in which were intro-

That part of Mauri- tania call- ed Tingi- tana con- quered by the Goths.

A.D. 618.

¹ Epist. Patric. CÆSAR, &c. RESEND. Antiquit. Lusitaniz.
² ALFONS. a Carthag. reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis, RODER. SANTI Epist. Palent. ³ Epist. Reg. Sisebut.

a careful and impartial historian; yet here he seems to be mistaken, and to have been governed by those probabilities which we have represented in their utmost strength in the upper part of the page. But a most judicious, learned, and noble *Spanish* critic, has very clearly and candidly shewn, that the imputation upon the emperor *Heraclius* is no better than a popular story, very ill

founded: that king *Sisebut* was so far from being influenced either by the persuasion or the conduct of that emperor, as *Mariana* and other historians upon his credit have supposed, that in reality he published these edicts against the *Jews* very early in his reign, and before he had any correspondence with the court of *Constantinople* (1).

duced certain superstitious ceremonies of the pagan religion. *Eusebius*, metropolitan of *Tarragona*, to whom that bishop was a suffragan, gave an account of this proceeding to the king, who immediately wrote him a letter, which is still preserved, directing him to depose that prelate, and to consecrate another in his stead, which was accordingly done^o. In this A.D. 620. it is pretended that the king exceeded the bounds of his authority; but those who say so plainly beg the question, since the metropolitan's application to that monarch is such a proof of the supremacy of the kings of *Spain* in those times, as will never be overthrown by the surmise of the king's days being cut short on that account; which is so much the more impertinent, as the bishop was deposed before *Easter* one year, and the king did not die till the spring of the next, which was the year of our Lord six hundred twenty-one^p.

Reccared II.
succeeds,
and enjoys
the regal
dignity a
few
months.

THE nobility amongst the *Goths*, believing it incumbent upon them to shew how true a sense they had of the merit of their late sovereign, set his son, though a minor, upon the throne; and he was accordingly declared king, by the name of *Reccared* the Second^q. He was endowed with many good qualities; and resembled his father so much in the whole turn of his disposition, that the nation unanimously approved the setting the crown upon his head, and promised themselves the greatest felicity under his reign; but the rejoicings for his accession were hardly over, before a general sense of sorrow was awakened by his loss, which happened when he had held the sceptre some say three, and some say four, months^r. We are not told where, or of what distemper, he died; but, it seems, he was no sooner dead, than the eyes of the *Visigoths* were turned upon prince *Suintila*; which is not at all wonderful, if he really was, what *Mariana* and other historians affirm him to be, the son of *Reccared* the catholic, by his queen *Bada*^s; which, however, *Ferreras* very much doubts^t, because the antient historians, who could not be ignorant of the fact if it was so, are nevertheless silent upon this subject^u. However that matter might be, *Suintila* had personal merit enough to engage the attention of his countrymen, whose forces he had commanded in several expeditions, and had thereby established a reputation both of being an able and a successful general.

A.D. 621.

^o *MARIANA*, *Historia Hispana*, l. vi. c. 3.

Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

^q *ISID. PACENS*. *Hist. Goth.* *RODERIC SANTI* Episc. Palent.

^r *Carthag. Reg. Hispan.* *Anacephalæosis*.

^s *Historia Hispana*, P. iii. sect. 7.

^t *ISID. PACENS*.

^p *FERRERAS*,

^r *ISID.*

^s *ALFONS*

^t *Historia Hispana*.

SUINTILA began his reign by taking certain measures which were universally acceptable to his own subjects; for he directed that the laws should be strictly put in execution, without respect of persons, and that proper care should be taken for the relief of the poor: that, on the one hand, such as were guilty of bad actions, from the malignancy of their hearts, might not escape with impunity; and that none might be tempted by necessity to trespass on the laws, on the other. By a steady attention to these points, the domestic tranquillity of his people was secured, which however was quickly troubled from abroad by a formidable irruption of the *Gascons*, who spread terror and devastation where-ever they came^w. The king had no sooner intelligence of this, than he dispatched orders to the governors of the adjacent provinces to assemble what forces they could, and to secure the passages behind these barbarous invaders, who, finding themselves for some time unopposed, continued to advance, and to live every-where at discretion^x. But it was not long before king *Suintila* appeared in person at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; upon which the *Gascons* began a precipitate retreat; but finding it impossible to surpass the mountains, and perceiving themselves environed on all hands, they sent deputies to the royal camp, to implore the king's compassion, on any terms that he should be pleased to prescribe^y. *Suintila* gave these deputies a favourable reception; and having obliged the *Gascons* to restore all they had taken, and to build a strong fortress to prevent their future incursions, he suffered them to return home safely, with a gratuity for their labour. The name of this place was *Oligito*, but modern writers are by no means agreed by what name it is distinguished at present^z. Some think that it is the city of *Olite*^a, once the capital of the kingdom of *Navarre*; others imagine it to be *Fontarabia*^b, on the frontiers of *France* and *Spain*; and others will have it the city of *Valladolid*^c. We mention their several opinions, because where the natives of a country, in cases of this nature, disagree, it would by no means become us to decide. Where-ever it was, the king's clemency and prudence sufficiently appeared, in making so just a use of his superiority to convert a present calamity into a means of preventing any thing of the

A.D.621.

A.D.622.

^w Luc. Tudens.

^x ISID. Hist Goth.

^y Luc.

Tudens. ^z FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

^a Luc Tudens.

^b MARIANA.

^c MAYERNE TUR-

QUET.

like nature from falling out in times to come^d. This expedition over, he returned to *Toledo* in triumph, his subjects being alike rejoiced at the signal advantages his courage and conduct had gained, and the just and moderate use he made of them.

The
Greeks or
imperial-
ists intire-
ly driven
out of
Spain.

SUINTILA, desirous of atchieving all that was still necessary to make his sovereignty independent and illustrious, conceived a design of driving the imperialists out of that little corner which they still possessed about cape *St. Vincent*^e. His army was more than sufficient for that purpose; and therefore he made but little doubt of carrying this country in one or two campaigns. If it be true, which *Mariana* suggests, that the emperor *Heraclius* was so imprudent as to divide the government of this little territory, and to appoint two patricians, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, which gave the king of the *Visigoths* an opportunity of raising jealousies between them, it is no wonder that he thought the conquest easy^f; but it seems more probable, that there was but one patrician who ventured to give the king battle when he entered this country, and had the misfortune to fall in the engagement; upon which another assumed the title and administration, till such time as the court of *Constantinople* thought proper to send a new governor, together with the necessary supplies &c. But the affairs of *Heraclius* were at this time in such confusion, and he found himself so hard pressed at home, that he was content to name a governor, and leave him at liberty to act according to the situation of things at his arrival. *Suintila* pushed his conquest with such vivacity, that the new patrician saw little or no hopes of preserving that country to his master: he collected, however, what forces were still left, and, with a courage inspired by despair, disposed all things for an obstinate resistance^h. The king, unwilling to expose an army, that had already done him so much service, to the loss that must have ensued from vanquishing men who had scarce any thing to lose but their lives, and who would therefore be sure to sell them dear, insinuated to the patrician, that though he looked upon his conquest as secure, yet he was unwilling to destroy so many brave men, who might be useful to their country, and to themselves elsewhere; and that therefore, if they would transport themselves out of *Spain*, he would gratify himself, his

A.D. 623.

^d FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 6.

Hist. Goth. FREDEG. in Chron. AÏMON.

Hispana, l. vi. c. 4.

in Chron. AÏMON.

^e ISID.

^f Historia de

^g ISID. Hist. Goth.

^h FREDEG.

officers, and even his soldiers, in such a manner, that they should have no reason to complain¹. This proposition, being known, discouraged the troops of the enemy to such a degree, that the patrician found his closing with the king's offers was not only the wisest, but the single measure which was left for him to take; so that the evacuation of the country was settled by a kind of convention, and *Suintila*, as he had promised, made the patrician and all his dependents an ample compensation for what they left behind, esteeming it a cheap purchase, since, upon their departure, he became sole monarch of all *Spain*, an honour which none of the kings of the *Visigoths* had hitherto reached². A.D. 624.

THE reputation acquired by this conquest facilitated the only great point *Suintila* had now in view, which was, procuring the consent of the nobility for associating his son *Ricimer* in the government, which included a tacit election upon his father's demise³; a thing, however difficult in its nature, that he obtained with so much ease, as proved the means of rendering it altogether ineffectual (N): for such is the unhappy disposition of some minds, that, though equal unto every difficulty and danger, they are easily seduced by prosperity. As soon as this was done, as if, the reward of his virtues being attained, they were of no farther use, *Suintila* almost at once threw off the character of a gracious prince, to put on that of an oppressive tyrant⁴. Seduced by the evil counsels of his queen, and his brother *Geilan*, he grew haughty, voluptuous, and avaricious, treated the nobility with contempt, exercised the most unjustifiable acts of

Having procured the consent of the nobles to associate his son, Suintila becomes a tyrant.

A.D. 626.

¹ ISID. Hist. Goth.

² FREDEG. in CHRON. AIMON.

³ ISID. Hist. Goth.

⁴ MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

(N) With this great event, the learned and pious *Isidore*, metropolitan of *Seville*, concludes his history of the *Goths*, though he did not intirely finish and digest it in writing till the year after (2). It is very apparent, that he had a tender regard, as well as a profound respect, for king *Suintila* and his family, to whom some think that he was nearly related:

whether that be so or not, we have good reason to conclude, that it proceeded from this disposition in their favour he declined recording what passed from the time of this event, since he not only survived more than ten years, but presided also in the fourth council of *Toledo*, and was obliged to take a share in many other public affairs during that space (3).

(2) *Obras chronologicas de Marquis de Mondejar*, p. 170.
litt., tom. i. p. 547.

(3) *Cav. Hist.*

crudelty on all who testified their dislike of his proceedings; and levied such prodigious taxes, as diffused universal poverty and discontent through all the provinces under his dominion. This in a short time disposed every thing for that revolution which afterwards happened; for a prince, who has once lost the hearts of his subjects, - is in the power of every accident, and the murmurs of the commons naturally inspire the grandees with thoughts of turning them to their own advantage, more especially in elective monarchies, where the voice of the people conveys or confirms a title^a.

An insurrection against him, in consequence of which he is deposed.

THE provinces belonging to the *Visigoths* in *Gaul* were then governed by *Sisenand*, a person of great distinction, and one who, with considerable talents, had an ambition that surpassed all bounds. He was quickly informed of that amazing change which had happened in the behaviour and temper of the king his master, which put him upon forming intrigues that might conduct him safely to the throne^o. He had various correspondences in *Spain*; but the knowledge his friends had of the martial disposition and great military talents of *Suintila*, made them unwilling to hazard a revolt, unless they could be secure of some support. In order to procure this, *Sisenand* applied himself to *Dagobert*, king of *France*, a prince who, amongst other foibles, was strangely delighted with a glaring and preposterous magnificence, to whom he promised a fountain of solid gold, and exquisitely wrought, of the weight of fifty pounds, which *Aetius* the *Roman* general had presented to *Torismond*, king of the *Visigoths*, as a monument of gratitude for that service which he had rendered the *Roman* empire^p (O). *Dagobert* listened to his request; and, having ordered the troops he had in *Burgundy*, under the command of *Abondantius*, to join those

^a PAULUS ÆMILIUS. ISID. PACENS.
Chron. P AIMON.

^o FREDEG. in

(O) This fountain, or basin of gold, for it is not very clear which it was, was the present of that celebrated *Roman* general *Aetius*, to *Torismond*, king of the *Visigoths*, upon the signal and decisive victory gained by their assistance, and with the loss of that monarch's father, over the famous *Attila* and his

Huns, in the neighbourhood of *Merz*, Anno Domini 451 (4); so that it had been above a hundred and seventy years preserved among the treasures of the *Goths*, and, exclusive of its intrinsic value, was looked upon as a master-piece in point of workmanship.

(4) Prosper. Hist. Fernandes,

that were already about *Thoulouse*, under *Venerand*, he directed them to assist *Sifenand* in his irruption into *Spain* ^{9.} *Suintila* had early intelligence of this revolt; and, having put himself at the head of his army, he arrived within a few days march of *Saragossa*, about the time that *Sifenand* took possession of the place. The next morning, when he was about to make the necessary dispositions for a general engagement, he was surprised to hear *Sifenand* proclaimed king of the *Visigoths* in his own camp, with the unanimous acclamations of his soldiers, and that nobody was more active therein than his brother *Geilan* ^{1.} He was convinced that resistance was vain; and therefore, giving his crown for lost, he withdrew as privately as possible, in order to save his life. *Sifenand* arrived in a few hours in the camp, where he was joyfully received; and, having regaled *Abondantius* and *Venerand* with splendid and costly presents, they repassed the *Pyrenees* with their forces, at the same time that he prosecuted his march to *Toledo*, where he made his entry in a kind of triumph, and was publicly proclaimed king, to the general satisfaction of the whole nation ^{2.}

SISENAND was scarce seated on the throne, before *Dagobert* sent *Amalgarus* and *Venerand*, as his ambassadors, to compliment him upon his accession, and to put him in mind of the gold fountain ^{3.} The king received them with all possible marks of honour, and gave orders that the fountain should be delivered to them, agreeable to his promise; but the *Goths*, who saw this with inexpressible regret, surprised them in their passage home, and recovered this monument of the courage and generosity of their ancestors ^{4.} *Dagobert* was not slow in complaining, and demanding satisfaction from *Sifenand*, who told them, it was not in his power to deliver them the fountain a second time; but if king *Dagobert* would be content with the value of it in money, he would discharge the obligation he was under with the greatest punctuality; and, this offer being accepted, the money was paid ^{5.} While this affair was upon the carpet, it created some murmuring, as is natural, amongst a free people, when they conceive the public welfare sacrificed to the particular interests of the prince; and this afforded *Geilan* a fresh opportunity of discovering the baseness of his disposition, by endeavouring to raise an insurrection against the prince whom he had

¹ FREDEC. in Chron. ² FERRERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ³ FREDEC. in Chron. AIMON. ⁴ P. DANIEL, Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 490. ⁵ FREDEC. in Chronic. ⁶ P. DANIEL,

helped to set upon the throne; but he was generally known; and as generally condemned, so that his insinuations only produced his own ruin; for, being stript of all his employments, and his estates confiscated, he passed the remainder of his life in as low a condition as his infamous behaviour deserved, equally unassisted and unpitied *.

*A council
summoned
at Toledo,
to confirm
the depofition
of
Suinthila.*

A.D. 633.

In the third year of his reign, *Sisenand* summoned the fourth council of *Toledo*†, in which *Isidore*, metropolitan of *Seville*, presided, and in which sixty-nine prelates were present; either by themselves or by their vicars. In this great assembly there were seventy-five canons made, the last of which was very remarkable, for by it the people were enjoined to keep the faith they had sworn to their monarch, and to defend his authority and person to the utmost, under pain of excommunication. It was also enacted, that, upon the demise of the king, the bishops and great men should be called together, in order to proceed to a new election. The bishops also gave the king a great deal of good advice; and more especially desired that his majesty would be pleased to revise all criminal sentences himself, and not put the parties to death till their offences were thoroughly proved, and the nature of them closely examined. In reference to *Suintila* and his children, they were declared incapable of any public office, and all their goods and estates confiscated, except what the king should, in his private capacity, be pleased to bestow upon them for their subsistence; and the traitor *Geilan* was put under the like incapacities; so that, notwithstanding the silence of ancient historians, the deposing this monarch appears to be fully proved from public records. Perhaps the writers of those times were unwilling to convey the history of their troubles, and the failings of one who had been formerly so good a prince, to posterity; neither is it at all impossible that personal gratitude for favours received might in some measure impose this silence, which however cannot furnish any argument against what is preserved in the registers of the council, where it is very likely some concurred in doing what they had no inclinations succeeding times should learn, in any other manner than as it is expressed in the canon * (P).

WE

* FERRERAS.

† Conc. tom. v. p. 1700. Card. D'A-

QUIRRE, tom. ii. p. 477.

* Concil. Tolet. IV. Canon. ult.

(P) In this fourth council of *Toledo* there were several canons made in relation to the *Jews*, by which, on the one hand, it

WE may easily conceive, though nothing of that kind can appear in their proceedings, that there must have been some discordance in the sentiments of so numerous an assembly, considering more especially what important and tender affairs fell under their deliberations. But we should not have troubled the reader with any conjecture on this head, if it was not necessary to give some rational account of two strange facts that are said to have happened under this short reign^a. It is reported, that one *Gerontius*, a priest, presuming on the favour in which he stood with this king, be-

Other remarkable transactions in this reign.

^a *MARIANA, Historia de Hispana, l. vi. c. 5. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.*

was provided, that they should not be compelled to embrace the Christian religion; and, on the other, such as had embraced Christianity were not permitted to quit their religion, tho' they had embraced it by force (5). No person whatever was to give protection to the *Jews* in any thing, contrary to the interests of the Christian religion, on pain of excommunication. Such *Jews* as, after receiving baptism, apostatised, and circumcised others, were to be punished by the bishops; and those they circumcised, if they were children, to be taken from them; and to be set free, if they were slaves. All the children of *Jews*, boys or girls, were to be placed in monasteries, or under the care of pious persons, in order to their being brought up in the faith, and instructed in sound morals. The Christian children of apostate *Jews* were not to suffer by the confiscation of their parents effects, but to receive out of them such a share, as, by the laws, they would have had. Converted *Jews*,

having intercourse or communication with those of their old religion, were to suffer death. *Jews* married to Christian women were to be exhorted to embrace Christianity, and, if not, they were to be separated from their wives; and, in like manner, *Jewish* women from their husbands; the children already born of such marriages to be brought up Christians. A *Jew* that apostatised was incapable of giving evidence in any court. All *Jews* were rendered incapable of holding any office or post of any kind. Whoever permitted or assisted them to obtain either, was to be excommunicated; and the *Jew*, who found any means of eluding or breaking through this canon, was to be punished with death. There were seventy-five canons made in all, and it was by the last that *Saintila* and his children were excommunicated, and rendered incapable of any preferment, on account, as it is expressly said, of the tyrannies exercised by him during his reign (6).

(5) *Concil. iv. Tolosan. can. lvii.—lxvi. Concil. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 477.*

(6) *Concil. tom. v. p. 1700.*

haved towards *Justus*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, with indecency, and even with insolence, which the good prelate bore for a long time with patience, till on a sudden the priest lost his senses, and continued in a state of idiocy till his death, which in those days was regarded as a judgment ^b. The other event, still more tragical, regards the same metropolitan of *Toledo*, who, if *Mariana* was rightly informed, for he has not acquainted us with his authority, was an austere morose man, and so generally disagreeable to his clergy, that they made bold to strangle him in his bed. Such transactions must be referred to the factious disturbances of the times, and the story of the first dispute ought to be regarded as a key to the second ^c. King *Sisenand* did not long survive, and, for aught that appears, died a natural death, in the month of *March*, and in the year of our Lord six hundred thirty-six, when he had reigned somewhat more than five years ^d.

Chintila UPON his demise, there happened some disputes which retarded the election of his successor; however, in the ensuing months, *Chintila* was raised to the throne, who began his reign by calling a council at *Toledo*, for regulating affairs in church and state. He was present himself at the opening of this assembly, and recommended to them the taking proper measures for quieting the minds of the people, desiring also that set times of fasting and humiliation should be appointed, in order to obtain the blessing of God on his person and government ^e. This council did not sit long, and made but eight canons, all of which, except the first, respected the civil government. They declared, that whoever was wanting in loyalty and duty to the king, should be excommunicated: that whoever, without requisite talents for government, or being descended of the illustrious blood of the *Goths*, should aspire to the crown, should incur the same penalty: that all such persons as, during the life of the king, should inquire after the time of his decease, or should pray for it, in hopes of succeeding him, should be likewise excommunicated: that those should incur the same penalty who cursed the king, or practised witchcraft against him: that those on whom the king bestowed recompences of any kind, for their good and faithful services, should enjoy them peaceably, as an encouragement to others to behave in the like

^b ILDEFONS de Script. in Præfat.
l. vi. cap. 5. VASÆI Chron.
Chron. ^c Conc. tom. v. p. 1735.

^e Historia Hispana,
ISID. Pacens. JULIAN.
Conc. Hisp. tom. ii.
p. 507.

manner : that, in all ensuing councils, the canons made in the preceding council of *Toledo*, for supporting the respect due to the royal authority, should be read, that none might pretend ignorance of them : and, lastly, that the king might mitigate or remit whatever sentences were passed upon criminals, if he thought proper. These laws will serve to give us a just idea of the government of the *Visigoths*, which was far from being arbitrary. On the first of *July*, in the first year of his reign, the king published an edict, directing the public days of humiliation to be strictly observed, and for enforcing the other decrees made by the council ^f.

THE most remarkable transaction in this prince's reign was the expulsion of the *Jews* out of his dominions, in virtue of an edict, by which he declared, that his subjects and soldiers should be all of them Christians ; but whether the *Jews* gave any particular cause for this severity, or whether it arose only from the general odium they lay under, and the desire the king had to render himself popular by treating them in this manner, is uncertain ^g. In the sixth council of *Toledo*, which met not long after they were driven out, he received the compliments of that assembly upon this subject, and laws were made to support what he had done. In this, as in the former council, many points, relating purely to civil government, were settled in such a manner, that there remains no doubt of great animosities and heart-burnings that still subsisted amongst the people, and which induced an apprehension that every future vacancy of the throne would be considered as a kind of dissolution of the government, against which they provided all the remedies that human prudence could dictate (Q). At the close of the assembly, they returned

The whole nation of the Jews expelled his dominions by an edict. A.D. 638.

^f VASÆI Chron. ^g P. MABILLON Analect. ^h Conc. tom. v. p. 1740. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 512.

(Q) By the third canon of this sixth council of *Toledo*, the prelates, and other members of that venerable assembly, not only approved, and rendered thanks to the king for what he had done against the *Jews*, but likewise enacted, with his consent, and that of the nobles (a clear proof that these assemblies were really parliaments), that no monarch thereafter elected should enter upon the functions of the regal office, before he promised, under pain of excommunication, to adhere inviolably to the laws made against that nation (7). They provided, in

(7) Conc. tom. v. p. 1740. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 512.

turned the king thanks for his mild and just administration; recommended him to the divine protection, and made vows for

this assembly, that persons accused of capital crimes should not be condemned till they were heard face to face with their accusers; and, for want of legal evidence, the party accused to be acquitted, except the matter charged upon him touched the king's life. Such as deserted to the enemies of the kingdom, and endeavoured to stir up war against their country, were to be excommunicated. Such as broke their allegiance, and afterwards fell into the king's power, were to be shut up in a monastery for life, if they made it their choice, in some measure equivalent to their claiming the benefit of the clergy with us. The highest respect and veneration was to be paid to the nobility having places at court, and about the king's person, so long as they behaved with justice, moderation, and beneficence, to their inferiors. Whatever rewards in lands, or otherwise, the king should bestow on his faithful subjects, they were to enjoy; and such as entered into conspiracies were to forfeit all they had, even though their treasons should not be discovered till after the death of their king. In consideration of the benefits conferred by king *Chintila* upon his subjects, the greatest respect should be preserved towards his children, and care taken to defend them in their persons and in their properties, there being nothing, says this canon, more equitable, than that the same regard should be shewn by the nation to the posterity of kings, that those kings, while upon

the throne, manifested for the nation. If any, possessed either of an ecclesiastical or secular dignity, should enter into any intrigues during the life-time of the king, in order to secure the election of some other person upon his demise, he was excommunicated. When the throne was vacant, none should tyrannically usurp it, but wait the decision of a free election; and none should be capable of being elected who had taken a religious habit, and suffered his head to be shaved, or who had been shaved by force, or who should descend from slaves or strangers; but the person so elected should be one descended from the illustrious blood of the *Goths*, and endowed with prudence, and the necessary talents of government. Whoever should infringe this decree, incurred thereby the penalty of excommunication. All that was therefore done for the security of the life and august person of the kings of the *Visigoths*, was hereby confirmed; and the censure of excommunication pronounced, in the presence of God, his angels and saints, of the church, and of all the faithful, against all who should attempt the king's life, endeavour to dethrone, or assemble troops to make war against him. If any prince be slain, his successor should avenge his death, as he would do that of his father, in which he should have the assistance of all the nobility, and of persons of every rank, who would not be held and reputed infamous by the whole nation. These canons

fixed

for his long life and prosperity¹. He continued to govern with the same spirit of moderation and equity during the short remainder of his life, and deceased in the beginning of the year six hundred and forty, universally regretted by his subjects, who enjoyed uninterrupted peace at home and abroad during the time that he sat upon the throne².

THE great reverence that was borne to the memory of the deceased king, engaged the nobility, in compliance with the unanimous voice of the people, to raise his son *Tulga* to the throne. Though he was very young, he inherited from his father his piety and his charity, with many other virtues³; but the tenderness of his age, and want of experience, enervated his authority, insomuch that many, despising his youth, or presuming too much upon his indulgence and good-nature, took such liberties as were inconsistent with the respect due to government; and as bad examples are naturally contagious, so in a little time the whole kingdom was full of disorders, notwithstanding the young monarch was remarkably free from vices, and had no other failing than that want of firmness and steadiness which was incident to a good-natured youth⁴. The principal nobility, considering this, and being persuaded that these dangerous mischiefs would continue to increase while *Tulga* remained upon the throne, and might prove the ruin of the nation before he acquired the talents necessary to correct them, concluded, that, for the preservation of the state, he ought to be deposed. Having digested this scheme in their minds, they cast their eyes upon *Chindasuintho*, a person of great quality, much advanced in years, but who possessed, as they conceived, in a very high degree, the virtues requisite to form a great prince, as well as to put an end to those disorders that otherwise threatened an extinction of their monarchy⁵. These are the specious reasons assigned by some historians in support of a proceeding that otherwise is far from having a fair aspect, and upon their credit they must rest. *Chindasuintho*, old as he was,

¹ Concil. Tolet. vi. Can. iii. ² ISID. PACENS. ³ MARIANA, *Historia Hispana*, l. v. cap. 8. ⁴ MAYERNE TURQUET. ⁵ FERRERAS, *Historia de Hispana*, P. iii. sect. 7. ⁶ FREDG. in Chron. ⁷ Luc Tudensf.

fixed the constitutions, and were as their monarchy in that country regarded as the magna charta subsisted (8).
of the *Visigoths* in Spain, so long

(8) *Isidor. Pacens. Fredog. in Chron. Luc. Tudens. Roderic. Tolet. Vasei Chron.*

made no difficulty of accepting the proposal; and, with the assistance of his party, executed it with very little trouble, causing the young king to be conducted to a monastery, and to have his head shaved, which, as the reader has seen by their laws, prevented its being ever covered again with a crown^o.

Chinda- CHINDASUINTHO was declared king in the month of
suintho May six hundred forty-two^p: but was very far from en-
maintains joying peaceably that dignity which he had rather seized by
by force his force than attained in a legal manner. A civil war ensued,
title to the and revolts happened in almost all parts of the kingdom^q.
crown of But *Chindasuintho* fully justified the sentiments of those who
Spain. placed him on the throne; he very quickly raised an army,

A.D. 645.

and pursued those who disputed his authority with such vigour, that, before the government was tolerably settled, two hundred persons of quality, and five hundred of meaner rank, lost their lives; at length, however, he carried his point, and obliged all the inhabitants of *Spain* to own and respect him as their sovereign^r. About this time there arrived in *Spain* a young adventurer from the east, whose name was *Ardabasta*, who was graciously received, and kindly entertained, by the king of the *Visigoths*, rising at length so high in his favour, that he gave him in marriage his cousin german^s. We are not told by the old historians, who mention this circumstance, who this young gentleman was, whose posterity afterwards ascended the throne; but some of the ablest judges of *Spanish* history have rendered it highly probable, that he was the son of *Athanasilde*, the grandson of *Hermenigilde*, and the great grandson of *Leovigilde*^t. Whoever he was, he became equally the favourite of the king and of the people, and contributed not a little to dispose the public to a more favourable construction of *Chindasuintho's* conduct, who, setting aside the manner in which he acquired the diadem, was very little inferior in virtue or in abilities to any who had worn it before him^u.

A council IN the sixth year of his reign he held a council at *Toledo*^v,
at Toledo, in which several canons were made, the first of which was
which sit- in support of the king's authority, and for punishing, by
ties the excommunication for life, and forfeiture of goods, such as

^o FREDEG. in Chron. ^p JULIAN. Chron. ^q MARIANA, Historia Hispana, l. vi. cap. 8. ^r MAYERNE TURQUET. FER-
RERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ^s FREDEG.
in Chron. ^t ALFONS. in Chron. ^u PELLICER, SA-
LAS. ^v VASÆI Chron. ^w CONC. tom. v. p. 1836.
Card. D'AGUIRRE. Conc. Hisp. tom. vi. p. 622.

should procure arms or assistance from abroad, in support of *constitution in* their rebellion; and, if they were priests, they were to be *degraded*. The king's administration from this time was *very peaceable, and no less honourable; for, after the severe and state.* *rities to which he was obliged by the civil war, he did not discover any thing harsh in his disposition, but, on the contrary, shewed as much mildness as it was possible for him to do without relaxing too much; so that by degrees he became respected and beloved by all ranks of people: as a proof of which, in the seventh year of his reign, the nobility unanimously consented that his son Receswintho should share with him, in order to lessen the weight of the regal authority* *. This expedient had not hitherto been very fortunate to the monarchs who had brought it to bear; but the old king considering that his son was of a fit age to ascend the throne, and that it would be difficult for him to be safe as a private man, upon mature deliberation, demanded and obtained this act of complaisance from the nobles; in consequence of which *Receswintho* was placed with his father on the throne *7, January the 22d, 649; and from that time took upon him, in a great measure, the administration of the government* 2.

THE old king, worn out with age and infirmities, was desirous of passing his last days in peace, and with a reasonable degree of leisure. He was a great statesman, understood the constitution of the *Visigoths* perfectly, and took pains to restore and preserve its vigour 3. He was, the times in which he lived considered, a man of letters, and so great a lover of learning and learned men, that he sent one *Tajus, or Tajon, bishop of Saragossa, to Rome, on purpose to bring from thence certain works of pope Gregory the great, which as yet had not been sent into Spain* 4. He was no less remarkable for his piety, according to the notion of those times; and is reported to have built the magnificent monastery of *St. Romanus*, now called the monastery of *Ornifga*, between *Toro and Tordesillas*, not far from the river *Duero*, where he desired that his own and his queen's corpse might be laid, as it is believed they were 5. He died with great marks of sincere repentance, and after having caused very large sums to be distributed to the poor 6, *October the first, in the year of*

* ISID. Pacenf.

7 FERR. Hist. Hispan. p. iii. sect. vii.

2 ISID. Pacenf.

3 ROD. Toletan. lib. ii.

b ISID.

Pacenf.

c FERR. ubi sup.

d JUL. Tolet. FREDRO. in

Chron.

our Lord 652, when he was upwards of 90 years of age; and in the 11th year of his reign (R).

*Recesuin-
tho finds a
spirit of
discontent
at his very
accession.* WE have thrown together all that regarded *Chindasuintbo*, that we might not perplex the relation of what was achieved by *Recesuintbo*, as well in the life-time of his father as afterwards. It is believed, upon good foundation, that, a little before his association in the throne, he married his consort *Ricibergue* (S), and was much assisted in compassing that

(R) Among all the monarchs of the *Visigoths*, *Chindasuintbo* appeared to be most thoroughly versed in the science of government, and to have governed by true maxims of policy, instead of following the dictates of his passions. He gave a strong instance of this in the case of *Theodisiles*, who had been advanced to the metropolitan see of *Seville*, and who, not satisfied with spreading dangerous and heretical opinions, endeavoured to give a sanction to the errors he taught, by pretending that he found them in the writings of *St. Isidore*, his predecessor; of which the king being informed, he caused him immediately to be deprived, and even obliged him to quit his dominions; upon which he went over into *Africa*, where, after he had disturbed the minds of many people with his notions, he embraced, or pretended to embrace, the *Mohammedan* superstition; which fully justified the king's conduct towards him, and shewed that he was not worse treated than he deserved (9).

(S) Some of the most celebrated *Spanish* historians have positively asserted, that queen

Ricibergue was the consort of king *Chindasuintbo*; and this is grounded upon her epitaph, written by *Eugenius* metropolitan of *Toledo*, a man of learning and piety, and so disinterested that he fled from his residence, and took sanctuary, in order to avoid the mitre, which nevertheless, at the king's command, he was constrained to accept (1). His works in verse and prose were published by *Father Sirmond*, and this epitaph amongst the rest; the substance of which, however, shews sufficiently the mistake; for therein it is said that she died at somewhat more than 22 years of age, after having been married seven. It is not easy to conceive, that so wise a monarch as *Chindasuintbo* would marry at fourscore and three a young lady of sixteen; but it is not at all improbable of the son. On consulting, however, the manuscript of this prelate's works, in the library of the church of *Toledo*, the name of *Recesuintbus* is found instead of *Chindasuintbus*, which appeared in all the printed copies (2). This princess, who, as far as we can judge, was the only wife of king *Recesuintbus*, died soon after the holding of the first

(9) *Luc. Tudesq.*
de Hispan. p. iii. sect. vii.

(1) *Ildefons. de Script. Eccles.*

(2) *Ferr. Hist.*

that point, by her relations *. But, notwithstanding all this, there were not a few malecontents who were exceedingly displeased with this measure, and inclined to pull *Recefuintho* down before he was well seated on the throne. The want of a free election was given out, with many other pretences, by such as were desirous of dethroning him; but the truth of the matter was, that the principal persons of the faction, who honoured his father with the crown, took it extremely ill that they were disappointed in their views, and all their hopes cut short, by this association; whereas, with them, the chief motive to the king's exaltation was his great age, which gave them a probability of surviving and succeeding him in their turns †. It does not however appear, that they declared openly at the time of the election, but waited for a more proper conjuncture, when the disposition of the common people in the more distant provinces should be known; for, having been treated with severity in the beginning of the old king's reign, it was presumed that they would not be universally pleased with this measure ‡. Time made it appear they were in their conjectures not at all mistaken.

AMONGST these malcontents there was one *Froja*, a man *This ripens into a rebellion, in conjunction with a foreign invasion.* of great quality among the *Goths*, who was himself rich and powerful, and had many relations and friends †. He was the first who took up arms, and, for the better support of his party, he employed his money among the *Gascons* to raise an army. These people, who had been frightened into submission by *Suintila*, were very glad of this opportunity to find their way once more into *Spain* ‡. As soon as they had passed the *Pyrenees* under his command, they began to shew their old disposition, desolating the country with fire and sword, ruining edifices of all kinds, churches and monasteries not excepted, and destroying without mercy persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages. In the midst of their career, *Recefuintho* fell upon them with a small but well-disciplined army; and thro' the victory was not gained without a considerable loss, yet

* FER. ubi sup.

† MAR. Hist. Hispan. l. vi. cap. viii.

MAYERNE TURQUET, FER. ubi sup.

‡ ISID. Pacenf.

‡ Epist. TAJON ad Quiricum, apud Mabillon.

‡ ISID. Pac.

council of *Toledo* in his reign, without leaving any issue; so that the brothers of the king flattered themselves thencefor-

ward with hopes of succession, as well as the inheritance of his private fortune (3).

(3) Luc. Tudens. Reg. Tolet. Vasai Chronicum.

the king pursued it with such vigour, that the rebels were entirely defeated *. *Froja* fled with a small party, and the *Gascons* suffered so much, that they repassed the *Pyrenees*, and thought themselves happy in regaining their own country. But, notwithstanding this blow, many cities and provinces discovered visible signs of discontent, and made preparations for their own defence, in case the new king should endeavour to reduce them with his victorious army †. But those who were not frightened with the terror of his arms, he reduced by his clemency; for having declared that he was willing, and even desirous, to redress grievances, and to grant whatever could be justly expected, they consented, upon his publishing a general amnesty, to submit, and to acknowledge him for their sovereign (T). But what became of *Froja* does not appear from the *Spanish* history ‡.

Recefuin-
tho tri-
umpbs
over his

THINGS were in this situation when the old king died, and *Recefuintho*, than whom no prince was more punctual in the performance of his promises, summoned a council at *Toledo*, in order to settle the affairs of the kingdom, which was

* *Fest. ubi sup.*

† *Isid. Pacens.*

‡ *Fest. ubi sup.*

(T) The cities and districts in *Spain* that gave shelter to the rebels, without taking up arms themselves, made no scruple of declaring what they called their grievances. Some asserted, that they were so heavily taxed, that, with all their labour and industry, they could scarce procure a subsistence. Some alleged, that the privileges and immunities granted them by former kings, as a reward for their services, had been taken away upon frivolous pretences; others, that they had been fined and punished by an augmentation of taxes, without any just cause. King *Recefuintho* assured them, that all imposts should be lessened; that their antient rights should be restored; that satisfaction should be made to all who had been injured, or had so much

as received hard measure; and that, for the future, arbitrators should be appointed to mediate between the king and the subject upon any prosecution by the crown (4). This gave such satisfaction, that, the cities and districts submitting immediately, the rebels, that had taken shelter amongst them, were left wholly to the king's mercy, which, at the same time it was out of his power to extend without the consent of the states, the precision with which the king performed every tittle of this agreement, and his procuring the pardon of the rebels by his intercession, gained him the hearts of his subjects, who acknowledged themselves obliged to him, and him only, for all the benefits that they received (5).

(4) *Ist. Pacens.*
Chron. Luc. Tudens. Vasai Chron.

(5) *Concil. Tolet. viii. Julian. Chron. Fredeg. in*

opened on the 17th of *December* 653, at which assisted a multitude of prelates, and all the chief persons of the kingdom. The king opened this assembly of the states by a short speech, conceived only in general terms, and referring himself for farther particulars to a memorial which he left with them in writing^a. This paper contained, first, a confession of the catholic faith; next, the opinion of the assembly was demanded in respect to those who had taken up arms against the crown and the state, on account of the oath which the whole nation had entered into for excluding such offenders from all hopes of pardon; which, however, the king, in the present case, was willing to relax. In the third place, he desired that where the subjects complained, with respect and decency of the sovereign, that arbitrators might be appointed by law to decide equally between them. He recommended it to the nobility to concur in judgment with the prelates, and to execute punctually the canons that should be made. Lastly, he desired to know their sentiments with respect to the *Jews*, who, after baptism, had apostatized. This august assembly not only settled these, but several other points of very high importance, to the entire satisfaction of the king and of his subjects; and their canons, which were twelve in number, were signed not only by the bishops and abbots, but by the great men who were present^o (U). The day after the council

^a Concil. tom. vi. p. 394. Concil. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 538.

^o Conc. viii. Tolet. can. ult.

(U) *Mariana*, by a slight mistake, places this council in *November* instead of *December*; which we remark, to prevent this difference creating a suspicion of our negligence (6). *Ornatius*, metropolitan of *Merida*, presided in this assembly, in which were present fifty-two prelates, and the flower of the *Gothic* nobility, more especially such as had great employments at court (7). By the second canon of this council it is declared, that the oath which does not regard the service of God, but respects only temporal in-

terests, is not perpetually binding; and that notwithstanding the past laws against such as took up arms, yet, for the safety and welfare of the state, the penalties inflicted by them may be, and are by this canon, remitted. By the tenth canon it is declared, that, for the future, the king shall be elected in the place where his predecessor dies by the bishops and great lords of the court. The king shall protect the catholic faith, and shall be assiduous in preventing all dangers that might arise from the wickedness of

(6) *Hist. de España*, l. vi. cap. x, xi. *Hisp.* tom. ii. p. 538.

(7) *Conc.* tom. vi. p. 394. *Conc.*

council separated, the king published an edict, grounded upon their advice, by which he declared, that whatever estates or effects were acquired by monarchs after their accession to the throne, should be annexed to the crown, and belong to their successors; but that, with respect to their private fortunes, they should descend to their children ^p. In this edict he further declared, that whereas he was in possession of his father *Chindasuintbo's* estates, he was ready to make satisfaction in the most ample manner to any who could make due proof of their having been oppressed or injured by that prince ^q.

*His reign
most be-
nourable
for him-
self, and
happy for
his sub-
jects.*

THE reign of *Recesuintbo*, from this time, was perfectly calm and undisturbed ^r. His subjects, in general, began to understand and be perfectly sensible of their happiness in living under a prince who made that much more his study than his own ^s. The clergy, and with good reason, were wholly devoted to his service, and, in points of the highest consequence, had recourse to his authority, without applying themselves to the bishop of *Rome* ^t (W). The *Jews*, who were

^p FERR.
Tolet. l. ii.

^q VASÆI Chron.
^r FER. ubi sup.

^s LUC. Tud.

^t ROD.

the *Jews*, but shall keep within the bounds of moderation, taking at the same time all due care of the government. The new king shall succeed to whatever his predecessor held in right of his dignity; but he shall not be solemnly crowned till he has sworn to comply with this decree. By the 11th, they declare, that whoever offends against the decision of any council, shall stand excommunicated *ipso facto*; and by the 12th it is decreed, that, with respect to the *Jews*, the canons made in the council of *Toledo*, held by king *Sisenand*, shall be strictly put in force. After this follows the usual conclusion, in which the prelates return thanks to God and the king. We have mentioned the nature of the

subscription in the text; and, on the whole, there can be nothing clearer than that this was an assembly of the great men, a general council or meeting of the estates of the kingdom, which was the peculiar characteristic of the *Gothic* policy, of which the reader can never too often be put in mind, as it is the basis of legal liberty and constitutional freedom (8).

(W) The instance hinted in the text was this. In a short time after, at a council held at *Toledo*, the president *Orantius*, metropolitan of *Merida*, presented his petition to the king, setting forth, that the jurisdiction of his see was very much diminished, and a great number of his suffragans taken from him; desiring that the

(8) *Mariano, Mayern Targuet, Ferrusa.*

were indeed the only people the king was disposed to treat with severity, pacified him by a memorial, in which they qualified what was styled their apostacy, by declaring, in the most solemn manner, that it consisted not in any unbelief, but in a natural aversion to pork; desiring that the king would be pleased to excuse them in that respect; since it proceeded not from any repugnancy of their will, but from the imbecility of their stomachs, which would not bear a food they from their infancy had been taught to abhor; submitting to be burnt if, in any other respect, they behaved otherwise than as became good Christians; with which this well-disposed monarch seems to have been contented^u. Some corruptions having crept into the morals of the people, and into the discipline of the ecclesiastics, he corrected these by the advice of two councils held at *Toledo*; for which he was highly applauded by the nobility and prelates, who found the good effects of these frequent assemblies, which brought the kingdom in general into very good order, and took away many abuses that would have been otherwise fortified by prescription^v.

THAT happy spirit of loyalty and general tranquillity that *Ends* reigned throughout the kingdom, induced the brethren and *peaceably*, family of the king, who was now become a widower, to in- and with-

^u FUERO JUZGO, l. xii. tit. 2. l. 16. ^v Conc. tom. vi. p. 451. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 573. Conc. tom. vi. p. 459. Card. d'AGUIRRE, Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 574.

king would be pleased to examine the matter, and restore the metropolitan see of *Merida* to its antient state. The true reason of this complaint was, that as fast as the kings of the *Suevi* made conquests in *Lusitania*, they subjected the diocese, of which they became masters, to the metropolitan of *Braga*, the chief city of their own dominions; and this regulation, tho' the reason ceased, had still subsisted under the kings of the *Goths*; but *Recceswintho*, who was both a pious and an equitable prince, directed that this

matter should be carefully looked into, and the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of *Merida* re-invested in its former rights; which was accordingly done, and the king's conduct afterwards approved and confirmed by a council (9). This wise and good prelate *Orontius* was, it seems, intirely ignorant of the prerogatives claimed by the *Roman* pontiffs, and thought it sufficient to apply himself to his sovereign, who also without the least scruple, and without the least dispute, did him all the justice that he could desire (1).

(9) *Concil. Emeritanse, can. viii. Ferr. Hist. Hisp. p. iii. sect. vii.* (1) *Mar. Hist. Hispana, Meyerna Turquesa, Ferr.*

out any diminution of its glory.

insinuate that this was a proper time to do something for them; but the king, it seems, was of a different opinion, either from a persuasion that his relations wanted the proper talents for government, or that he was unwilling to disoblige the whole body of the nobility, by depriving them of that privilege which they had most at heart ^a. He had, however, in the midst of this repose at home, a melancholy, and even an alarming, prospect abroad; for the *Saracens* began to extend their conquests in *Africa*; and count *Gregory*, who was governor of the province of *Carthage*, having endeavoured to give a check to this progress with the best army it was in his power to raise, was not only defeated, with the loss of a great part of his forces, but likewise fell himself in battle ^b. Some carry this farther, and assert, that the infidels pushed their incursions as far as *Mauritania*, then in the hands of the *Goths*, which obliged king *Recesuintho* to arm in its defence; but the best writers are silent upon this subject, and therefore the fact ought to be concluded doubtful, if not false ^c. However, the king could not be without apprehensions from the vicinity of such neighbours, which, with the weight of his other affairs, brought him into a bad state of health; in hopes of recovering from which, he made a journey to a place called *Gerticos*, in the territory of *Salamanca*, at the distance of forty leagues from *Toledo* ^d, which was his private patrimony, and perhaps the town where he was born; and there, his distemper being too hard for the skill of the physicians, he died *September* the first, 672, in the 24th year of his reign, to the great and just sorrow of his subjects ^e.

Wamba succeeds by election to the throne of the Visigoths.

As soon as king *Recesuintho* had breathed his last, the bishops and great lords of the court assembled; and being sensible how much the nation might suffer through the want of talents, if that should happen in the successor of so great and good a prince, unanimously cast their eyes upon *Wamba*, a nobleman whose years, whose virtues, and whose great experience in the most arduous public employments, left them nothing in that respect to fear ^f. A new difficulty arose, however, which they had not foreseen; for he not only laboured to decline the honour, but, when he found that this was in vain, declared positively, that he knew himself best, and therefore would not accept the crown ^g. This threw the assembly in-

^a MAR. Hist. Hispan., l. vi. cap. viii. MAYERNE TURQ. FER. ubi sup. ^b ISID. Pascens. ^c ROD. Toletan.

^d LUC. Tndens. ^e ROD. Toletan. VASÆI Chron. ^f MARIAN. Hist. Hispan., l. vi. cap. xiii. MAYERNE TURQ. FER. ubi sup. ^g JULIAN. Hist. de Wambæ Expedit.

to much perplexity, till one of the lords laid his hand upon his sword, and, addressing himself to *Wamba*, told him, that, in their choice of him, they were guided by no private motives, but aimed solely at the public good; that his behaviour was of a very different nature, since it shewed that he preferred his own quiet, and the pleasures of an independent life, to the welfare of his country; that he, who would not contribute, as far as in him lay, to the preservation of the state, was as guilty as he who contrived its ruin; and therefore, if he continued to prefer an indolent security to the cares of a crown, which the public interest, and the legal call of those present, required him to wear, he would sacrifice him upon the spot. The menaces of this nobleman, and the tears of all who were present, overcame the constancy of *Wamba*, who consented to be declared king, but desired they would remember he never sought it; that it was a dignity forced upon him, in which his ambition had no share. He farther desired that his coronation might be respited, till it should appear that their choice was the sense of the whole nation^e. On his return to *Toledo*, he was solemnly anointed and crowned on the 19th September 672, in the church of *St. Peter and St. Paul*, with the universal acclamations of the nobility and people, and, as many historians assert, with a very miraculous instance of the divine favour^f.

THE *Gascons*, according to their usual custom, made an Insurrection, under pretence that they were too heavily taxed; and their neighbours, the inhabitants of the country of *Asturias*, made an insurrection under the like pretence. The king was no sooner informed of this than he disposed every thing for the immediate reduction of the rebels; but his army was scarce in motion before he had intelligence of a more formidable revolt^g. *Hilderic*, count of *Nîmes*, apprehended he had a fair opportunity of rendering himself independent, and master of all the territories the *Goths* possessed in *France*^h. He was confirmed in these notions by two of the most popular ecclesiastics, *Guimilde* bishop of *Maquelone*, and the abbot *Ranimir*, by whose assistance he soon drew over the populace, and found afterwards no great difficulty in corrupting the troopsⁱ. But, in this defection, *Areges*, bishop of *Nîmes*, remained inflexible, and gave the conspirators so much trouble, that they sent him into *France* loaded with chains; and, that they might not be without a bishop, *Ranimir* was

^e LUC. TUDENS.^f JULIAN, Hist. de Wambæ Exposit.^g VASÆI Chron.^h JUL. ubi sup.ⁱ LUC. TUDENS.

put in possession of that see^k. The king being informed that the whole province was departed from its duty, made choice of count *Paul*, an old and experienced officer, and sent him at the head of the best part of his troops against these new rebels. When this general was advanced into the province of *Tarragona*, he consulted with duke *Ranefinde* and the warden *Hiddigife*, who were intrusted with the government there, whether it would not be better for him to set up for himself, and to assume the title of king, as soon as he was master of *Narbonne*; in which wicked design, upon the promise of great advantages and preferment for themselves, they confirmed him by many arguments, and raised, to augment his army, the whole force of the province, under colour of the king's orders^l (X).

General Paul re-volts, and endeavours to make

ON his approach to *Narbonne*, tho' he kept his design as secret as possible, *Argebaud*, bishop of that city, had some suspicion of his intentions, and gave orders for shutting the gates against him; but these orders were not obeyed; and count *Paul*, after he was admitted into the place, reprimanded

^k JULIAN. Hist. de Wambæ Expedit.

^l LUC. Tudeus.

(X) The reader will easily discern that there is no part of this history so clearly, so circumstantially, and with so much certainty, related as this, upon which we are now entering. The reason is, that a complete narrative of this remarkable rebellion was written by the prelate mentioned in the last note, who is sometimes called in Latin *Julianus*, sometimes *Pomerius*, who, A. D. 680, succeeded *Quiricus* in the metropolitan see of *Toledo*, and whose testimony therefore is, in this respect, beyond exception, as he was perfectly capable of treating this subject as it ought to be, and wrote of nothing but what fell under his own immediate observation (2). He is also, with great probability, supposed to be the real author of that an-

tient *Spanish* chronicle, which is usually cited under the title of *Vulsa*, but in the manuscript is intitled *Julse*, which is no more than a cypher, or contracted way of writing *Juliana Sancti Episcopi*; that is, the chronicle of the holy bishop *Julian*, as the *Romanists* call him (3). This chronicle, which is remarkably correct in the dates, and descends only to the coronation of king *Egisa*, is printed in the second volume of the learned cardinal *d'Aguirre's* Councils held in *Spain*. These circumstances it is necessary the reader should know, that he may not apprehend we have bestowed more care or colouring on this than on other parts of our history; whereas, in truth, the difference arises only from our having better materials.

(2) Conf. Du Pin, Hist. Eccles. vol. vi. p. 42. Fabr. Bibl. med. & infim. Latinit. l. ix. vol. iv. p. 582.

(3) Ferr. Hist. Hispan. ubi sup.

manded

manded him for giving them very severely.^m The bishop *himself* submitted, because it was not in his power to do otherwise; *king*. but gave the king privately the best account that he could of all that had happened. Count *Paul* acted with great subtlety and address; he represented *Wamba* as old, peevish, cruel, and altogether unworthy the title he assumed. He pretended to be extremely affected at the miseries that were fallen upon his country, and, in a great assembly of the officers and principal inhabitants, he gave it as his opinion, that nothing could contribute so much to restore the public tranquillity as their making choice of some proper person to be king; with which he had reason to believe that count *Hilderic* would be very well pleased.ⁿ *Ranofinde* and *Hildigise*, by whose advice he took this step, insinuated, in the mean time, to those who were near them, that *Paul* himself, on account of his birth, his wealth, and his great military experience, was the only person worthy of the crown; upon which they saluted him king, and soon after placed on his head a crown, which king *Reccared* the Catholic had dedicated in one of the churches.^o In this strange election *Hilderic* thought fit to acquiesce; and the *Franks*, as their interest directed them, not only suffered *Paul* to raise what men he pleased amongst them, but promised likewise to be his faithful allies, and to furnish him with auxiliaries whenever he thought it necessary.^p The inhabitants of the country of *Catalonia* likewise embraced his party; upon which he gave orders for fortifying several places that were important from their situation, and to occupy the chief passes of the mountains, while he laboured to assemble a regular army, capable of supporting him in his usurpation.^q (Y).

KING

^m JULIAN. Hist. de Wambæ Expedit. ⁿ ROD. Toletan. l. iii. ^o JUL. ubi sup. ^p LUC. Tudenf. ^q ROD. Toletan. l. iii.

(Y) As count *Paul* had, from the very moment he was intrusted with the command of the troops, formed the project of his revolt, so he began to hold secret correspondence with *Hilderic* count of *Nîmes*, and, by the shortness and slowness of his marches, afforded him leisure to complete all that he designed. By the defection of *Ranofinde* duke of *Tarragona*, and his coadjutor, the foundation was laid of *Paul*'s usurpation, who, besides the personal ill qualities he attributed to *Wamba*, pretended that he was set up only by a slender faction, who, under the shadow of an old infirm king, meant to oppress the people, more especially those in the remoter provinces,

Wamba
reduces
Navarre
and Ca-
talonia;
after
which he
passes the
Pyrenees.

Erive Wamba, on the other hand, halted on the frontier of Navarre, and, having called a council of his chief officers, laid before them the accounts that he had received, and demanded their advice. This produced various councils; some were for proceeding with the troops; others thought it better for the king to return to Toledo, in order to assemble an army suitable to the danger, and to the great force of his enemies *. Wamba, who was an old general, had probably taken his resolution before he told them, that when he accepted the crown, he resolved to act as became a king; and that he could not think it consistent with his dignity to turn his back to traitors; that therefore he would first reduce the Gascons, and then pass the Pyrenees *. At the same time he gave orders that all the forces in the adjacent provinces should march to the posts he assigned, and directed his fleet to repair to the coast of France, in order to wait the arrival of himself and his army. When he had done this, he entered Navarre, laid the country waste on every side, and struck such terror into the inhabitants, that, abandoning all sort of defence, they threw themselves upon his clemency *. Wamba told them, that the devastation he had made was the proper recompence of rebellion; and that, since they had altered their conduct, they had nothing farther to fear from him; but that, since they were in arms, he would take them into

* Luc. Tudens.

* Jul. ubi supra.

* Luc. Tudens.

vinces, and thereby enrich themselves (4). The crown that was set upon his head had been offered by King Ricared in the church of St. Felix the Martyr at Gironne, from whence it was fetched upon this laudable occasion. As soon as it encircled his brows, Paul had the insolence not only to use the regal stile in all the orders that he issued, but even to write with an air of saucy impertinence to Wamba himself; a step that those about him thought necessary to raise the spirits of his associates, and to countenance the stories they had already pro-

pagated among the vulgar, that he was a person of a mean extraction, and one who, from holding the plough, was by his party set to manage the helm of the state (5). All of which was notoriously false, his family being very illustrious, his private fortune considerable, and himself employed and confided in during the last three reigns. We need not wonder, these circumstances considered, that, when Paul found his force crushed, he had so little expectation of meeting with any mercy (6).

(4) Luc. Tudens. Rod. Toletan.
Luc. Tudens.

(5) Julian. Hist. de Wamba Expedi.
(6) Rod. Toletan. Jul. ubi sup. Luc. Tudens.

his service. His army, thus recruited, he obliged to observe the most exact discipline, and marched with such diligence, that he appeared before *Barcelona* when he was little expected ^u. The bishop of *Giromie* caused the gates of that strong city also to be thrown open, and presented the king with the keys, and with a letter from *Paul* to himself, directing him to give possession of the city to which king appeared first; at which *Wamba* smiled ^w.

His forces and his fleet having exactly obeyed his orders, *Having* he found himself in a condition to prosecute that war for *forced all* which the rebels thought him only preparing. After three days repose, he divided his army into four bodies, and directed them to pass the *Pyrenees* by three different routes, *the pass-ages, the royal army* himself, at the head of the fourth division, following that *invests* which marched along the coast ^{Nar-}. His generals executed his commands punctually and successfully, without meeting with much resistance. In one place only they found a good fort, and a strong garrison, which they attacked, and, after a vigorous defence, took by storm, and in it duke *Ranofinde* and the warden *Hildigise*, whom they sent to the king with their hands tied behind their backs ^{bonne}. They advanced then to *Sardonía*, where *Witimir*, whom *Paul* had made general of his forces, had a numerous garrison, and every thing requisite for a good defence; but as he judged it more advisable to retire in the night, to carry his master an account of the condition things were in, his troops presently submitted ². The king, finding his army had intirely passed the mountains, assembled all his forces, halted for two days, and, having made the same division as before, directed his generals to march with the utmost diligence to *Narbonne*, himself following with a small guard ³. They pursued his instructions, and quickly invested the place, from which *Paul* was retired to *Nîmes*, leaving the command of all the troops to *Witimir*, who, being summoned to open the gates, returned a rude and insolent answer ^b. The generals of *Wamba*, provoked at this behaviour, and perceiving that it had irritated the army to a degree of madness, resolved to try if it was not possible to take the place by storm; and having proposed this to the army, they offered with joy to begin the attack immediately. The generals then made the necessary dispositions, and the royal army advanced on every side to the assault ^c.

^u *Rop. Tolet. l. iii.*^w *JUL. ubi supra.*² *LUC. Tudens.*^y *Rop. Toletan. l. iii.*^z *JUL. ubi supra.*^a *Rop. Tolet.*^b *JUL. ubi supra.*^c *LUC. Tudens.*

*That city
taken by
storm,
with many
of the re-
bel chiefs.*

WITIMIR, with the rebels under his command, having no hopes left but in victory, since all expectations either of mercy or escape were equally vain, defended themselves with a degree of obstinacy that had been rarely seen, for about three hours; but at length the king's forces having burnt some of the gates, and undermined a part of the walls, entered the city on every side, and made a dreadful slaughter ^d. Witimir, giving all for lost, withdrew with a handful of men into a church, in which they made a desperate resistance. One of the king's soldiers having stunned him with a beam, he was at last taken alive, with most of his principal officers; and, after whipping them through the streets, the next day they were sent prisoners to the king. After the reduction of *Narbonne*, the king, without much difficulty, obliged other cities and great towns to return to their obedience; those who commanded in them retiring with their garrisons to *Nîmes*, where the usurper *Paul* did every thing that an able officer could do to render the place strong, and to inspire his troops with resolution ^e; sometimes complimenting them on the fine appearance they made (for, in effect, he had the whole flower of the province with him); sometimes putting them in mind that the king's army was exceedingly weakened and fatigued; and sometimes assuring them, that prodigious succours were in full march to their relief from *France* and *Germany*. By these and other arts he kept up their spirits so well, that they prepared cheerfully for their defence, and disposed every thing to keep the royal forces as long at a distance from the centre of the place as it was possible, at the same time that they fortified all the interior force, and more especially the arenas of the old *Roman* amphitheatres with the utmost diligence. In short, their industry was such as would have deserved praise in a better cause ^f.

*Paul dis-
poses all
things for
the defence
of Nîmes,
but with-
out effect.*

THE king's forces, after the repose of a few days, appeared before the place in four distinct corps, each commanded by an experienced general, making in all about 30,000 men, and, in a few hours, had completely invested the place. The besieged considered and despised them, as being themselves much more numerous, better armed, and better provided; so that they proposed marching out, and giving them battle; but *Paul* suspecting an ambuscade, persuaded them to act on the defensive ^g. The king's generals, animated by their past success, thought to carry the place

^d JUL. Hist. de Wambæ Expedit.

^f Luc. Tudenf.

^g JUL. ubi supra.

^e ROD. Toletan. l. iiii.

by storm, in the same manner as at *Narbonne*, and attacked it therefore with great fury, but were repulsed with so much loss, that they sent the king intelligence, that, without an immediate supply of *French* troops, they must be obliged to raise the siege. *Wamba*, who foresaw what might happen, had provided a body of ten thousand men, ready to march on the first notice; who, as soon as they received his orders, began to move, and, continuing their route all night, arrived the next day as the army was about to renew the assault ^h. The centinels on the towers of the city gave notice to *Paul* of this reinforcement, which intimidated the garrison not a little. That usurper heard the news not only without emotion, but with a seeming air of satisfaction; and, as he passed from post to post, encouraged his adherents, by telling them, that this was *Wamba's* last effort; that they were now to fight with all their enemies at once, and that these being defeated, they had nothing farther to fear. Having thus revived their courage, the action began with great noise and fury. The dispute lasted long; but at length the *French* mercenaries in *Paul's* pay began to mutiny: they said, that defence was in vain; that the place once taken they should be all put to the sword; and that there was no reason so many brave men should die in the cause of a base usurper ⁱ. This created a great confusion; and the royal army laying hold of that advantage, mounted the walls with ladders, and began to enter the place on all sides: the rebels took it into their heads that they were betrayed by the *Spaniards* that were about *Paul*, whom they killed without mercy, and particularly two of the officers in whom he most confided, close by his side. In this situation *Paul* thought proper to lay aside his crown and his purple robe, and retired with such forces as yet remained firm into one of the antient amphitheatres, where it was impossible they should be easily forced. The night brought on a cessation of arms, and the royal army contented themselves with taking quarters in all parts of the city, where they celebrated their victory, and the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, which happened to be the same day. Things continued in this state for two days; and, on the third, they had notice of the king's approach with the rest of the army ^k.

PAUL and his associates, after mature deliberation, de- Sends Ar-
puted *Argebaud*, metropolitan of *Narbonne*, to implore *Wam- gebaud*,
ba's mercy. He met the king at some distance from the *archbischof*

^h Luc. Tadenf.
ubi supra.

ⁱ Rod. Toletan. l. iii:

^k JULIAN,

of Nar-
bonne, to
implore
Wamba's
mercy.

city, and executed his commission in so pathetic a manner, that the king readily pardoned the whole body of malecontents, but would not hear of extending his clemency to *Paul*, and the chiefs of this dangerous rebellion ^l. When he came in sight of the city, he found the army drawn up in order of battle, which having thanked for their services, he divided them into several corps, and ordered them to take post on the hills round the town, that they might be ready to oppose the *Franks*, in case they should attempt any thing in favour of their allies. But while the army were yet under arms, he ordered *Paul* and his companions to be summoned to come before him ^m. They came accordingly, but in a dismal equipage. *Paul* was on foot, his cloaths torn, and his feet bare; a captain of the king's troops on each side, holding a lock of his hair. As soon as he saw the king, he went and knelt at his feet, at the same time cutting the military belt he wore, inflicting on himself that mark of degradation as a traitor. *Wamba* ordered him and his friends to be put under a strong guard, but dismissed the *Franks*, and other strangers that were with him, freely and without ransom. The spoils that were taken he caused to be restored to the churches and private persons from whom they had been plundered, and directed also the breaches to be carefully repaired, and the dead bodies to be interred ⁿ.

Brought
out, tried,
and sen-
tenced;
but his life
spared.

THE public tranquillity being settled, the king, on the third day, ordered the whole army to be drawn out, and ranged on both sides of a tribunal, on which himself and the principal nobility of the *Goths* were seated; after which he commanded *Paul* and his adherents to be brought before him ^o. As soon as he appeared, the king stood up, and asked him whether he had ever given him any offence, ever done him any injury, or shewn him any mark of displeasure? To this *Paul* answered, that the very contrary was true; that he had always treated him with peculiar marks of favour; that he owed to his confidence the power of raising this rebellion; and that he had nothing to allege in excuse. Those who came with him said the same thing, and mentioned severally the obligations they were under to the king ^p. On this their oaths of allegiance were read, their subscriptions shewn, and then the laws against treason; lastly, the judges stood up, and pronounced sentence of death; but the king, a few minutes after, changed that sentence into their being shaved, and sent to several monasteries, where they might have time to repent

^l Luc. Tudenf.

^m Rod. Toletan.

ⁿ Jul. ubi supra.

^o Rod. Toletan. l. iii.

^p Luc. Tudenf.

of their offences ^q. This was the issue of a rebellion that had endangered the monarchy of the *Visigoths*, and which had been very probably fatal to a monarch of less prudence and less fortitude than *Wamba*, whom they provoked by the incursions of one *Lupus*, a *French* general, who made an irruption for the sake of plunder. *Wamba* contented himself with obliging them to make a precipitate retreat, and, after the miseries to which they had been already subjected, would not expose his people to the danger of a foreign war ^r.

He appointed new officers and new governors throughout the whole province, put strong garrisons into all the fortresses, rewarding his soldiers amply, and recompensing the merit of every officer by preferment. With the rest of his troops he repassed the *Pyrenees*, and continued his march directly towards *Toledo*, into which he made a pompous and triumphant entry, all the soldiers being new-clothed, and their arms in perfect order ^s. In the centre of the troops were several waggons, in which were seated *Paul* and his captains and counsellors, all of them close-shaved, with ragged cloaths and naked feet, and their chief with a dirty leathern crown upon his head. The king closed the procession, surrounded by the nobility, from whom he was distinguished by the majesty of his appearance, his silver hair flowing on his shoulders, and his brow bound with a diadem. The whole city rang with acclamations ^t; and the king having returned thanks to God for having restored peace to his people, dismissed his troops, and applied himself to the regulation of such disorders as time, accident, or corruption, had brought into church or state; for which he was excellently qualified, being perfectly versed in their laws, and having nothing so much at heart as the interests of the kingdom ^u. His first care was for the capital of his dominions; and as *Toledo*, since it became such, was very much increased, he ordered the old city walls to be well repaired, and circumscribed even the suburbs with a new one, which he adorned with the images of saints, and placed also certain inscriptions, which are still remembered, and are said to have been repaired and restored out of respect to their royal founder by king *Philip II.* ^w (Z).

Wamba enters his capital in triumph.
673.

THE

^q JULIAN, ubi supra. ^r ROD. Tolet. ^s LUC. Tudens.
^t JUL. ubi supra, ^u ROD. Tolet. l. iii. ^w LUC. Tudens.
ROD. Toletan. lib. iii. JUL. ubi supra.

(Z) In order to supply stones for this building, it was judged necessary to destroy a noble circus, which had been raised at a vast expence by the *Romans*, which is the reason that, in the walls

Summons

two coun-
cils, one at
Braga, and
the other
at To-
ledo.
674, 675.

THE king summoned two councils in the year 675, one of which was held at Braga^x, the other at Toledo^y, in which many canons were made, chiefly with a view to restore the discipline of the church, and to repress the luxury, pride, and superstition, of the clergy. At first sight this may seem a reflection upon that body; but, if duly considered, we shall find it quite the contrary; for if the bulk of them had not retained a just respect for the essential duties of their function, these laws could not have been made; for luxury would then have been stiled decent splendor, pride the support of ecclesiastical dignity, and superstitious ceremonies elevated devotion^z (A). It is, however, worthy of our

^x Concil. tom. vi. p. 561. Card. d'AQUIRRE Conc. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 673. ^y Conc. tom. vi. p. 601. Conc. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 660. ^z Luc. Tudenf.

walls of Toledo, there appear frequently large and beautiful pieces of marble, and because upon many of these the figures of a rose and a wheel are very elegantly expressed, an opinion prevails amongst the vulgar, that these were the arms of king Wamba; whereas, to a judicious eye, it is evident from their being placed here and there, without any order or symmetry, that there is not the least colour for any such notion. It is reported that the outer wall was fortified with no less than 150 square and semi-circular towers, according to the mode of those times. Upon some of these the following Latin distich was engraved (4).

*Erexit fautore Deo rex inclytus
urbem
Wamba suæ celebrem proten-
dens gentis honorem.*

On the principal towers stood the statues of several saints then most in esteem, in white marble, and on their pedestals were engraved the following Latin lines, which, in those days, it seems, were accounted poetry (5).

*Vos Domini sancti quorum hic
præsentia fulget,
Hanc urbem & plebem solito,
servate favore.*

(A) The first of these, which is commonly stiled the third council of Braga (6), provided, that, in the celebration of the holy mysteries, priests should not make use either of milk or of raisin wine, but should use only bread and wine, mingled with a few drops of water. Priests were restrained from having any other woman than their mothers in their houses, to pre-

(4) *Maximian. Hist. de Hispanis, l. vi. cap. xiv. Luc. Tudenf. ibid.*

(5) *Ibidem*
(6) Concil. tom. vi. p. 561. Card. d'Aquirre, Conc. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 673.

our notice, that we find in neither of these councils the least footsteps of an affair of very great importance with respect to ecclesiastical government, which was nevertheless settled at this time ^a. The bishops, it seems, were some of them apt to encroach upon their neighbours dioceses, which occasioned much jealousy, strife, and disturbance; an application was therefore made to the king for the remedy of this grievance, which was effected by describing and setting out the limits of all the dioceses in *Spain*, which seems to have been done by a royal commission ^b. This sufficiently shews his attention to one essential point of government. We shall see that this did not, however, so wholly occupy his mind, as to hinder him from providing for the safety of his subjects, and supporting the glory of his crown, in another respect, of which we find little notice taken in the reign of his predecessors ^c (B).

THE

^a FERR. Hist. Hispana, p. iii. sect. vii.

^b LUC. Tudens.

^c VAS. Chron.

vent an indecent resort of females to visit their sisters or other relations, who were hitherto permitted to reside with them. Restraint was laid on the bishops, that they should not, for the future, be carried in a chair to church by four deacons, but that they should walk to church, attended by the clergy and people. They were likewise forbidden to order priests, abbots, and other ecclesiastics, to be whipped for every slight offence; and, if they did, were to be excommunicated and exiled. The latter, which is styled the eleventh council of *Toledo* (7), was opened November the 7th, 675. There were made in this council fifteen canons; the first of which is very remarkable, and to this effect: *Such as are members of this, or of any other council, shall behave*

with the utmost modesty, and speak with the greatest decency, observing at other times a perfect silence, and, by a strict attention, testify their respect to the plate they are in. Whenever they are called upon to speak, they shall deliver themselves with much circumspection, without any variation from truth, without any strokes of ill-nature, without unnecessary tautologies, that create confusion, and without affecting to be witty, where the business was solid and grave. The rest of the canons relate to ecclesiastical discipline, and contain nothing curious, or of any great importance.

(B) The regulating exactly ecclesiastical discipline in *Spain*, by a distinct description of the bishopricks, and placing them under their respective metropolitans, to whom *Mariana* always gives the title of archbishops,

(7) Conc. tom. vi. p. 601. Conc. Hist. tom. ii. p. 660.

A decisive
victory
gained by
his fleet
over that
of the Sa-
racens.

THE *Saracens*, at that time, not only disturbed the continent with their armies, but harrassed likewise the whole *Mediterranean* with their fleets, and were particularly troublesome on the coasts of *Spain*^d. The king, who had a good naval force, disposed of it in so judicious a manner, that the infidels found themselves very much curbed thereby, which induced them to assemble their whole force, that they might at once crush that of *Spain*^e. When they came to make the experiment, however, they found themselves mistaken; the skill of the *Goths* defending them from being oppressed by superior numbers, infomuch that, after a long and obstinate engagement, the *Saracens* were totally defeated, and, besides a number of slaves that were taken, lost 270 vessels of all sizes^f. Some have thought this number excessive; but if we consider that they had no ships of great burthen, and reflect on the great number of men they sometimes transported, we need not be surpris'd at hearing of fleets of several hundred sail, because, in those days, they had not ships of war, properly speaking, but employed in such expeditions almost every vessel that was fit to put to sea^g. This was a point of very great consequence, and very probably delayed for some time the disorders and distress to which the people of *Spain* were afterwards reduced, and from which they might always have been defended, if the successors of

^d MARISOT Orbis Mar. l. ii. cap. 3.

^e VAS. Chron.

^f ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.

^g MARISOT, ubi sup.

was one of the most remarkable acts of *Wamba's* administration; and an extract of this regulation may be found in the historian before-mentioned, who compares it with another made in the time of *Constantine the Great* (8). It may be sufficient here to observe, that the six metropolitan sees were *Toledo*, *Seville*, *Merida*, *Braga*, *Tarragona*, and *Narbonne*, the capital of that province which the *Goths* still retained on the other side of the *Pyrenees*. What is principally to be observed in respect to this affair is, that the

whole was done by the king's authority, without the least intimation to, or communication with, the pope, or even the intervention or approbation of a council of *Spanish* bishops; so that it is clear, in things temporal, which the limitation of episcopal jurisdiction is allowed to be, the supremacy was acknowledged in the *Gothic* kings in as large an extent as it hath been any-where enjoyed, since the propagation of the Christian faith has been promoted and supported by civil authority.

(8) *Maxima Hist. Hisp.* l. vi. cap. xv, xvi. *Maxima Turquetta*, l. v. *Ferreras, Hist. Hispan.* p. iii. sect. vii.

Wamba had in any thing, except the title, resembled him ^h.

WHILE the thoughts of this great monarch were intirely ^{Deprived of his king-} taken up with arduous affairs of state, there was one near him, who, not out of pity to that indefatigable prince, but ^{dom by the} purely to gratify his own ambition, was studying how to re- ^{artifice of} move him out of the throne, and to seat himself in his ^{Erviga, or} place. This was *Erviga*, the son of *Ardabastus*, and, as is ^{Ervigio.} generally supposed, the great grandson of *Hermenigilde* ⁱ. He saw with displeasure, that, through his temperance and constant exercise, *Wamba*, notwithstanding his great age, enjoyed a firm state of health; and he was not thoroughly assured, if he had patience even to his death, that, upon a full and free election, he should be chosen his successor. He ^{A.D. 680.} framed, therefore, to carry his point, a plot very ingenious, though at the same time very base; for he gave a kind of intoxicating potion to the king, by which he was thrown into a senseless and stupefied condition, and, while he was in this state, he caused him, according to the custom of those times, to be shaved, and put into a habit of penitence ^k. The king, when he came to himself, dissembled his surprize, and the suspicion he entertained of the usage which he had received. He knew it was impossible, according to the laws, to resume his dignity; and, preferring the peace of his subjects to every other consideration, he recommended, by a writing under his hand, *Erviga* for his successor, to prevent, what he saw plainly would otherwise have happened, a civil war ^l. After this he retired peaceably to a monastery, where he spent several years in a life of the strictest devotion; and, after having shewn that he was not ambitious of a crown, and that none was more worthy to wear it, he left to posterity a glorious demonstration, that he could part with it likewise without losing that peace of mind which so much surpasses the regal title, and all the prerogatives annexed to it ^m (C).

ERVIGA

^h FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ⁱ ISID. Pacens. ^k ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudenf. Roder. Tolet. l. iii. ^l ISID. Pacens. ^m MARIANA, Hist. Hispana, l. vi. c. 14. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

(C) Some writers assure us, that this treason of *Erviga* was very far from being an hasty thought; and that, on the contrary, he had been before practising schemes less successful indeed, but not less villainous (g). In short, they ascribe to him

(g) Julian. Chron. Isid. Pacens. Alphons. Magn.

the

Who succeeds him in the throne, is crowned, and his title confirmed by a council.

ERVIGA was declared king in virtue of *Wamba's* nomination, approved by the *Gothic* nobility Monday October the sixteenth, in the year six hundred and eighty, and was anointed and crowned on Sunday the twenty-second of the same month, by *Julian*, metropolitan of *Toledo*. As, thro' the care of his predecessor, he found the affairs of *Spain* in very good order, so his accession was in every respect more peaceable, and more generally acquiesced in, than he could well have hoped; yet either some murmurings there were of the artifice by which *Wamba* had been removed, or the king's suspicions made him so uneasy, that he resolved to call a council to sanctify his title, and to make some laws which he thought might be beneficial to the state^a. This assembly was opened on the ninth of *January* in the succeeding year, and continued sitting till the twenty-fifth of the same month, in which space they made several canons or laws relative to civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs, very proper to quiet the minds of people, and to make the crown sit light on the head

^a Conc. tom. vi. p. 1221. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 681.

the attempt made by the *Moors*, whom he solicited to come into *Spain*, in hopes of being put at the head of an army to oppose them, which might have facilitated his design upon the crown (1). After this miscarried, he perceived that prince *Theodofred*, the younger brother of the late king *Recesuinto*, was now of a proper age to govern the kingdom, and had an interest amongst the nobility, at least equal, if not superior, to his own, which put him under insurmountable difficulties (2). It is asserted, that it was a piece of poisonous cane, soaked in the water he drank, that had this sad effect; and that *Julian*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, was made the instrument of deposing king *Wamba*, without being at all privy to the design; for,

finding him, after the administration of the sacrament, totally without sense or voice, he consented to the shaving, and dressing him in a religious habit, as thinking it impossible he should recover (3). The whole of this transaction happened on Sunday the fourteenth of October, and the very next day *Ervinga* was declared king (4). *Wamba* recovered his senses in little more than twenty-four hours; and, looking upon this as an admonition from heaven to bend his thoughts for the future to the concerns of another life, caused himself to be removed to the monastery of *Pampliega*, and left his successor to enjoy the splendor, and to struggle with the cares, of a crown (5).

(1) *Mariana, Hist. Hispan., l. vi. cap. 14. Chron.*

(3) *Idor. Pacens.*

(5) *Luc. Tudens.*

(2) *Lucas Tudens. V. sai*

(4) *C. ncil. Tolet. xii. Can. 1.*

of the new monarch * (D). To render their endeavours still more effectual, and to remove, if possible, the heart-burnings of *Wamba's* family, he gave his daughter *Cixilona* in marriage to *Egiza*, his nephew and heir; but, notwithstanding all these precautions, and one cannot easily conceive how more could well be taken, a war broke out; but whether this A.D. 683. happened through an irruption of the *Gascons*, by an insurrection in the *Galic* province, or through an invasion of the *Moor*s, we cannot determine P. But this we know from the most authentic testimony, the positive declaration of the prelates and grandees in the next general council, that some great convulsion there was, and that the king *Erviga* had behaved therein with great courage and conduct, by which

° RODERIC Tolet. l. iii.
Magn. Chron. LUC. TUDENS.

° ISID. PACENS. ALPHONS.

(D) This twelfth council of *Toledo* was opened by a short speech made by the king, in which he told them, that his design of calling them together was, to engage them to confirm his title, and to make such other canons as they should think expedient, on the perusal of certain papers which he left with them (6). According to the king's desire, the first canon declared him the lawful monarch of the *Goths*, and, in support of his title, offered three reasons: The first, that king *Wamba* was shaved, and had taken the habit of a religious man during his sickness, so that he was incapable of resuming the crown; the second, that, in the presence of the great lords of the court, and with their consent, *Wamba* had declared him his successor; and, lastly, because *Julian*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, had made a strict inquiry into the legality of his election, before he proceeded to the cere-

mony of his coronation. By the second canon, they forbade absolving from the vow of penitence, upon any pretence whatever, those, who, during sickness, and even though deprived of their senses, had taken a religious habit; but enjoined them to satisfy precisely the vows which in that condition they had made. They suppressed the bishoprick of *Aquis*, which had been erected by king *Wamba*; they gave the metropolitan of *Toledo* leave to name, with the consent of the king, to the vacant bishopricks in *Spain*, or rather to consecrate such as were elected; they restored such as had been declared infamous, for not attending king *Wamba* in his expedition against the rebels in *France*; and they confirmed, renewed, and directed to be strictly put in force, all the laws made against the *Jews*, with several other canons relating to ecclesiastical discipline.

(6) Conc. tom. vi. p. 1221. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 681. Mariana, Mayenne Turquet, Ferreras.

his subjects were again restored to peace, for which they offered him the tribute of their most grateful acknowledgements ⁹.

*Governs
with ini-
misable
prudence
and public
spirit.*

As *Erviga* had a numerous family by his queen *Laibigotona*, and as he was very apprehensive of their safety in case of his demise, he laboured all that was in his power to gain the affections of his subjects. It was with this view that he meditated within himself on every thing that could give the people disquiet or satisfaction, and studied all the means possible by which the one might be removed, and the other procured; believing, that whatever dislike or prejudice they might at first have conceived against him, they must be gradually moved by this conduct, and with well to a prince who made their happiness more his study than almost any of his predecessors; and, to carry these his good intentions into execution, he held two other general councils in the course of his reign ¹ (E). By a steady perseverance in this laudable

A.D. 684.

⁹ Concil. Tolet. xiii. Can. 4: ' RODERIC Tolet. l. iii. Conc. tom. vi. p. 1253. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 694. Conc. tom. vi. p. 1279. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 717.

(E) In the next general council, the five first canons out of thirteen relate intirely to civil affairs (7). By the first, the accomplices in the revolt to *Paul*, who had been declared infamous, and deprived of their estates, are restored to both, through the king's clemency; and from the same motive the like favour is granted to all such as were punished in the time of king *Cbintika* for the like offence. In the second, it is recited, that whereas in times past kings had deprived some great lords of the dignity of palatines, in right of which they voted at elections; had condemned them to death and perpetual infamy, without hearing their justification; the coun-

cil, therefore, to prevent such crying acts of oppression, prohibited any palatine or bishop to be degraded, deprived of his goods, or condemned to be whipped, before the bishops, great lords, and wardens, shall have taken knowlege of his offence, who, in case they find him guilty, shall punish him according to law. As the people were indebted great sums to the public treasury for the arrears of taxes, in the third canon the king's remission of all that was due before his accession is confirmed. In their fourth canon, after acknowledging the great obligations they have to the king, they forbid, under pain of excommunication, any person, of what rank soever, to do

(7) Conc. tom. vi. p. 1253. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 694. *Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.*

able course, he so far carried his point, that whatever distaste some great persons might have, they were obliged to conceal them, the clergy and greatest part of the nobility, and the common people in general, being well affected to his government. In his time, however, there happened a grievous famine, which was followed by an epidemic distemper that carried off great numbers of people *. The *Jerus* also, encouraged by the lenity of this reign, began to behave with some degree of insolence, and to multiply exceedingly, so as to give the clergy great apprehensions; but the moderation of the king was so great, that it does not appear he was ever moved to treat them with any extraordinary degree of rigour †.

A.D. 686.

At length, after having worn a crown rather for the service of others than himself, and having every-where procured more tranquillity than in his own breast, the king found himself attacked by a disease that left him very little room to hope for recovery †. This induced him to set his affairs in order while there was yet time. He began with appointing *Egiza*, the nephew and heir of king *Wamba*, his successor, on the fourteenth of *August* six hundred eighty-seven, having obliged him to swear he would do justice to all whom he might have inadvertently wronged. This done, he sent for the nobility into his presence, released them from their oath of allegiance, ordered himself to be shaved, and dressed in a habit of penitence, by which *Egiza* entered into the possession of the government, and soon after *Erviga* breathed his last, in the eighth year of his reign †. His predecessor *Wamba*, being still living in his convent, and having the satisfaction of seeing this prince obliged to take for his own security that step into which he had betrayed him, and to place the crown, while he was yet living, upon the head of that very person for whom it had been designed by himself; and which was perhaps another point of happiness †, he did not live long enough to see the untoward consequences

Seized with a malignant disease, and resigns the crown in his lifetime.

688.

* ISID. PACENS.

† FERRERAS.

‡ JULIAN. in

Chron.

‡ ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.

* ISID.

PACENS. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.

any evil to his wife, his children, his sons or daughters-in-law, in their persons, dignities, or estates. The fifth canon forbids any person to espouse the widow of the king, or to live

in an infamous familiarity with her; and whoever, say the council, shall dare so to do, even tho' it should be the king himself, his name shall be rased out of the book of life.

that

that followed from this disposition of the crown, from the implacable resentment which the new king preserved against all who had the least share in that ill usage which the old monarch had met with. But how long he survived his successor, and whether he gave his nephew any advice as to the management of public affairs, though mentioned by *Mariana*², is notwithstanding very uncertain. But so great was his reputation for wisdom and piety in succeeding times, that a potent *Spanish* monarch caused his body to be removed, and reinterred with honour (F).

Egiza
ascends the
throne
peaceably,
in virtue
of this re-
signation.

WE find no difficulty or disturbance made on the accession of *Egiza*, who without doubt was very acceptable to a great part of the nation, on account of the great reverence he always paid to his uncle *Wamba*, notwithstanding the alliance he had contracted with the family of the prince then upon the throne; but it is not at all probable, that, by the advice of the old monarch, he parted with his queen as soon as he found himself settled in the regal dignity^a, because there is no authentic proof of this; and because, in the canons made by the councils held in his reign, there are many circum-

^Y FERR. Hist. de Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

Hispana, l. vi. cap. 18.

in loc. sup. citat.

^a Historia

^a MARIANA, Historia Hispana,

(F) This wise and religious monarch, after spending very near as much time in the privacy of a convent as in the pleasures of a palace, deceased at length, full of years and glory, and with a high reputation for his virtue and sanctity, at *Pampliega*, the place of his retreat, and was buried in the church of that monastery. But *Don Alphonso the Wise* directed his body, as well as his predecessor king *Recefuintho*, to be taken up, and brought to *Toledo* (8). Father *John Martinez*, of the order of *Franciscans*, and bishop of *Guadix*, who was charged with this order, performed it with all the decency

and respect imaginable; so that his remains being deposited in the church of *St. Leocadia*, a sumptuous tomb was erected over them, on the left hand of the high altar, over-against the tomb of king *Recefuintho*, whose bones were interred on the right side of the altar, where they have remained in peace ever since (9); except that *Philip* the second, in the year one thousand five hundred seventy-five, caused these tombs to be opened, and found the bones of both kings wrapped in cotton, and deposited in chests of wood, without any inscription whatever (1).

(8) *Ibid. Pacens. Luc. Tudens. Roderic. Tolet. Valsei Chron.*

veras, Hist. de Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

pana, lib. vi. c. 14.

(9) *Fer-*

(1) *Mariana, Historia de His-*

stances which render this suggestion very improbable, to which we may add his associating the only son he ever had by her in the government^b. But it is nevertheless very certain, that he was far enough from approving the measures of the last reign, and of this we have authentic evidence in the scruples he proposed to the first council which was held at *Toledo* after his accession to the throne, and which indeed seems to have been assembled chiefly on this account. The number of the prelates and of the great lords that sat therein was very considerable, tho' not so numerous as in some councils; but as there had been several lately held, it was not likely that many things of importance would be brought before them^c.

THIS assembly met on the eleventh of *May* six hundred eighty-eight. King *Egiza*, at his first entrance, saluted them, and, without desiring any confirmation of his title, said, that he had some scruples upon his mind which regarded the government of the kingdom, and which he had called them together to decide^d. These scruples regarded the oaths he had taken, which appeared to him contradictory. On the marriage of his queen, he had sworn, agreeable to a canon, to protect the widow of his predecessor, his children, his sons-in-law, and his daughters-in-law^e. At the time of his coronation he had sworn to do justice to all his subjects; and as he was informed that the late king had degraded several of the nobility who were most attached to king *Wamba*, and had deprived them of their estates illegally which he had bestowed upon his family, he was at a loss to know how far he was bound by his first oath to protect the family of the deceased king against those who, in virtue of the second, demanded justice, and the restitution of those estates that had been iniquitously taken from them. He assured them, that he was desirous of keeping both these oaths as far as it was possible, and desired their sentiments upon this head, that some rule might be established, in case any thing of the like nature happened for the future.

AFTER mature deliberation, the fathers in council declared, that the first oath could not oblige the king, but so far as it was not contrary to justice: that right was to be done to all the world, and that therefore *Egiza* was not to support his mother-in-law and his brothers-in-law against

^b ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.

Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 721.

ubi supra.

^f ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.^c Conc. tom. vi. p. 1294.^d A&C. Concil. Tolet. xv.^e FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

any others than those who set up ill-founded claims and unjust demands. They added, that the oath, if taken in favour of his subjects, could not oblige them any farther than justice required, and that the extent of this was to be determined by the judges^g. This great point settled, the council separated; nor was there any thing of importance done, except vindicating their president *Julian*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, against the pope, who pretended to question the orthodoxy of certain expressions that had been used in explaining mysteries of a high nature; and, in doing this, the council acted very roundly, not only without shewing the least submission to him, but even with a visible air of distaste at his conduct; yet at *Rome* they were so far from resenting this, as in later times, that the decision of the council was received as satisfactory, and the dispute thenceforward buried in oblivion^h. The good archbishop did not survive two years, and then left behind him a character for learning and piety, which has rendered his name venerable ever since, not only amongst his own nation, but throughout the whole literary worldⁱ.

Sisebert,
metropolitan of
Toledo, con-
spires
against the
king and
royal fa-
mily.

His successor in the see of *Toledo* was *Sisebert*, who is supposed to have been a person of very high rank and quality amongst the *Goths*, but he was withal a man insolently proud and extravagantly ambitious, which put him, within two years after he had received this extraordinary favour, upon one of the boldest acts of ingratitude, as well as one of the rankest conspiracies, that ever entered into the heart of man^k. In a word, the scheme he had formed was, to cut off the king, the queen, and all their children; and his interest was so extensive, his address so great, and his intrigues so well laid, that he had gained a multitude of people of all ranks to abet even so wicked and traitorous a design^l. Yet he could not manage his affairs so cunningly, but that the king had notice of his schemes, which he defeated by causing his person to be secured; and, tho' some of his partisans actually broke out into rebellion, yet the king, by his prudent management, and by attending in time to the suppression of their attempts, quickly restored the tranquillity of the kingdom; and then summoned a council of *Toledo*, to judge of the punishment proper to be inflicted on this turbulent prelate. His cause was accordingly heard; and he

^g Acta Concil. prædict.
pana, P. iii. sect. 7.
p. 596.
let. xvi.

^k VASÆI Chron.

^h FERRERAS, Historia His-
p. 596.
CAVE, Hist. Literaria, tom. i.
Aët. Concil. To-

was deposed, for having conspired against the life of the king, the queen, and their children^m; which was as far as they could go, for he was still left to the king's prosecution in the ordinary course of justice, who, out of respect to his dignity and character, was content, notwithstanding his enormous offence, to banish him out of his dominionsⁿ.

BEFORE the close of the year, the discovery of a new con-^{The Jews}spiracy constrained the king to assemble another council. This^{contrive}scheme was as deep-laid and as dangerous as the former; for^{an insur-}the Jews, who were scattered throughout all the provinces,^{rection,} had concerted a general insurrection, and, in consequence^{and invite}of their intelligence with others of their own nation in Africa,^{an inva-}were in hopes of being strong enough, with the help of these foreign auxiliaries, to shake off the yoke. The king, by his vigilance, prevented this rebellion from breaking out; and the council, which met on the ninth of November six hundred ninety-four, decreed, that all Jews, who, after baptism, should either return to their old religion, or conspire against the king, should be made slaves, and lose all their effects^{son.}. They farther prohibited the permitting these people for the future the public exercise of their religion; and directed their children should be taken from them at seven years of age, in order to be brought up Christians^p. It is very probable that this might contribute to prevent their breaking out into rebellion; but certainly it could have no great effect towards removing their disaffection to a government that treated them with so much severity. We have not, however, any distinct account of the manner in which this law was carried into execution, or of any farther steps taken by the king to keep them in subjection; tho' we may naturally conclude, from the disposition of this prince, and from the circumstances of the nation, that this was not omitted^q.

THE Saracens in Africa having conquered the best part^{A war by}of Mauritania, and having a good fleet upon the coast to^{sea with}attend the motions of their army on shore, Egiza thought^{the Sara-}it a point of prudence to fit out a navy for the defence of his dominions. This was accordingly done, under the command^{which the}of Theodomir, who is on probable grounds believed to have^{Goths are}been either the son or the son-in-law of this monarch, being one of the persons devoted to destruction by Sisebert's con-^{victorious.}

^m Conc. tom. v. p. 1327. Conc. Hispana, tom. ii. p. 735.
ⁿ VASÆI Chron. ^o Act. Concil. Tolet. xvii. ^p Conc.
 tom. vi. p. 1361. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 752. ^q VASÆI
 Chron.

spiracy¹. The young prince had not been long at sea, before the infidels, confident of their own strength, and despising the youth and inexperience of the young admiral, attacked the *Goths*, which brought on a general engagement; and this, after an obstinate dispute, ended in a decisive victory in favour of the latter, by which *Theodimir* delivered *Spain* from its present apprehensions, and disappointed the hopes of those who wished for a foreign invasion, to give weight to their secret conspiracies, from which *Egiza*, thro' the whole course of his reign, was seldom or never free; yet it was not long before the expectations of the malecontents were revived by a war that broke out with the *French*².

*Rupture on
the side of
France
likewise,
which
however is
soon over.*

It is not very clear what the motives were to this rupture, or indeed with whom it happened; for at this juncture the kings of *France* had so little real power, that they could not much disturb their neighbours; so that it is generally supposed, and in regard to this war we have no better light than conjectures, that the dukes of *Aquitain* and *Gascony*, having in a great measure rendered themselves independent, made an irruption into *Spain*, or rather into the *Gallic* province that belonged to *Spain*, which obliged *Egiza* to send a considerable army into those parts³. In the course of this war there were no less than three battles fought, in which the *Goths* had no advantage, and the *French* were also no great gainers, which made both parties so weary of the war, that, as it rose, so it ceased gradually; and *Egiza*, by keeping good garrisons on his frontiers, discouraged those invaders from repeating their visits; with which he was so well satisfied, that it does not appear he ever acted offensively against these enemies⁴. It is probable, that one principal cause of his moderation was, his being grown far into years, and the strong desire he had of seeing the tranquillity of his dominions thoroughly established before his death. With this view he proposed to the nobility associating his son *Witiza* with him in the government, that, amidst so many perils, the kingdom might run no unnecessary hazard by those disorders which almost constantly happened upon a vacancy of the throne. His arguments had so much weight with them, that they readily yielded to his request; and the old king thereupon sent his son into *Galicia*, where he kept his court in the city of *Tuy*, that, having the administration of a province in his own hands, he might be accustomed to business, and be more capable of ruling the *Goths* when he

¹ ISID. Pacens. ² ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. ³ FERR.
Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ⁴ VASÆI Chron.

became the sole monarch of so potent a nation, and of so extensive a dominion as they at this time enjoyed ^w. The design was certainly worthy the wisdom of *Egiza*; and, if it had not all the consequences that he expected, it was no greater a disappointment than might attend whatever plan a finite understanding could devise, as being more especially impeded by accidents he could not foresee, and which he could not have prevented if he had foreseen ^z.

THE king, as it became a wise prince, when he perceived that his son's great abilities and many amiable qualities had gained him the affections of the people, resolved to sanctify what had been already done with the consent of the nobility by the approbation of a council, which he caused to be summoned for that purpose at *Toledo*, in which *Felix*, metropolitan of that city, presided ^y, but the acts of it are unfortunately lost. We should have had no memorial of this assembly at all, but for the care of some ancient historians, who have barely mentioned the place where it was held, and given us some light as to the reason the king had for holding it, which, it seems, it effectually answered; but whether any thing more of moment was done therein, or of what nature, they are silent who could have informed us, and have put us under a necessity of being silent likewise ^z. This was one of the last public acts of *Egiza's* reign, and must in all probability have afforded him very high satisfaction, as it gave him a fair prospect of securing to his son a peaceable entrance into the government, and to his subjects the quiet enjoyment of that felicity which it had been his study to procure for them during the continuance of a long and prosperous reign ^a.

THE weight of years, and the load of those infirmities which accompany them, brought *Egiza* to his grave in a very short time after, that is to say, in the month of *October* in the year seven hundred ^b, or, as others assert, and perhaps with reason, in the preceding year ^c. Some, but these are for the most part modern writers, accuse this monarch of cruelty, especially at the entrance of his reign; which cannot, however, be easily reconciled to the high commendations for his clemency, bestowed upon him by several councils, which, if they had been contrary to truth, must have

^w ISID. PACENS. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. ^z RODERIC. Tolet. l. iii. LUC. TUDENS. VASÆI Chron. ^y ISID. PACENS. ^a FERRERAS, Hist. de Hispania, P. iii. sect. 7. ^b VULS. Chron. ^c RODERIC. Tolet.

been equally injurious to them and to him^d. Besides, it is certain, that, not long after his accession, he pardoned, and restored to the rank of a lord of the palace, *Theudemond*, a nobleman, whom his uncle *Wamba* had banished and degraded^e. It is also universally allowed, that he was a prince of great piety, that he lessened the weight of taxes, and that he was very strict in the administration of justice. The notion that has prevailed of his having repudiated his queen at his first coming to the crown, seems to have no other foundation than the mistaking the true sense of a canon made by one of the councils at *Toledo*; and, tho' it is countenanced by so great a writer as *Mariana*, is very justly rejected by *Ferreras*. Upon the whole, he was a vigilant and victorious monarch, laboured incessantly to bring things into good order, and, as far as it was possible, to provide the best remedies for those evils which he could not eradicate^f. His reputation and his power preserved his kingdom in peace, and the people of *Spain* in such wealth and plenty, that the luxury this produced, proved very soon after fatal to their safety, but ought not to prove so to his reputation. He without question hoped they would have made a better use of that abundance which they accumulated from the happy situation and rich produce of their country, and from the wisdom and lenity of his administration, which did not fall in any degree short of that of his predecessor^g.

Witiza's
actions, at
the begin-
ning of his
reign, gain
the hearts
of his sub-
jects.

WITIZA was no sooner informed of his father's death, than, leaving *Tuy*, he repaired to *Toledo*, where he began his reign with such extraordinary acts of goodness and clemency, as gained him the affections of his subjects to a degree of adoration. He granted, in the first place, an act of general amnesty, recalled all that had been banished by his father on the score of their infidelity to *Wamba*, or having had a share in the conspiracy of *Sisebert*, metropolitan of *Toledo*. He not only recalled them, and restored them to their estates, but likewise reversed every thing that had been done against them, which put them into full possession of their former honours^h. He was not content with doing this, but, being desirous that all ranks and degrees of his people should feel the effects of his generous disposition, he caused all the registers and books of account, in which there were any en-

^a FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 8.

^c ISID. PACENS. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. JULIAN. Chron. in Appendix.

^f ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.

^g ISID. PACENS. VASÆI Chron.

^h MARIANA, Hist. Hispana, l. vi. c. 19. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. viii.

tries of fines, impositions, or taxes, remaining due to the crown, to be thrown into the fire, and so released them all at once^l. We need not wonder that such a prince as this was excessively commended; nor is it at all strange that these excessive commendations had a bad effect upon a young man of a gentle, generous, and debonair disposition. Yet we cannot imagine it happened all at once, or that, from his behaving with the greatest moderation, kindness, and tenderness, towards his people, he should immediately become vicious and profligate in the most extreme degree^k. This must certainly appear very improbable; and, as no authority is brought to support this charge, there is the greatest reason to believe that it is ill founded; and that, if *Witiza* became in reality such a monster as he is reported, he sunk gradually into vices and debaucheries as other men do.

IN the first year of his reign, he held a general council at *Toledo*¹, in which *Gunderic*, metropolitan of that see, pre-^{The pope's supremacy rejected in the 18th council of Toledo,} sided; a prelate universally extolled for his piety, and, which is still more remarkable, for his zeal and fortitude in opposing the king in his ill courses, and remonstrating to him the bad effects his vices would have in weakening his government, and corrupting his subjects^m. Such a man could not be suspected of countenancing wicked actions, and much less of giving them credit by the decrees of such an assembly, the acts of which are long ago destroyed; but if, in this council, an attempt made by the pope to settle his jurisdiction in *Spain* was rejected with contempt, and treated as a usurpation, we may easily find a reason why the acts of this council were either destroyed, or with-held from the lightⁿ. If, in the same assembly, any canon was made for allowing secular priests to marry, we may easily apprehend that this did not arise from any intention of indulging, but rather from a desire of repressing, the corruption of the clergy. We can likewise easily see, that, as things now stand, and have long stood, in *Spain*, it is by no means fit that any such canon should appear; and this will account, to any unprejudiced mind, for the methods in which these facts are related in the *Spanish* histories^o.

WE must, however, admit, if we will give credit to the *Witiza* unanimous voice of the *Spanish* historians in these and in suc-^{becomes}

^l ISID. PACENS.^k ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC.

TUDENS. RODERIC Tolet. l. iii.

¹ ISID. PACENS. CARD.

d'AGUIRRE, Concil. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 763.

^m ISIDOR.

PACENS.

ⁿ See Dr. GEDDES's treatise.^o MAR.

Hist. de Hispana, lib. vi. cap. 19.

*dissolute in
the most
extreme de-
gree, and is
generally
based.*

ceeding times, that, within a short time after the decease of his father, *Witiza* suffered himself to be seduced by his natural propensity to pleasure, by the base insinuations of flattering courtiers, and by that smiling prospect of prosperity that had attended his father's virtues and his own, to digress from that path which he had hitherto trod, and to make excursions unworthy of a wise man and a great prince. In short, he gradually gave way to sensual inclinations, till at last he abandoned himself wholly to women, which in him had its usual effects, that is, it increased his desire of commanding, in proportion as it weakened his understanding. From being dissolute only, he quickly became unjust; and, having deserted his queen's bed, he invaded the beds of other men; a crime, which, however common among princes, is notwithstanding the most compendious method of filling up their iniquities, and conducts them by the very shortest cut from general esteem to universal execration. *Gunderic* told him this early; but *Witiza* was not to be restrained; he was misled by those transports of loyalty which he had beheld in his people, simply imagined they would keep their duty when he forgot his own, and that the fervour which his virtues had raised would not be extinguished even by his vices. But in the space of a few years he found his mistake, and that a persuasion of his having lost his people's hearts encouraged some to think of arming their hands against him; which discovery, instead of convincing him of the necessity of regaining their good opinions, by taking a contrary course, prompted him to another vice, more hateful than the former, which was cruelty; a step, which, as it made him a much worse man, made him so much the more hated. In all countries, sooner or later, like causes will produce the same effects, but their operations are soonest perceived amongst a free people: slaves have indeed resentment, and a dangerous resentment, but then it is silent; whereas amongst a free people, those who are injured complain.

*His sense
of this
renders
him also
cruel and
suspicious.*

In the train of his debauches, he came at length to have as little regard for decency or honour as for the dictates of his conscience, or the laws of his country; so that the daughters and wives of the most distinguished persons about his court entered as frequently into the number of his concu-

* ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LXX. Tudens. RODERIC Tol. l. iii.

VASÆI Chron. sect. 8,

† ISID. Pacens. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.

W FERRERAS Hist. de Hispana, P. iii.

bines, as the irregularity of his passions led him to cast his eyes upon them preferably to others*. By this imprudent as well as impudent procedure, he provoked those who were most able to hurt him; but, having intelligence of the first conspiracies that were raised against him, he delivered himself by exiling such as he had most reason to suspect. Amongst these were some princes of the royal family, particularly *Theodofred*, the brother of king *Recesuintho*, whom he sent to *Cordova*, where some say he caused his eyes to be put out, that he might be in no condition of mounting the throne, which however is not to be depended upon; with him went his son *Roderic*, who actually succeeded *Witiza*†. At this time also it is believed he banished *Pelagius*, who is generally held to be the son of *Favila*, who was likewise brother to king *Recesuintho*. If we speak doubtfully of these genealogies, it is that we may avoid misleading the reader; for we make no question at all that these were princes, that is, descended from crowned heads among the *Visigoths*, but from whom, and in what degree, is very uncertain, and so it ought to be understood. *Mariana* would have us believe, that, while *Witiza* resided at *Tuy*, he killed *Favila*, the father of *Don Pelagius*, with a blow of a baton, or commanding staff, at the time this prince was captain of his guard, which, as we have elsewhere observed, does by no means agree with those high and universal praises bestowed upon *Witiza* at his accession to the throne*.

He is also said to have done other strange, wicked, and even wild actions, which are many of them improbable, and some of them impossible. Among the first may be reckoned a law he is said to have made, permitting his subjects to have as many wives as they pleased; and another for breaking to pieces and destroying arms of every kind, under pretence that he would render them needless, by maintaining his people in constant peace; towards which, this would have been a very foolish step*. Amongst the latter, we may justly range another law, said to be of his making, for dismantling every town in his dominions, except the cities of *Toledo*, *Tuy*, and *Astorga*, which could not be true, because the *Moors* found many of them very well fortified, and were put to a great deal of trouble in reducing them. We have no intention to extenuate his vices, or apologize for his con-

Said to be guilty of various foolish and ridiculous actions, which are very improbable.

* ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. RODERIC Toletan. lib. iii.
 † Chron. de ALBAYD. RODERIC Tolet. l. iii. * FERR.
 Hist. de Hispan. p. iv. sect. 8. * ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.
 LUC. Tudens. RODERIC Toletan. l. iii.

duct; but, with the wiser and more judicious of the *Spanish* historians, to expose those exaggerations which are unworthy of belief. *Witiza* might be a wicked, and, in that sense, a weak prince, without being a madman or an idiot^b. His vices grew upon him daily, more especially after the death of *Gunderic*, who was succeeded by *Sindered* in the see of *Toledo*; a man who is said to have complied with his prince, at the expence of his conscience and his function; and it is likewise asserted, with great probability, that, misguided by the bad example of the court, the people in general became luxurious, indolent, and vicious, which, as it was very natural, lessened them in the esteem of their neighbours, and prepared the way for that ruin in which they were quickly after swallowed up. We must now turn our eyes upon those whom Providence made the scourges of a dissolute monarch and a degenerate people, and take notice of the first steps that were made towards their destruction^c (G).

WALID

^b FERRENAS.
Chron. Luc. Tudens.

^c ISIDOR. PACENS. ALPHONS. Magn.

(G) We are told by *Mariana*, and, upon his credit, by many later writers, that *Sindered*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, admitted *Oppas*, the brother of king *Witiza*, or, as some say, his son, as his colleague in that see (8); but for this there is no sufficient authority alleged, nor is it easy to discern why the king should put *Sindered* under such a difficulty, who is said to have been so complaisant to him as to restrain, and even to punish, such of the clergy as would have admonished him of his vices. The ancient writers speak of *Oppas* as metropolitan of *Seville*, not of *Toledo* (9); and it seems more agreeable to the king's interest to have his brother at the head of a large jurisdiction in one place, and

his creature in another, than to croud them both into one see. As to this *Sindered*, he has a very indifferent character given him on all sides, and therefore we presume he deserved it (1). But what seems to shew him in the worst light, is his flying to *Rome*, when the *Moors* became masters of *Spain*, where he survived many years, for we find him, in the year seven hundred twenty-one, assisting at a council held there by pope *Gregory* the second (2), who no doubt considered him as archbishop of *Toledo*, which however was not the case in *Spain*, where, upon his abdicating his see, the clergy chose *Urbanus* to succeed him (3), which is a proof, that, to the very last moment, the *Spanish* church maintained her

(8) *Hist. de España, lib. vi. c. 19.*
(1) *Reverie Tolosan, lib. iii.*
Chron. Hispan.

(9) *Ibid. Pacens. Chron. Hisp.*
(2) *Baron. & al.*
(3) *Ibid. Pacens.*

independency.

WALID was at this time khalif of the *Saracens*, and *Muza* *Muza* *be-*
 was the general who commanded his forces in the maritime *seiges* *Ceu-*
 parts of *Africa*. He had already, by order of his master, *ta, which*
 reduced the rest of *Mauritania* under his obedience, and re- *is gallant-*
 solved to finish his conquest by driving the *Goths* out of the *ly defend-*
 small part of that country of which they were possessed ^{by count} *Julian*.

It was with this view that he marched directly with a nume-
 rous army to form the siege of *Geuta*, in which count *Julian*
 commanded, who is said to have espoused the sister of *Oppas*
 and of king *Witiza*. He was certainly a man of great quar-
 lity, and an excellent officer, of which he gave a noble in-
 stance, by defending this place with such skill and intrepidity,
 that, after considerable loss before it, *Muza* was obliged to
 raise the siege, and, as a proof of his resentment for want
 of success, he ravaged and destroyed all the adjacent coun-
 try without mercy^c. Some time after this, bearing still in
 his mind the anger kindled by this defeat, he caused a pow-
 erful fleet to be fitted out, that he might try whether the
Goths were as able to defend themselves at sea as on shore.
Witiza had no sooner intelligence of this, than he likewise
 equipped a powerful navy, under the command of prince
Theodomir, who had been before victorious over this enemy,
 and was so fortunate as to defeat them again; which obliged
Muza to consider his future attempts better, though at the
 same time it served to augment that indignation he had con-
 ceived against the *Goths*, and which was ever after impla-
 cable^f.

THIS, as some judicious *Spanish* writers observe, ought *Witiza*
 to have opened the eyes of the monarch of the *Goths*, and *continues*
 excited in him an active and diligent zeal for putting his do- *in a state*
 minions, more especially their sea coasts, into the best state *of dissolute*
 of defence possible. But when men, and more especially *insensibili-*
 princes, devote themselves intirely to pleasure, it so enervates *ty*
 their faculties, and clouds their understandings, that they
 remain in a kind of dead sleep, in which destruction gene-

^a RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab.
 P. iv. sec. 8.

^f ISID. Pacens.

^c FEAR. Hist. Hispana,

independency. It is no impro-
 bable conjecture, and we men-
 tion it barely as a conjecture,
 that this *Sindered*, who was so
 complaisant to *Witiza* in the
 worst part of his reign, might
 carry away the records of the
 last council at *Toledo*, and, out
 of complaisance to his new
 master, suffer them to be de-
 stroyed at *Rome*, where, from
 the nature of their contents, it
 is not to be expected they should
 meet with any quarter.

rally

rally finds them[†]. But, besides this neglect of *Witiza*, to take the measures necessary in so critical a conjuncture, there was another circumstance that could not fail of retarding his progress in that respect, though he might have been so inclined; and this was, the suspicions he had of the fidelity of many of his subjects, which rendered it extremely dangerous for him to raise forces in different parts of the kingdom, who, instead of resisting foreign enemies, might have turned their arms against himself[‡]. We may from hence discern, that the condition of *Spain* at this time was such as really invited the *Moors*, a restless and martial nation, to attempt an invasion, at the same time that it disabled the *Goths* from exerting themselves in a manner otherwise natural to a people who had established themselves in *Spain* by conquest, and who had hitherto defended their territories by the same courage and discipline, through the exercise of which they had been acquired[§] (H).

ALL

† ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudens. RODERIC Toller. l. iii. ‡ VASÆI Chron. § LUC. Tudens.

(H) There is no part of *Mariana's* history written with greater solidity of thought, or beauty of expression, than where he describes the strange degeneracy of the *Visigoths*, and that universal corruption by which they might be said to qualify themselves for destruction. By their conquest of the *Suevi*, by the expulsion of the *Greeks*, and from the confusion into which the *French* monarchy fell under their last kings of the first race, the *Goths* had no enemies left to struggle with; and this long peace producing vast riches, to which may be added the disposition of the three preceding kings to court the good-will of their subjects, by studying what might be most acceptable, absolutely turned their heads, and made them believe that they were as much superior in power to other nations as they evi-

dently were in wealth and luxury. We may also remark (the rather, because hitherto it has escaped observation), that in these times all who had any degree of property were waited upon by slaves, than which nothing contributes so much to enervate the strength of a country; for, by a servile submission, they lose all sense of honour, and consequently all spirit and courage, at the same time that they render those they serve excessively indolent, and inspire them with an insupportable haughtiness, that renders them utterly unfit for discipline; so that, however tumultuous and seditious in time of peace, they can never be brought to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war. *Witiza's* great fault was, that he soothed his subjects in this manner of living, at the same time that he encouraged them

ALL the arts that *Witiza* could use, and all the precautions that his diffidence could inspire, proved in the end ineffectual for preventing the defection of his subjects, who, taking the advantage of the distracted state of his affairs, began to shake off all respect for his government in several distant provinces. *Roderic*, the son of *Theodofred*, availing himself of this general disposition, was quickly in such a state, as to form pretensions to the regal dignity; so that a civil war began, and confusion served, as it commonly does in all countries, as the prelude to universal destruction^k. The king's thoughts, being taken off from the care of the public, were from this time intirely turned to the preservation of himself and of his family: on the other hand, the rebels and malecontents, having their own safety chiefly in view, were assiduous only in bringing that revolution to bear which might free them from all fear of punishment from *Witiza*; so that the apprehensions of present and immediate danger on both sides, hindered either party from discerning the peril they were in of being totally overthrown by an enterprising and vigilant enemy, that kept an eye continually upon their divisions, and expected with impatience when a proper opportunity would offer for renewing their endeavours to extend that empire which they had lately established in *Africa* over the opposite country in *Europe*, which they knew to be rich and flourishing, and which these hungry and rapacious conquerors had a longing desire to plunder^l. Of this they very speedily gave another pregnant instance, even before things were altogether ripe for making a general invasion; but by what means they were led to this expedition, is not easy to determine^m, though we conceive the following at least a probable account.

^k ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudens. VASÆI Chron.
^l RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab. ^m MARIANA, MATHER
 TURQUET, FERRERAS.

them in it by his own example, without ever reflecting, that, to disable a nation from making war, must inevitably deprive them of the power of maintaining peace. There is no need, therefore, of prying into the rolls of destiny, in order to account for the sudden ruin of this great people, since that settled

connection, which Divine Providence has established between enormous vices and their adequate punishments, may sufficiently satisfy; and in this sense their destruction was a judgment from heaven, which they might have averted by a timely change of manners.

The first
descent
made by
the Moors
in the
neighbour-
hood of
Gibraltar.

THE governor of Mauritania for the khalif, Muza, after long meditation, judged the most probable means of subduing Spain, was, to gain a footing therein, by seizing either some strong place, or some small district that might be easily fortified; and, having this project once in his mind, it was not long before he perceived, that the peninsula fronting Afric, and within four leagues of his own province, was the fittest that he could desire for such a purpose. He made choice, therefore, of *Tarick* or *Tarif Abuzara* to command a small body of troops, which he caused to be embarked for the execution of this design, about the success of which authors differ extremely^a. The Spanish writers say, that he landed with so small a force, that he was speedily repulsed, and obliged to return to Africa; whereas some of the Arabians assert, that, finding the Goths engaged in a civil war, he ravaged all the coasts, and returned to Muza with an account that his enterprize would be found a great deal more easy than himself had imagined^b. Others maintain, that he went yet farther, and that he established himself here, bestowing the name of *Geizira Haladra*, i. e. the *Green Island*, afterwards contracted into *Algeicira*, on the whole tract, and that of *Gebel Tarick*, which by degrees has been softened into *Gibraltar*, on the promontory and fortress which he erected there^c (1). This, in the sentiment of the most judicious

^a ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudens. RODERIC Tolos.

^b Chron. de ALBAYD. MOHAMMED BENALGOCIA.

^c SHARIFOL EDRISI, five Geog. Nub.

(1) In obedience to his master's commands, it is said, that Muza acquainted count Julian, he was willing, in pursuance of his advice, to make an attempt upon Spain; but that the situation of affairs in Afric was such at this time, that it would not permit him to spare any great number of men; and on this account only one hundred horse and four hundred foot were embarked on board four trading ships, and sent over under the conduct of *Tarick Ebn Nacair*;

an old officer who had but one eye, yet in great esteem with his master, and held the fittest amongst all under his command to form a right judgment of what might be expected from count Julian's intrigues and interest (1). We have set down the Arabic names, as bestowed on the island and promontory, in this rather than in the next expedition, in which we differ from *Ferreras* (2); though we rely upon the same authority (3), because it appears much more

(1) *Marques de Mondejar, Examen cronologico del ano en que entraron los Mo-
ros en Espana, Par. xxi.* (2) *Historia de Espana, P. iv. sec. 8.* (3) *Shar-
rifol Edrisi in Geograph.*

of the *Spanish* critics, is accounted the first entrance of the *Moors*, the step by which they prepared for a general conquest; and, from a nice and judicious comparison of facts and dates, they fixed this introductory expedition of *Tarif Abuzara* to the year of our Lord seven hundred and nine^a; and if, in this, they have not hit the exact truth, we may be at least certain, that they come as near it as, at this distance of time, and with the few lights which can be derived from ancient writers, it is possible; and therefore with this we must be content; for, though nothing is of greater importance to the history of *Spain* than the fixing of this period, yet too much nicety therein would serve only to deceive us.

WHILE *Muza* was contriving in what manner he might most effectually avail his master of what had been already done and discovered in *Spain*, the civil war went on between king *Witiza* and Don *Roderic*, till the death of the former put the latter in possession of the kingdom, but without putting an end to the war; for *Evan* and *Sisebut*, the sons of *Witiza*, having been long accustomed to be styled princes, could not think of being degraded into the rank of private persons with patience, and therefore took every method that could be devised to make the utmost use of their father's creatures, in order to set one of them upon the throne^c. It was to compass this end, that they began to intrigue with the *Saracens*; and, as if the miseries of their country were not already too many, to propose to them sending an army into *Spain*, which, through the intrigues of count *Julian*, they were more than enough inclined to do^d. It must appear strange to an attentive reader, that this noble personage, who but a short time before had done his country such a remarkable service by the defence of *Ceuta* against this very man and this very nation, should now go over to their interests, and labour to throw his country into the most miserable condition that can possibly be conceived^e. It must be imagined, that he was drawn to this either by the promise of a prodigious recompence, or, which is rather to be expected in a man of his birth or quality, by too deep resentment of

Some truth there may be, tho' but little, in the story of count Julian.

^a MONDEJAR, Examen Chronologico. ^c Lyc. Tudens.
 RODERIC Tolet. VASÆI Chron. ^d RODERIC Tolet. Hist.
 Arab. ^e MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

natural that new names should be given to places at first sight, than when they become more familiar. The reader, how-
 ever, being apprised of this, will decide as to him shall seem reasonable.

some personal injury. This last is adopted by most historians, and, in some, we find a copious and circumstantial account of the manner in which king *Roderic* ravished his daughter *Cava*, with a long train of particulars that visibly betray the romance. Those who are more desirous of finding truth, are very far from being positive whether it was the daughter or the wife of count *Julian* that was thus injured; and some modern critics, after entering closely and deeply into this inquiry, instead of solving those doubts, have introduced a new and greater difficulty with respect to the king by whom this injury was done, and who they think it very probable was not *Roderic*, but *Witiza*^u. Others again, reflecting upon these uncertainties, and that none of the ancient *Spanish* chronicles afford the least hint of this matter, conclude the whole to be a fable, which therefore they reject intirely^w (K).

BUT,

^u *RODER. SANTIS* Episc. Palent. *ALFONS.* a Carthag. Reg. *VASÆI* Chron. ^w *MANTUAN*, *POLLICER*.

(K) It is certainly not a little unfortunate for the credit of this story, that *Isidore* of *Badajoz*, *Don Alphonso* the Great, and the author of the Chronicle of *Albayda*, the three most ancient as well as most authentic writers concerning these times, should not mention or take the least notice of it; so that till the archbishop *Don Roderic* of *Toledo* brought it to light from the memoirs, and on the faith, of the *Arabians* (4), it was scarce known in *Spain*; yet it might for all that be very true, and the doubts raised concerning it are not so much founded in the fact, as in the circumstances with which it is related. For it is said that *Roderic*, king of the *Goths*, accidentally discovering from a window *Cava*, the daughter of *Don Julian*, who then attended upon the

queen *Egilona*, half naked, became in love with her to such a degree, that, finding every method he could take to corrupt her virtue, vain, he at length employed force. Upon this, she wrote to her father; and *Mariana* has given us her letter at large, which is one of the ornaments of his history, and *Don Julian*'s answer, who afterwards returned into *Spain*, and, dissembling the injury he had received, prevailed upon the king to send him ambassador to *Muxa*, and to permit him to carry his daughter with him, which opportunity he took to persuade the *Saracens* to undertake the conquest of *Spain* (5). Now most of these facts may very probably be true, if, instead of king *Roderic*, we substitute *Witiza*, in whose time, as we have already shewn, count

(4) *De rebus Hispanis*, l. iii. cap. 19. lib. vi. c. 21.

(5) *Mariana*, *Hist. Hispana*,

Julian,

BUT without carrying the matter so far, we may allow *By his persuasion,* the *Arabian* writers², who in this respect had as good title *Muza*, to be well informed as the *Spanish*, may be in the right as to the assistance given *Muza* by Don *Julian*, moved to this in-^{makes a}excuseable and barbarous conduct by resenting some flagrant ^{second de-}injury done to him at home, while he was defending the ^{scend upon}conquests of the *Goths* abroad, not only against the prince who committed the offence, but against his innocent subjects, and Don *Julian's* own countrymen⁷. This was no more than *Witiza's* sons likewise did, and their uncle *Oppas*, who was metropolitan of *Seville*, who, to preserve a precarious principality, were content to abandon a part, and thereby hazard the whole of *Spain*, through the bringing in of these infidel auxiliaries². By the persuasion of count *Julian*, as their own writers say, *Muza* made a second and much more considerable embarkation, under the command of a new general, whose name was *Tarick Abdalabi*, who, with upwards of seven thousand men, accompanied by count *Julian*, landed near *Gibraltar*, and from thence made inroads into the adjacent country². The *Saracen* general, being thoroughly informed of the divisions of the *Goths*, and how little king *Roderic* was in a condition to oppose them, resolved, even with so inconsiderable a force, to attempt the reduction of the whole kingdom; and, that this design of his might not be disappointed by his soldiers endeavouring to return with their spoils into *Africa*, he caused his fleet to be set on fire

* RODER. Tolet.

logico.

enl. RODERIC Tolet.

7 MONDEJAR, Examen Chrono-

* VASARI Chron.

* Geograph. Nubi-

Julian began his intrigues with the *Moors*. The great, indeed the only, objection to this is, that, in the succeeding part of the history, we find count *Julian* acting in concert with the sons of *Witiza*, which seems to be inconsistent with the resentment shewn against their father. The answer to this, however, is both easy and natural, since *Marmol*, who was an inquisitive and intelligent writer, positively assures us, that he found it recorded in an ancient history

of those times, that this traitor was the brother-in-law of the king he betrayed, and we may believe the wife of count *Julian* was *Witiza's* sister (6), and, consequently, those young princes were his nephews. We may add to this, that the reign of *Roderic* was so short and so full of troubles, and his own personal character in other respects so fair, that nothing can be more improbable with respect to him, than this imputation.

before his Intentions were generally known; but it is to be supposed that he gave proper notice, as well of what he designed to do, as of what he had already done, to *Muza*, from whom he derived his authority^b. This is considered as the second invasion of the *Moors*, and is by many writers confounded with the first, because the forces landed at the same place; but the best authorities place this in the year seven hundred and ten^c.

King Roderic assembles with difficulty an army ready to resist them.

THE wise governor of *Mauritania*, who had rendered himself accountable to the khalif his master for the success of the war he had undertaken, intirely approved this measure, as thinking the force already sent over by no means proportionable to such a design, though he was at the same time very well pleased that his general was in possession of a fortress and port where for the future he might send reinforcements, as occasion required^d. But believing it necessary, in the first place, to have a superior army in the field, he got together as many vessels as was possible, and drew out of his army twelve thousand men more, mostly natives of *Mauritania*, from whence the conquest of *Spain* is attributed to the *Moors*, and sent them over under the command of *Tarick Abincier*, whom he declared general and commander in chief, and who had instructions to extend his conquests as far as he was able, without hazarding his troops too much by marching into the heart of the country^e. We must naturally conclude, that the contrivance, providing necessaries, and carrying this scheme into execution, must have been attended with various delays, and occasioned, on the whole, a great consumption of time, insomuch that we cannot easily conceive this new general could take the field before the summer of seven hundred and eleven, at which time he found king *Roderic*, who had already brought his affairs into some order, at the head of a small army, ready to oppose him, and at the same time to cover, as far as he was able, all the open country behind him from the incursions of the *Moors*, who, as they had a considerable body of horse, made where-ever they came a most dreadful devastation, and exercised, by the advice of Don *Julian*, and with a view to strike a terror that might render resistance vain, the most inhuman cruelties upon the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants^f.

^b ISID. Pacens. Chron. Albayd.

Hispana, P. iii. sect. 8.

^c PERRERAS, Hist.

^d RODERIC Tolet.

^e FERR.

Historia Hispana, P. iv. sect. 8.

^f ISID. Pacens.

THE reader will discern that hitherto we have had but a *Reasons for* very indistinct account of this last monarch of the *Visigoths, the great* and for this plain and short reason, that there is no better to *obscurity of* be had. We have no authentic relation of the place or man- *this period* ner of *Witiza's* death, or of the solemn election, or at least of *Spanish* recognition, of *Roderic* afterwards; for things were now in *history.* such disorder and confusion, so many evils were felt, such numberless dangers threatened, and this calamitous scene was of so long a continuance, that very few people had any inclination to put the transactions of these times into writing, till it became impossible to speak of them with that correctness and accuracy that posterity might wish or expect². It is indeed true, that some historians afterwards stepped in, and in a good measure filled up this chasm with incongruous and superstitious stories, below the dignity of history; and which have so obscured any traces of truth that may remain amongst them, as to prevent the bringing them together in a way that might afford the reader any tolerable satisfaction; and therefore it is much better to content ourselves with a few facts, that are tolerably well supported, as being drawn from the short chronicles of ancient writers, than to have recourse to these fabulous supplements, which, tho' they might entertain and amuse, could not either inform or instruct¹ (L).

THE

¹ MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, *Historia de Hispana*, P. iv. sect. 8. ² RODER. SANTII Episc. Palent. ALFONS. a Carthag. reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

(L) The reports concerning the death of *Witiza* (for what we have in modern historians must be esteemed as taken from tradition, since the ancient writers before-mentioned contain nothing upon that subject) were not only various and uncertain, but at the same time inconsistent and contradictory. According to some, he was killed in battle by such as adhered to Don *Roderic*; others, that he was not killed, but taken, sent prisoner to *Cordova*, and, having his eyes put out, lived there some time in a miserable condition (7). Some again affirm, that he died of sickness at *Toledo*, and was buried in the church of *St. Leocadia*, on the twentieth of *December* seven hundred and ten, says a certain writer, upon whose credit, however, we cannot rely (8). Yet in this respect he cannot be very far in the wrong, for towards the latter end of this year happened his decease, if the ablest among the *Spanish* critics are not mistaken in their judgments. To justify farther what is said in

(7) Roder. Santii Episc. Palent. Alfons. a Carthag. reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

(8) Maxim. Chron.

Both parties determine to put the issue of things upon a battle.

THE king of the *Visigoths*, perceiving plainly that this kind of defensive war would by degrees waste his army, and ruin his subjects, and being at the same time conscious that he was in no condition to act offensively, laboured with all imaginable industry to heal the divisions that had been so fatal to his country; and, with this view, made some propositions to the sons of *Witiza*, who had still a considerable party at their devotion. Whether these young princes repented of their past conduct, and entered into the king's reasons, or whether they resolved to postpone their resentments for the present, and to resume them when a more favourable opportunity offered, is very uncertain; yet, whatever their intentions were, it is generally agreed that they altered their behaviour, accepted the terms offered them by the king, and joined his army with their forces¹. The *Moorish* general *Tarick*, being informed of this, and that *Roderic* was putting himself at the head of all the troops he could raise, in order to act offensively, sent an exact account of every thing to *Muza*, demanding a reinforcement, that

¹ FERRERAS, *Historia Hispana*, P iv. sect. 8.

the text, it may not be amiss to represent succinctly a story which *Mariana* tells us from an *Arabian* author of *Don Roderic*, which, as they have placed it, must have happened early in his reign (9). There was, it is said, a certain structure in *Toledo*, stiled the enchanted palace, which was very carefully lock'd up; and the current tradition was, that whenever this place should be opened, the monarchy of the *Goths* would be quickly overthrown. *Don Roderic*, it seems, took it into his head, that this was only a political invention of his predecessors to secure their wealth, which he fancied must be deposited in this house, under such a variety of bars and locks, all of which he caused to be broken, and, having thus forced an entrance, he

found the place altogether empty, except that there was an iron chest, which he also directed to be forced open, and therein a piece of cloth, with armed men painted thereon, and an inscription, signifying, that, very soon after this should be brought to light, *Spain* would be subdued by men resembling those that were there painted; a piece of intelligence that made him quickly repent his ill-timed curiosity. *Mariana*, to excuse himself for inserting this idle tale, alleges he was unwilling his readers should be unacquainted with an event, transmitted by tradition; and it is inserted here to justify our remark on the fabulous circumstances interwoven by certain writers, for want of facts worthy of history.

(9) *Roder. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. l. iii. c. 17.*

he might be in a condition to dispute matters with the enemy, in case, after this alteration of their affairs, it should come to his turn to act on the defensive^k. *Muza* no sooner received this intelligence, than he caused a body of five thousand men to embark, and sent fresh instructions with this reinforcement to his general, who now thought himself in a condition to keep the field, and even to give them battle if he was forced to it^l. This was indeed the only method *Roderic* had to take; his army was more numerous, he had the flower of his nobility about him, and he saw that things could not remain long in the situation they were in, unless it was in his power to give the *Moors* such a check as might oblige them to return again to *Africa*; he therefore disposed every thing in the best manner he was able for a general engagement, which he knew must be decisive; and omitted nothing that was in his power to inspire his troops with the hopes of victory, by reviving the ancient spirit of valour, and regard for the public welfare, which had rendered them invincible in former times^m. His presence, his eloquence, and his activity, had, as might be well expected, a great influence over his army, insomuch that they received this proposition with applause. Though the season of the year was far advanced, and themselves much fatigued by their frequent endeavours to cover the country, yet they shewed themselves willing to exert their utmost power to rid themselves once for all of such dangerous and troublesome neighbours; and *Roderic*, upon this, without suffering their courage to cool, assigned all his generals their proper posts, and marched directly towards the forces of the *Moors*, to determine the fate of *Spain* by a single actionⁿ (M).

THE

^k RODER. Tolet. Hist. Arab.
Tolet.

^l ISID. Pacenf.

^m FERRERAS.

ⁿ ROD.

(M) We find in some historians a long detail of this war, in which the troops of king *Roderic* are said to have been commanded by a general named *Sancho*; but as we find nothing of this in authors of indubitable authority, we say nothing of him in the text. There seems to be as little regard due to the fine speeches of king *Roderic*

and the *Moorish* general *Tarick*, which, it is easy enough to discern, were framed on the model of ancient historians, and may perhaps be not only elegant but useful in the general history of *Spain*, though quite without the compass of our plan (1). We will content ourselves, therefore, with observing, that the river, on the banks of which

(1) *Mariana, Historia de Espana, lib. vi.*

The total
defeat of
the Spanish
army, and
subversion
of the Go-
thic mon-
archy.

THE *Moors*, on their side, were very far from declining the engagement, and fought only to avoid fighting with any manifest disadvantage of ground. At length the two armies met in a plain near the town of *Xeres de la Frontera*, on the banks of the river *Guadelete*, about three leagues from *Arcos*, in the kingdom of *Andalusia*, as it is now called. The *Goths* charged with all the fury that is commonly inspired by despair; but the *Moors*, who were old seasoned troops, received them with such firmness and intrepidity as quickly diminished their fire. They made, however, several brisk efforts to penetrate through the infidels, but in vain; for the number of experienced officers amongst them kept the soldiers to their duty, and hindered them from rendering victory precarious by too early a pursuit°. At last, however, the *Goths* being intirely broken, the *Moorish* cavalry fell in amongst them, and made prodigious slaughter, rendering their victory as complete as they could desire; for the *Goths* flying without any order, or so much as knowing where to seek for safety, more were killed in running away than had fallen in the action; and the scattered remains dispersed in such a manner, that, if their generals had attempted, it would have been very difficult to have brought

° ELMACIN, Epit. Hist. Saracen. l. i.

this fatal battle was fought, received its name from this very action, and that too not in the sense that some interpret it, as if *Guadelete* implied *Rio del Olvido*, or *River of Oblivion*, where, as the *Arabic*ns called it *Guadel Ledet*, which in *Spanish* is *Rio del Delite*, that is, the *River of Delight*, in honour of the glory they acquired by deciding the fate of a kingdom in a single battle (2). This method of changing and imposing names was ever customary amongst the eastern nations, as appears from several passages in the Scriptures, and, like most of their customs, continues in use to this day. This remark shews us how expedient, and even ne-

cessary, it is, to have recourse to the *Arabic* writers, in order thoroughly to understand the history of *Spain* (3). But then it requires a very nice judgment, and very great caution, to make a right use of what assistance they offer, since their affection for the marvellous leads them frequently into such excesses, as renders it extremely difficult to distinguish how much or how little there is of truth in what they write. The same humour also prevails amongst many of the *Spanish* authors who have published histories of those times, of which we shall frequently have occasion to take notice in the course of our subsequent sections.

(2) *Mondéjar, Examen Chronológico, Parr. f. 22. sjuluzna Arabica. Mariana, Ferreras.*

(3) *Hattinger, de*

even a small body of them together. We are not told what the numbers were that fell in this bloody dispute, but without question the loss on the side of the *Goths* must have been very great; and yet this was not their utmost misfortune, but their having no place of retreat, no other army to which they might retire, nor any person of note with them to give the least directions in so dreadful a conjuncture. Such was this fatal battle, by which the monarchy of the *Goths* was intirely subverted; and though there seems to be very little or no dispute about the day, which was the eleventh of *November*, the festival of the popish saint *Martin* bishop of *Tours*, yet it is not easy to say whether it was in the year seven hundred and eleven ^p or seven hundred and twelve ^q, the majority of writers declaring in favour of the latter, tho' the former is maintained to be the true date by the most judicious of the *Spanish* critics ^r.

SOME of the *Spanish* historians, and even *Mariana*, ascribe ^{Various reports concerning the time and place of Roderic's demise.} this defeat in a great measure to the treachery of the two princes, sons to *Witiza*, who, by the advice of their uncle *Oppas*, metropolitan of *Seville*, went over to the *Moors* in the heat of the action, and charged with them upon the flanks of their countrymen; but as this is not mentioned by any ancient author, it cannot be depended upon ^s. As for the king *Roderic*, he made his escape, and, as many writers say, retired first to a convent near *Merida*, and from thence, with a monk whose name was *Romanus*, to a hermitage not far from the city of *Viseo* in *Portugal*, where it is reported he lived some time, and then died in obscurity ^t. King *Alphonso* the Great assures us, that in his time the tomb of this unfortunate monarch was discovered in a church in that neighbourhood; but, as *Ferreras* justly observes, it is much more probable, that, being wounded in the battle, he fled thither with the utmost expedition, and died quickly after of fatigue, of his wounds, or of despair, because it is not easy to conceive how he should continue for any space of time, much less for two or three years, undiscovered, in a country overrun by the enemy; or that a prince, so personally brave as all historians report him to have been, should abandon his subjects to the rage of such barbarous enemies, without making the least attempt to assemble, in some distant part of his dominions, another army, that might have done some-

^p ISID. PACENS. ANNAL. COMPOSTELL. RODERIC TOLET. l. iii.

^q CHRON. DE ALBAYD. ANNAL. COMPLUTENS. ANNAL. TOLETAN.

^r MARCA, PELLICER, ABARCA, PEREZ, MONDEJAR. ^s RODERIC TOLET.

^t PELLICER. ANNAL. l. i.

thing towards their deliverance". The danger of leading that retired life was not at all less; and the glory of aiming at the relief of his subjects, whatever the consequence might have been, would have done more honour to his memory than those legendary stories that have been published of his severe penance in the place which he chose for his retreat". As a king, it was his duty to have exposed himself for the sake of his people; and, as the fate of war is uncertain, he might at least have saved a part of his dominions, and have left the recovery of the rest to his successors; whereas, by this abdication, supposing the fact true, he deprived the nation of the *Visigoths* of all appearance of government, which was no less fatal in its consequences than the battle he had lost.

*The Moors
invite
Muza into
Spain, in
order to
complete
their con-
quest.*

THE *Moorish* general *Tarick*, as soon as he perceived that he was not only master of the field of battle, and the enemy intirely defeated, but that there was not so much as the appearance of an army in the field, and that the inhabitants of all the adjacent cities and country were in the utmost distraction and consternation, resolved, like an experienced general, to leave them no time to recover their spirits, but immediately attacked and reduced *Seville*, *Cordova*, and other cities that were in no condition to make resistance. That this universal terror might not abate, he suffered his army to commit most horrid outrages, without restriction or punishment, so that persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages, fell by the sword, unarmed, and without the least provocation; which had the effect he foresaw, and filled the people every-where with such amazement and fright, that they lost all power of resistance, and submitted to whatever terms he thought fit to prescribe*. After making the best provision he could for the security of the country he had conquered, he sent an exact account of all that had passed to *Muza*, under whose authority, and by whose orders, he had undertaken and executed this fortunate expedition. He shewed that general, at the same time that he informed him that the king had disappeared, that the people were so terrified as not to think of a new election; and that this, of all others, seemed the most proper time for making a complete conquest: that it was necessary for him to come over in person; that he should bring with him a competent supply of troops; and that, before the *Goths* had time to recollect themselves, he might then be

* FERR. Hist. Hispana, P. iv. sect. 8.
MAYERNE TURQUET, VAYRAC,
PHONS. Magn.

* MARIANA,
ISID. PACENS. AL-

able to penetrate even to the most distant provinces of the kingdom; whereas the troops under his command were but barely sufficient to garrison the towns, and protect the country he had already conquered, so that it was impossible for him to improve this important and decisive victory any farther (N).

THERE wanted not many arguments to convince *Muza* ^{Plan laid} of the expediency of his passage into *Spain*, neither was he ^{for carry-} at all retarded in his expedition through the want of those ^{ing this} supplies that *Tarick* had demanded: for, having caused a ^{great de-} report to be spread through *Afric* of the immense wealth ^{sign into} of the *Spaniards*, and that the plunder of every place that ^{execution.} made the least resistance was given to the soldiers, his army was quickly completed, so that it was much more difficult to find shipping to embark them, than men who were ready to embark ². On his arrival in *Spain* with this multitude, which were all landed at or in the neighbourhood of *Gibraltar*, he held a council of war, at which *Tarick* and all the general officers under him assisted; and in this council it was resolved, that, as nothing more was to be apprehended from the *Goths*, whose intestine feuds survived their government, and prevented any stop from being put to that conflagration which it had kindled, the wisest measure

¹ RODERIC Tolet. l. iii. & Hist. Arab. Luc. Tudens. VAS-
SÆI Chron. ² FERRERAS, Historia de Hispania, P. iv.
sect. 8.

(N) According to *Mariana*, that the project of making an intire conquest of *Spain*, by employing different armies in different provinces at once, that the consternation might be general, and the *Goths* no where have leisure enough left them to recollect themselves, so as to provide for their own defence, was given to *Tarick* by count *Julian*; and that one *Magued*, a renegado, had a considerable post in the army, and procured several places, by means of secret intelligence and bribes, to be put into the hands of the *Moors* (5). then ruined (4). Some say,

(4) *Histor. de España, lib. vi. c. 24.*

(5) *Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab.*

that could be pursued, as they had a competent force, was to embrace the conquest of this great country at once^a. In order to this, *Muza* divided his forces into three armies; the first, commanded by his son *Abdalaziz*, had orders to conquer all the country lying on the *Mediterranean*; another general was charged with the like commission in respect to the provinces lying upon the ocean; but the largest of the three corps, under *Muza* himself, with whom *Tarick* went as his lieutenant-general, undertook the reducing the midland countries; and this plan of conquest, being once settled, was immediately carried into execution^b; to facilitate which, it was resolved, that good terms should be given, or at least promised, to every place that submitted; and that where-ever they met with any resistance, all should be left to the discretion of the soldiers, or, in other words, the effects of the inhabitants given up to be pillaged, and their persons to slaughter without mercy.

In what manner, and in what space of time, this was effected.

MUZA, with the main army under his command, advanced without any resistance as far as *Merida*, which being a place of some strength, the inhabitants stood upon their defence; but at length judged it best to surrender, on promise that they should be permitted the free exercise of their religion, and live under their own laws^c. The general of the *Moors* then advanced with his victorious forces towards the capital, and in a short time after appeared before *Toledo*. *Sindered*, metropolitan of that city, had retired before this time to *Rome*, abandoning his flock to their misfortunes. Many of the ecclesiastics had likewise withdrawn with the treasure of their respective churches into the mountains of *Leon* and *Old Castile*, where they were covered and protected by those who preferred liberty in a desert to the finest country where that was wanting^d. The great lords of the court, who had done so little either for themselves or for their country, were desirous of making their escape before the place was invested. *Oppas*, metropolitan of *Seville*, who accompanied *Muza*, pursued them with a body of *Moorish* cavalry, and, coming up with them, cut them off, in revenge for the dislike they had shewn to his family^e. The people, delivered from these incumbrances, defended themselves with great resolution, and surrendered at last upon honourable terms; in which, amongst other things, it was stipulated, that seven of their churches should remain to the use of the Christians,

^a *ISID. PACENS. RODERIC TOLET.*

^b *FERRERAS, Hist.*

Hispana, P. iv. sect. 8.

^c *RODERIC TOLET. l. iii.*

^d *VAS-*

SEI Chron.

^e *MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.*

and that the people should be governed by their own laws. In the course of this capitulation, there was some mention made of the security the inhabitants might expect for the due performance of articles; upon which those who treated for the town, declared, that they did not expect or desire any other security than the faith of *Muza*; by which it is certain there were no sufferers; and from hence *Ferretas* thinks they were stiled *Muzarabians*, or *Mozarabians*, tho' as to this there are very different reasons given by some of the most learned amongst the *Spanish* antiquaries^f (O).

WHILE *Muza* was thus employed, he sent a strong detachment, under the command of a general officer, into that country which is now called *Portugal*, where the towns of *Egitania* and *Osonoba*, having made some resistance, were plundered and demolished; which so terrified the inhabitants of *Evora*, *Lisbon*, *Viseo*, and *Lamego*, that each of them submitted upon the best capitulation that could be obtained; but the people of *Coimbre*, or *Conimbra*, making an obstinate defence, that city was almost intirely destroyed. Some *Arabian* historians, who are followed by many *Spanish* writers, place the reduction of *Merida* here, and enter into a long detail of the siege, which, to lessen the horrors of so melancholy a story, they have decorated with some marvellous circumstances^g (P). After all these conquests, *Muza* thought it

^f ALDRETTE, MONDEJAR. *pana*, l. vi. cap. 25.

^g MARIANA, *Historia His-*

(O) These adjectives, *Moxarabian* and *Moxarabic*, occur so frequently in all the *Spanish* histories, that we need not wonder authors differ about their origin and signification. The derivation given in the text is from *Ferreras*, and as probable as any. The famous *Moxarabic* liturgy, said to be revised, at least, if not composed in part, by St. *Isidore* of *Seville*, is so called from its having been in use among the Christians who remained at *Toledo*, and remains a notable proof of the true sentiments of the old *Spanish* church. There is also a chapel in the cathedral of that city, distinguish-

ed by the same title, and for the same reason.

(P) Amongst the circumstances of this siege of *Merida*, which are recorded by some historians, the principal are these (6). There was, it seems, in the neighbourhood of this city, a very large quarry, and the roads leading to and from it were very broad and deep. *Muza* had intelligence that the besieged intended to make a general sally on that side, which induced him to order a very strong detachment of cavalry to take possession of these hollow roads in which they were concealed, and to charge the ene-

(6) *Rasis, Vargas, Mariana,*

it proper to give his troops some repose, that he might have leisure to provide for the civil government of his new subjects, of whom at present no higher tributes were demanded than they had paid to their own monarchs. But let us now say somewhat of what was performed by the other generals, who did their business as effectually^b.

Theodomir makes terms for himself and his adherents. ABDALAZIZ, with his forces, entered those countries that have been since known under the titles of the kingdoms of *Jaen, Granada, Murcia, and Valencia*, the best part of which were ravaged by his cavalry¹. Yet he met with more resistance than his father had done; for prince *Theodomir*, who had acted with so much reputation at the head of the naval forces of the *Goths*, assembled a small body of troops on the frontiers of the kingdom of *Valencia*, with which he gave the *Moors* so much trouble, that they were obliged to send advice of the situation they were in to *Muxa*, whose troops were quickly in motion; so that *Theodomir* must have been surrounded, if he had not very wisely demanded conditions from *Abdalaziz*, a young man of a noble and generous disposition, who granted him a fair capitulation, the articles of which were put into writing, and signed on both sides; by which the country he protected reaped great advantages, and *Theodomir* himself was intrusted with the government of it as in time past. The other general, meeting with little or

^b RODERIC Tolet. l. iii.

¹ VASÆI Chron.

my in the rear as soon as their situation gave them an opportunity. In consequence of these instructions, this sally, though managed with great prudence, and supported with much intrepidity, proved very fatal to the besieged, who lost the best part of their bravest men. Being compelled to treat, tho' *Muxa* rejected their propositions with contempt, they continued notwithstanding to make an obstinate defence, upon the report of their deputies, that the *Moorish* general was of a great age and very infirm, in hopes that his death might occasion the raising of the siege. But *Muxa*, being informed of this, encouraged them to renew their negotiation, and, before he gave

audience to their deputies, caused his beard and his eyebrows to be painted black; on which they reported to their fellow-citizens, that the *Saracen* general was grown young again, and that it was to no purpose to resist a man who had even nature at his command. At their persuasion, therefore, the inhabitants submitted, upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe, tho', amongst others, this was one, that they should deliver up to him all the gold and silver in their churches. But in all this there is such an air of fable as renders it very justly suspected, which was the reason we did not give it a place in the text.

no opposition, but marking his progress every-where with blood and devastation, pushed his conquest to the very extremities of *Galicia* ^k.

THE next year *Muza* with his army entered early into the *Muza* field, and seems to have divided his forces in two columns; proceeds to for it appears, that, while he marched with one part of them to form the siege of *Saragossa*, the rest entered into *Old* *Castile* and *Leon*, where it is probable they met with more than ordinary resistance, since they dismantled and destroyed almost all the cities and towns in those countries, to the very foot of the mountains^l. *Abdalaziz*, on his side, brought partly by force, and partly by persuasion, the provinces on the coast of the *Mediterranean* under his subjection as far as *Tarragona*, a city in those days strong, rich, and very populous, the inhabitants of which defended themselves for some time with great courage; but at length, perceiving that on one side they had nothing to expect but utter destruction, and that there was no kind of succour to be looked for on the other, they made their peace on the best terms possible, which left the young *Moor* at leisure to carry his victorious arms throughout *Catalonia*, to the foot of the *Pyrenees*. By this means the reader will perceive, that the poor remains of the *Goths* were shut up in the mountains of *Asturias*, *Burgos*, and *Biscay*, where they were not easily to be forced. As for the inhabitants of *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Navarre*, who, in conjunction with them, might have made a considerable stand against the common enemy, they chose for the most part to retire into *France*, better pleased to enjoy quiet in a foreign country, than to live in a miserable or precarious state in their own ^m.

As the business of war was now over, and the inhabitants of *Spain* had their spirits so weakened and broke, that they seemed to have lost equally the will and the power to revolt, *Muza* found himself obliged to yield obedience to the khalif *Walid*'s order, which required him to repair immediately to *Damascus*, to answer such demands as the emperor had to make. This was drawn upon him by the misunderstanding that arose between him and *Tarick*, almost as soon as he set his foot in *Spain*; for that general attributed all the success they had met with to his own abilities and good fortune, and could not bear with patience that *Muza*, with his superior title, should run away with the rewardⁿ. On the other hand, *Muza*, having amassed in this and in his other conquests a prodigious treasure, and having the most

^k ISID. PACENS. ^l ROD. TOLET. ^m LUC. TUDENS. ROD. TOLET. ⁿ ISID. PACENS. ELMACIN. Epit. Hist. Saracen.

considerable officers of the army at his devotion, behaved in *Spain* rather as a sovereign prince than as the lieutenant of the khalif, and more especially towards *Tarick*, with whom he professed himself displeased, and would have made him very willingly feel the weight of his resentment. When he came to depart, he caused a vast quantity of precious stones, rich plate, and other valuable effects, together with the most beautiful slaves of both sexes, to be put on board his fleet for the khalif's use: he carried likewise *Tarick* with him, and prince *Theodimir*, that he might hinder the former from doing mischief in *Spain*, and procure for the latter the ratification of that treaty which he had made with his son, being extremely pleased with the noble frankness and great candour of that worthy person. On their arrival at the court of the khalif, *Muza*, after all his services, found but a very indifferent reception; but *Theodimir* obtained all that he sought, and was treated with the utmost respect and kindness by the khalif *Walid* as long as he lived, and had the like attention shewn him after his decease by his brother *Zuliman*, or *Solyman*, who succeeded him in the khalifat.

The government, upon this, devolves on *Abdalaziz*, son to *Muza*.

THE government of *Spain* remained all this time in the hands of *Abdalaziz*, whose authority was confirmed by the khalif *Zuliman*, and from him it is supposed that he received orders to make an actual survey of the whole kingdom; that the administration of justice might be put into a regular method, the revenue more easily collected, and the value of this important conquest be with more certainty known. At least in this all historians agree, that *Abdalaziz* undertook to have such a description made, and this under his own inspection, which obliged him to enter on a tour through most of the provinces of the kingdom, in which it is asserted, that, if he was assiduous in doing the khalif's business, he was not negligent in his own. He made himself by this means perfectly acquainted with the true state of things, and the condition the people were in; their laws, customs, and tributes, which he regulated at his pleasure; and, from whatever motive it proceeded, he was certainly very gracious and very kind to the inhabitants, to whom he made magnificent promises, and upon whom he bestowed many favours. The *Moorish* officers and governors of great cities had orders to cleanse and repair them, new fortresses were erected in proper places, and the necessary orders issued for restoring a free intercourse between the several provinces, that the people

† ELMACIN, Epit. Hist. Saracen. ISID. PACENS. 9 MARIANA, Historia de Hispania, l. vi. cap. 27. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Hist. Hispania, P. iv. sec. 8.

in general might enjoy the blessings of peace, and have reason to be pleased with his mild administration; methods that there is little reason to doubt produced, at least in a great measure, the desired effect * (Q).

BUT, with all this prudence, oeconomy, and moderation, *Abdalaziz* had his foibles as well as other men; he loved to acquire money, as a thing necessary to support that magnificence in which he lived; he had a strong passion for the fair sex, and was not without a tincture of ambition, which even the high post that he possessed could not satisfy to the full: with all his failings, he was a person of great abilities, and had address enough not only to cover his vices, but also to render them useful to his secret and important designs *. Amongst the ladies that were brought into his seraglio was *Egilona*, the widow of king *Roderic*, for whom he had a peculiar tenderness, and treated her with all imaginable marks of deference and respect. He fixed upon *Seville* for the seat of his government; and, after he returned thither from the progress he had made, it is said that he espoused *Egilona*, and, under pretence of her former quality, caused her to be treated with all the marks of duty and submission that could have been paid her if she had been still a queen. She was a princess of exquisite beauty, majestic presence, and of a high spirit, though accompanied with an affability and easiness of deportment which gained her a great ascendancy over all who approached her. It was suspected that she inspired him with an inclination to render himself independent; and some writers go so far as to assert, that, at her persuasion, he in private assumed the diadem, and took, tho' with

He forms a design of rendering himself independent.

* **RODER. TOLET.**

* **MARIANA, FERRERAS.**

(Q) It must have been under this government, if what the *Spanish* historians write from the tradition of their ancestors be true, that count *Julian* met with the just reward of his treason against his country (7). For, the war being over, and his intrigues no longer of any service, his advice was treated with contempt; and, upon his shewing some repentment of what he took to be ill usage, they threw him into a dungeon, and confiscated his large estates. There he had leisure to make a

true estimate of his own ill conduct, as participating in his person and fortune in that universal scene of tyrannical oppression he had been so instrumental in bringing upon his own nation, through the resentment of an injury in which that nation had not the least share. In these melancholy circumstances, with little ease of body, and less of mind, he wore out his miserable life, as much despised by the *Moors* as he was hated and abhorred by the *Goths*.

(7) *Luc. Tudens. Roderic Tolet, Vasæi Chron. Marian.*

The
Moors
suspect
this, and
enter into
a conspi-
racy
against
him.

Abdala-
ziz assas-
sinated at
a mosque,
while at
his devo-
tions.

all the secrecy imaginable, the most effectual measures he was able to pave the way to absolute sovereignty[†].

THIS scheme, tho' managed with the utmost dexterity, could not be carried on without creating some suspicions. The principal officers among the *Moors*, who envied his greatness, and thought he kept them at too great a distance, began to have a strict eye on all the motions of *Abdalaziz*, and at length penetrated, or at least pretended to penetrate, into his scheme of revolting, in which, as they did not perceive that they were any-ways to find their account, they resolved to prevent him. For that purpose, they formed a project of assassinating him, as the only method that could effectually answer their intent, his credit with the army being so great, and his influence over the people being so strong, as left them nothing to hope if their conspiracy was detected, and themselves compelled to have recourse to arms. This resolution once fixed, they waited only for a favourable opportunity to strike their blow; and it was not long before they met with an occasion every way suitable to their wish[‡].

IT was necessary for *Abdalaziz*, in order to preserve the affection of the *Moors*, to maintain a great shew of zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion; and therefore he went regularly at the proper hour to make his prayer at a certain mosque, which gave *Ayud*, an antient general, who was at the head of this plot, an opportunity of observing that he went thither one day almost alone; of which having given notice to the rest of the conspirators, they presently repaired thither, and, while he was occupied with his devotion, surrounded and dispatched him with their daggers[¶]. They had no sooner perpetrated this fact, than they caused public proclamation to be made, that he was a traitor to the khalif, and that they had put him to death only to prevent the design he had formed of usurping *Spain* to the prejudice of his master; and, at the same time, to prevent the dreadful effects of anarchy in a state so lately settled, they declared *Ayud* governor *pro interim*, till the pleasure of their sovereign should be known[‡]. This revolution was attended with little or no disorder; for the *Moorish* army, seeing this stroke abetted and approved by their principal officers, were silent; and as for the *Goths* and *Spaniards*, they conceived themselves very little interested in this change of masters. *Ayud* was a man of courage and experience, and, for the few months that he held the administration, behaved with vigilance and discretion; notwithstanding which the *Moorish* governors, in many

† ISID. Pacens. LUC. Tudenf. RODER. Tolet.
Pacens. ¶ Rod. Tolet. ‡ ISID. Pacens.

§ ISID.

places, exercised great oppression, and acquired immense riches, in some measure at the expence of the khalif, whose revenues they embezzled, but chiefly by pillaging the Christians, being never at a loss in imputing crimes to such as, after the destruction of their country, were yet in possession of any thing that was worth taking from them ¹.

THE reins of government were taken out of his hands by Alahor *Alahor*, upon whom the khalif bestowed that employment. ^{sent by the khalif to take upon him the government of Spain.} He began immediately to look into the conduct of his predecessors; and having clearly distinguished the errors and iniquities that had been committed, he made the first essay of his authority in doing strict justice to the khalif and to the people. He fixed the seat of his government at Cordova, and from thence issued his orders for the principal officers to attend him. When he had them thus in his power, he laid open all their acts of fraud and oppression, caused strict restitution to be made to the Christians of what had been taken from them; and, when this was done, took what he could find towards reimbursing the khalif; and, where satisfaction could not be had, he caused the offenders to be publicly chastised with rods ². This inquisition once over, he ordered a general review of the army, and, under that pretence, assembled a great body of forces for an expedition, which he had meditated for some time. He had received orders from the khalif Omar II. who succeeded his nephew Zuliman, to make himself master of all that the Goths had possessed in France; and the first intelligence the public had of this order was by his making an irruption into that country with the flower of the Moorish troops. He opened the campaign, after their usual manner, with wasting all the country before him with fire and sword, which spread such a terror amongst the inhabitants, that he reduced Elna, Carcassone, Ayde, Narbonne, Beziers, and Nimes, as soon as he came before them, and the rest of the province in the space of a few weeks ³. There were two things that greatly facilitated this expedition; the first, that the people had not hitherto so far recovered of their consternation, as to vest in any of their nobility the supreme command; the second, that the Franks, who might have protected them, were so involved in their intestine disputes, that they were not at leisure to look after any body's affairs but their own ⁴.

As this expedition completed the conquest of the Moors, He commanded and left the Visigoths nothing of their antient monarchy but *pletes the*

¹ ALPHONS. Magn. Luc. Tudenf. VAS. Chron. ² ELMACIN. Epit. Hist. Saracen. ISIDOR. Pacenf. ROD. TOLET. Hist. Arab. ³ ISIDOR. Pacenf. ⁴ FERRERAS.

subversion
of the
kingdom of
the Visi-
goths.

those rough and mountainous countries which nature had fortified against all invaders, the proper business of the section ends here: but, notwithstanding this, the judicious reader might very probably conclude we had handled this something imperfectly, if, after pursuing the history of the *Visigoths* established in *Spain*, from the time it became their seat of empire to the ruin of the monarchy, we should, to save ourselves the labour of a strict and troublesome inquiry, say nothing at the close of that polity by which this glorious nation was ruled during the space of almost 350 years, that they remained in possession of such extensive dominions, and were justly respected as one of the greatest and most formidable powers in *Europe*^c; the rather because this inquiry will throw light upon the other *Gothic* constitutions, in demonstrating the means by which they conciliated dominion and liberty, secured independency in church and state, and, without weakening the power of the crown, maintained the authority and vigour of the laws, which protected the subject in the enjoyment of his property, and settled the privileges of all ranks and degrees of people, so as to hinder their clashing with each other, at least as far as could be expected from any frame of rule contrived by finite understanding. This, indeed, is a task incumbered with many difficulties; but which, from a close attention to facts, and the assistance of the candid reader's attention, we flatter ourselves may be in a good measure overcome.

The reli-
gion of
that nation
during
their do-
minion in
Spain.

IN reference to religion, the *Visigoths* were *Arians* at the time they became masters of *Spain*, and so continued during the space of above 123 years; that is, till *Reccared* the Catholic, with the principal nobility of the nation, returned to the profession of the Christian faith at the third general council of *Toledo*. As the faith which they then embraced was that of the old *Spanish* church, which, under various difficulties and hardships, had constantly subsisted there amongst the natives in general, so it was in a great measure pure and uncorrupt, very little tinged with those innovations that had crept into other churches, and as near the primitive integrity as any that was then in being; and so it continued to the very time of its subversion, when, though the morals of the people were corrupted, yet the doctrines of their church were sound, at least if we may judge from the canons made in their councils, from their liturgy, and from the writings of those great luminaries of the *Spanish* church, whom they still honour with the titles of saints. It is true the *Spanish* ec-

^c MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical historians deliver, with great confidence, many things as facts, which are not very compatible with this account, and some that are directly inconsistent with it. But the reader will consider, that this is done to justify the present situation of things, and to prevent the *Spanish* nation from discerning, that, after the destruction of their church and state by the *Moors*, which constrained the poor remains of the *Goths* in the mountains to have closer communication with *Rome* than their ancestors had maintained, the doctrine and discipline of their church was gradually changed; for, notwithstanding this, even their latest and their ablest writers clearly acknowledge, that, through this whole period, the nation of the *Visigoths* were remarkable for their zealous attachment to the catholic faith. What that faith was we may certainly learn with much greater security from their own writers than from modern commentators; and upon this ground we maintain, that the Christian church here very much resembled that of our *British* ancestors before the coming of the monk *Augustine* from *Rome*, and was consequently free from all gross superstitions. A point of very high importance, and which deserves the most serious attention (R).

As

(R) In order to make this matter more perspicuous, it may be expedient to enter into a few particulars. The *Spanish* historians, for many ages past, speak very confidently of images as commonly in use in those times, and assign it as a cause why so many have been discovered or dug up in different places. But those who know what strange artifices have been practised in *Spain*, to give an air of antiquity to things of a very recent date, will not be much moved by this argument, which, at the very best, is conjectural only, and not conclusive (1). On the other hand, amongst the canons made by near forty councils, the most piercing eyes of those who are patrons of image worship, have not been able to produce a single passage that favours this opinion; and as the *Spanish* prelates were so ill-natured in this respect, when assembled in councils, so their antient doctors have been to the full as obstinate in their writings; and this, notwithstanding their subjects must have led them to have spoke in another stile, if their sentiments had been really such as some have represented them (2). A negative argument indeed is not of the weightiest sort; and therefore let us set it against the conjectural reason before-mentioned, which will bring the scale even. We may then urge against images the canons made against idolatry, penned in such very strong terms

(1) *Censura de Historias fabulosas, Obra postuma de Don Nicolas Antonio.*

(2) *Dr. Geddes's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 17.*

A scheme
of their
civil go-
vernment
in its se-
veral
branches.

As to the civil government, it was certainly an elective and limited monarchy; for tho', at their first entrance into *Spain*, the succession seemed to be hereditary in the line of *Euric*, or *Evaric*, since the crown descended even to a child, yet this was with the assent of the nobility; so that they never quitted their right of election, which was natural and inherent to

as would have recoiled upon themselves, if they had used images (3). This is a very persuasive argument, and must incline the negative scale not a little. To bring it quite down, let us observe, that, in one of their antient canons, we find these words, *It is decreed that pictures ought not to be set up in churches; that what is worshipped and adored be not painted on walls* (4). Can it be imagined, that those who were so cautious as not to admit pictures, should have a more favourable opinion of images? A candid inquirer will never believe this. It may not be amiss to add, that all the accounts of the statues set up by king *Wamba* are supported only by tradition; and if even that tradition were incontestable, it will not overturn what has been said; for they stood not in the church, but upon the city-walls, and are celebrated not by any canon but by a poet. The praying to saints and angels is a doctrine under the very same circumstances, the lawfulness of which cannot be proved from the canons of the *Spanish* councils, or from the writings of their antient prelates. St. *Isidore*, bishop of *Seville*, in his *Book of Sentences*, has a chapter upon prayer, and another on the honour due to the saints;

inviting topics surely to have declared his notions on this head, if they had been his notions (5). It is indeed true, that, in the printed *Mozarabic* liturgy, some saints are prayed to, and, among the rest, Saint *James*; but this proves nothing, at least nothing more than this, that the prayer was not of St. *Isidore's* composing, because the legend of St. *James of Compostella* did not obtain credit in *Spain* till some centuries after his decease; so that though this may be an old prayer, and perhaps the first of its kind introduced into their liturgy, yet not so old as his time. Purgatory was also a doctrine unknown to this church. They did commemorate in their worship upwards of fifty saints, that is, holy men, of whose felicity in another life they had the strongest assurance; and, which is not a little strange, there is not a bishop of *Rome* amongst them; but they did not offer for souls departed, or intimate their belief that the prayers of the faithful could alter their condition. Yet, not to dissemble the truth, they did in some sense pray for the dead, but in a sense that clearly excludes purgatory. They believed that the souls of pious men were at rest from their labours, and had peace in

(3) *Council. Tolet. xii. can. xi.*
Opera.

(4) *Council. Eliber. can. xxvii.*

(5) *Ibid.*

to them in their military capacity, by which they became conquerors and lords of *Spain*°. In process of time, this prerogative of election seems to have been confined to a kind of senate, or privy council of the nobility and prelates attending on the person of the king, and thence stiled palatines, who might, it seems, be chosen, but could not be legally removed from that authority by the prince upon the throne^f. By their assent also the king might associate another person with him in the government, who thenceforward was considered as the apparent successor, tho', on the demise of a reigning prince, his title was again recognized, and sometimes even after the solemnity of his coronation confirmed in a general council, which was in fact an assembly of the states, where the palatines sat together with the prelates, and whose assent was necessary to the decrees or canons which were made in them^g (S).

THE

° MARIANA, *Hist. Hispana*, l. vi. f SAAVEDRA *Corona Gothica*.
 g LOWASA, MORALES, MARIANA.

the Lord, but that they could not enter into the joys of heaven till the general resurrection; and, for this reason, they prayed that God would speedily accomplish the number of his elect, that the souls of pious men departed might the sooner enter into the fruition of eternal happiness. That they gave the holy communion in both kinds, and that they stiled the elements after consecration bread and wine, is evident from the canons of their councils, and their antient liturgies. We may affirm the like with regard to auricular confession, and several other things; but we content ourselves with referring the reader to a treatise in which these subjects are very candidly explained, and the truth of them as fully evinced (6).

(S) All the governments instituted amongst those warlike nations, by whom the dominions of the *Roman* empire were erected into kingdoms, had much resemblance one to another, tho' hardly any two of them were perfectly alike. It was impossible that a person, who had not military virtues and experience, should have the supreme command of a nation always in motion, and in the field; and, for this reason, their monarchs were elective (7). Among the *Goths* as well as among the *Franks*, they at first had attention to certain great families, out of which they constantly chose their kings, which might be an act of great political prudence, as it confined the number of candidates, and did not leave that room for intrigue and

(6) *Vasæi Chron. Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. iii. p. 21.
Isidorus, Idatius, Procop. Greg. Taron. Isidor.

(7) *Jor-*

The prerogative of the crown, though elective, very extensive.

THE prerogative, or royal power of the kings of the *Visigoths*, was very extensive and considerable, notwithstanding they derived their title from election. They had an absolute power over the army, which they commanded in person, or intrusted with any officer of experience as they thought proper. They called general councils, or assemblies of the states, at their pleasure, proposed, at the opening of the sessions, all points which they were to deliberate upon, and, at the close, gave a sanction to their proceedings, by subscribing their decrees. They stamped money with their own effigies, and settled its value. They bestowed all places of trust and profit, and they exercised, as we have fully proved, an ec-

cession which was afterwards found. In process of time, this humour wore out in *Spain*, and the regal election came to have no other restriction than that the person chosen should be of the illustrious blood of the *Goths* (8). By degrees also this power of electing, under colour of the public good, was transferred, at least in respect to the laity, from the nobility in general to the great officers of the crown, or lords waiting upon the king in his palace. There is still an appearance of this in the empire, where it is not his dominions that constitute an elector, but some great office in the emperor's household, which now, except upon some very particular occasion, is merely nominal, that intitles him to his lands and to his voice in the election. In *France* they had their mayors of the palace, who, for a long time, set up and de-throned kings at their pleasure (9). In *Poland* they have the title of palatines at this day; but they have no power of excluding the rest of the nobility from the choice of a king; and

the mischiefs to which such a constitution is liable are visible enough on every vacancy of the throne, which sufficiently demonstrates the wisdom of confining this great trust to a few. We have before mentioned, that, in the subscriptions still extant to the decrees of several councils, we may, in some measure, collect the offices to which this high privilege was annexed (1). Some historians also observe, that these great lords were admitted only into those councils, in which civil as well as religious concerns were to be brought under consideration; for where nothing was to be done but what regarded ecclesiastics, or ecclesiastical affairs, their presence was not either required or permitted. *Pero como era concilio para solo cosas de la Fe, y no para negocios seglares, no intervino en el alguno de los Palatinos* (2), says a very learned and judicious historian, whose sentiment is highly rational and probable; and yet perhaps the point is incapable of strict proof.

(8) *Ferreras*.

(1) *Selden's Titles of Honour*.

(9) *Greg. Turon. Fredeg. in Chron. Paul. Emil.*

(2) *Saavedra Corona Gotthica*.

clerical supremacy, which was not only submitted to by the clergy separately, but owned and acknowledged by them collectively in their provincial and general councils. They had also the power of making laws, as appears by that ancient body of their laws, intituled, *Fuero Juzgo*, which sometimes were revised, confirmed, and published in their councils or assemblies of the states^h.

THE administration of justice was provided for in every district of the kingdom, where the *Conde*, the bishop, and the *Guardinga*, or warden, seem to have had a conjunct authority, as in other Gothic governments; nay, such a reverence was paid to laws, that we see that king *Recewintho* desired that judges might be appointed to decide between him and his subjects; and where princes exceeded their authority, or where, in compliance with their commands, any illegal acts were done, they were censured and declared void in the next council, and the best remedies applied that the wisdom of the nation could devise. By this a noble and generous spirit of freedom was kept up, which, without intrenching on the power of the king, a circumstance equally honourable and useful, secured the people from feeling any bad effects from it; so that as the dignity of the monarch procured duty and submission from his subjects, his sense of the importance of preserving their affections obliged him to a reciprocal reverence for the nobility and the whole nationⁱ. This is not a notion taken up at pleasure, or from prepossession, and which we endeavour to impose upon the reader, but an observation resulting from facts, of which the reader himself must be sensible. The motive to our making this observation was to shew, that as this principle was, through the course of several reigns, the cause of happiness to the *Visigoths*, from that royal condescension which was the capital maxim of their wisest and best princes, yet it became, in the end, the source of their destruction. The mutual complaisance of *Witiza*, and the bulk of his subjects making an ill use of that amazing prosperity which a long peace, and a succession of wise administrations, had poured upon them, and which corrupted both prince and people, and, opening the flood-gates of luxury, resolved all their wishes, and softened all their passions, into a love of ease and pleasure, were alike incompatible with the true principles of piety and public spirit, and brought along with them all those evils that are the constant attendants of a preposterous desire of

Of the administration of justice, and obedience paid to the laws.

^h *Hispana Illustrata*, tom. iii.

ⁱ *MORALES*.

being perfectly happy here, which is the never-failing prelude of extreme and universal misery ^k.

*The great
number of
people,
splendor,
and
wealth, of
the Visi-
goths.*

WE may with certainty infer, from the number of bishopricks, in the regulation settled by *Wamba*, from the numberless towns mentioned in the old historians, from the ruins of places of considerable extent, which yet appear, from the various other circumstances, and more especially from the concurrence of Christian and *Mohammedan* authors in their relations of the state of things at the close of this period, that the *Moors* found *Spain* thoroughly peopled, excellently improved, full of cities, boroughs, and villages, and many of these adorned with fine structures, some of which, in spite of the injuries of time, and of barbarous enemies, are not wholly decayed. Now, though much might be due to the industry of the natives, to the frugality of their ancestors in former ages, and to other incidents, of which it may be we have received little notice, yet we can scarce conceive that this should be brought about without an extensive and beneficial commerce. For, first, this has rarely happened in any country; secondly, it is unnatural to believe it of this, which lay then the most convenient of any part of *Europe* for carrying on foreign trade; thirdly, and which is indeed the strongest argument of all, on account of the puissant naval force which it is evident they had, and which never can be had where commerce does not flourish. This is so much the more apparent, as it is out of dispute that, even at the time they were undone, their fleet was superior to that of the *Saracens*, notwithstanding they found means to embark so many thousand men. It likewise merits attention, that their seamen kept up their courage to the last, which was owing to their active and hardy kind of life; so that if this had been attended to as it deserved, their enemies might have been prevented from undertaking and executing such an invasion. But their factions and domestic discontents prevented them at least from using, it may be hindered them from discerning where their remaining strength lay, and of what importance it was to their preservation. But this is clear and undeniable, that their victorious admiral *Theodomir* was the only nobleman in *Spain* that behaved in a becoming manner, and made any struggle worth recording in defence of his country; which justifies the foregoing observations, and, in the midst of this obscurity, furnishes us with a ray of light sufficient to discover that great part of that immense wealth, which proved the bane of this once warlike nation,

and that so much enriched their plunderers, was derived from maritime traffick ¹ (T).

IN

¹ ISID. PACENS. ROD. TOLET. MORALES.

(T) It is an omission justly to be regretted, that the historians living in and nearest these times are so very succinct in all they say concerning the naval strength of the *Goths*; so that when we speak of it with any degree of confidence, many may be inclined to treat it as a mere conjecture; whereas, in reality, tho' we can state but very few facts, yet the deductions made from these are so plain and natural, and withal so certain, that whoever attends to the chain of reasoning cannot entertain any doubts about them. The *Goths* and *Vandals* were famous for their power at sea before they settled there. The former nation, if a *Greek* historian is to be believed, once covered the *Mediterranean* with 6000 ships, which, let them be of what size they would, was a very great naval force (3). The *Vandals* again had such a strength of shipping as enabled them to transport their whole nation into *Africa*, from whence they invaded *Italy* in favour of *Attila* with a fleet of 3000 sail. These nations cannot be supposed to have lost their attention to, or their skill in, maritime affairs in countries abounding with ports, and happily situated for the command of commerce and of the sea. On the contrary, tho' we seldom read of their fleets, yet whenever they are mentioned, we

find them described as numerous and powerful (4). It was by being superior at sea, that the *Visigoths* established themselves on the coast of *Mauritania*, which they held long after the *Saracens* became powerful on that element, as well as at land, as appears from their struggles with the *Greek* emperors, and from the conquests they made in the *Archipelago*. Yet, before the conquest of *Spain*, we do not find that they ever defeated the *Goths* by sea; which is a direct testimony that they must have been very powerful on that element; and this necessarily implies their having a great number of ships and seamen in constant employ, which is a clear proof that they had a great trade, or otherwise how should they have employed them (5). We cannot indeed suppose that their vessels were comparable in any respect to those now in use; but, notwithstanding this, there is good reason to believe that the shipping of these times was far from being so despicable as some have imagined, since, in the first expedition made by the direction of *Muxa*, we are expressly informed, that he embarked 100 horse and 400 foot on board three merchant-men, which must therefore have been ships of some burthen; and it is farther observed, that he took this method of embarking them, that

(3) *Zosimus*, l. i. (4) *Greg. Turm. Fredeg. in Chron. Isid. Muz. Rod. Tolet. V. sac. Chron.* (5) *Alph.*

Plan of
the fol-
lowing
part of
their hi-
story, and
recovery
of their
dominion.

In the writings of *Isidorus Pacensis*, whom some stile bishop of *Beja*, and others of *Badajoz*, we have an ample and affecting detail of that dreadful devastation which the *Moors* every-where committed at their first entrance into *Spain*, as if their business had not been to conquer and to possess, but to dissipate and destroy; so that as this section began with representing the grandeur of the monarchy, and proceeded to shew how the country was gradually improved, and its inhabitants rendered opulent, it ends with the subversion of the one and the ruin of the other, leaving all things in a state of horror and confusion, till, out of this chaos, both the Christians and the *Moors* returning to their senses, began to form themselves into regular governments, and to bend all their endeavours, which succeeded, however, but slowly, to repairing and restoring what had been so suddenly and surprisngly reduced into a state of desolation, to which history scarce affords us a parallel ^m. The history of these changes of the revival of the *Gothic* power, the revolutions in the *Moorish* administration, the principalities established by the former, the kingdoms that grew out of the latter, their perpetual contentions, which, with various turns of fortune, sometimes flattered one nation, and sometimes the other, till, by the joint efforts of force and policy, and through the over-ruling disposition of Providence, the Christians recovered their ancient dominions, and, after a long series of years, many cruel battles, and a vast effusion of human blood, at length forced the *Moors* utterly to abandon *Spain*, will be the business of succeeding sections, in which it shall be our study to represent a variety of great events as clearly and as concisely as possible, and at the same time with candour and impartiality, that this

^m SAAVEDRA, *Corona Gothica*, PELLICER, *MONDEJAR*.

the *Goths* might conceive no umbrage upon his assembling armed vessels; which seems to imply that these were of a large size (6). That the naval power of the *Goths*, or rather of the *Spaniards*, was afterwards very inconsiderable, is no just exception to what has been said, because almost all the maritime coast of *Spain* was for a long time in the hands of the *Moors*, who kept them pent up in a

mountainous inland country, by which no doubt they lost the spirit and skill of their ancestors in maritime affairs, and, as their fortunes mended, were to begin afresh in respect to things of this nature; and we very well know that all such beginnings must be weak, and the progress, generally speaking, uncertain and slow, more especially where their designs are opposed by potent neighbours.

(6) *Rod. Toletan. de rebus Hispan.*

part of the Modern History, than which there is none more instructive or more pleasant, may, as far as our abilities will permit, answer the reader's expectation, and shew him all the steps by which so many kingdoms, partly by alliances, but chiefly by conquest, came to be united in the *Spanish* monarchy, which once threatened to extend its influence at least, if not its power, over the greatest part of *Europe*.

S E C T. IV.

The Revival of the Christian Power in the Asturias, with the Foundation and Progress of the Kingdom of Oviedo and Leon, through that Succession of Princes who governed this as a distinct Monarchy.

THIS period of the *Spanish* history, as the critics of that nation justly observe ^a, may, with great reason, be stiled perplexed, since as many passages in the former sections remain, through want of proper information, not a little obscure; so, in this, the variation, confusion, and contradiction, visible in writers of different nations, opposite religions, flourishing in different ages, many of them plainly partial, none free from prejudices, and all of them prone to fable and superstition, account sufficiently for that embarrassment into which most who have treated this history have fallen ^b; and others, to avoid their misfortune, have tripped so lightly over it, that we can scarce discern any marks of their passage ^c. We will follow better guides, and, by separating the threads which hitherto, for the sake of conciseness, more especially in general histories, have been wrought up together, we will exhibit to the reader's view each of the Christian kingdoms in *Spain*, in the same order in which they rose ^d; and referring whatever might perplex the narration to the notes, we hope to render our relation succinct without prejudice to its perspicuity ^e.

^a See FERRERAS's Preface to the Fourth Part of his History.

^b See Remarks of P. CHARENTON and Mr. HERMILLY on their respective Translations of Mariana and Ferreras.

^c PUFFENDORFF, P. D'ORLEANS, VANEL, &c.

^d See GRIMSTONE's Hist. Dr. HOWELL, and Dr. HEYLIN.

^e WHEARE's Method and Order of reading Civil and Ecclesiastical History, p. 209.

Don Pelayo represents the Spanish monarchy in the Asturias.
718.

WE have, in the last section, shewn how such of the Christians in *Spain*, including under that general name the descendants of the ancient *Spanish* nations of the *Romans* and *Suevians*, as well as the *Goths*, who preferred liberty and the unrestrained exercise of their religion to the precarious possession of their properties of every kind, fled into the mountains, and, forgetting every other care, sought only to provide for their safety, and freedom¹. We have likewise shewn, as far as the difference of opinions would permit, who that Don *Pelayo* was, that, by the nobility of his birth, distinguished courage, and superior capacity, recommended himself, in this distressed state of things, to the choice of his countrymen, who, according to their antient constitution, elected him for their prince², and by that election laid the foundation of a new government in a country so well fortified by nature, that it afforded them leisure to take those steps, which, if it had not done, the Christian power in *Spain* must have been absolutely suppressed, and that country have remained perhaps till this time in the hands of the *Mohammedans*. At what time, or in what manner, this election was made, the reader will easily perceive it is impossible we should fix with any degree of certainty (A). Let it suffice then to say,

¹ *MARIANA* Historia General de Espana, lib. vii. *FERRERAS* Hist. de Espana, p. iv. *MAYERNE TURQUET* Histoire Generale d'Espagne, lib. vi. ² Chron. Var. Antiq.

(A) There are some very learned writers who refuse the title of king to Don *Pelayo* (1), because they find no mention made of him by *Isidore* bishop of *Budajoz*, who is indeed the oldest and most authentic writer extant in relation to those times; but, notwithstanding this, such an exception is very unreasonable, for many reasons, but more especially because, in the first place, besides that work of the author which has been published, he wrote two others that are lost; one concerning the wars of the *Mohammedans* in *Spain*, and the other of his own

times; and who can say what might be contained in them concerning this great man (2)? In the next place, he is as silent in relation to Don *Favila*, whose monument is still remaining in the church of *Santa Cruz*, and *Alonso* the Catholic, who succeeded him; so that if the objection taken from his silence will prove any thing, it will overturn all that the best writers in the next age have written; and we must believe that Don *Alonso* the Great was not acquainted with his own descent; that the Chronicle of *Albayda*, that of the monk of *Salas*, and

(1) *Pellicer*, *Annales de la Monarchie de Espan.* *Pei. de Marco*, *Marco Hispanico.*
(2) *Nicol. Antonii Biblioth. Antiq.*

say, after one of the most methodical of the *Spanish* historians, that it is highly probable this great event happened towards the close of the month of *September*, in the year of our Lord 718^b (B).

THE

^b FERREXAS Hist. de España, p. iv.

the Annals of *Compostella*, hitherto regarded as unexceptionable vouchers, are full of nothing but falsehoods (3). But a certain ingenious writer, Don *Joseph Pellicier*, who maintains this notion, and who, with incredible learning and a great fund of good sense, had nevertheless a strange turn for paradoxes, supported another opinion still more singular, which was that *Theodoric* and *Pelagius*, or *Pelayo*, were the same person, in which he has been followed by Father *Orleans* (4). Yet whoever considers attentively the exploits performed by the one, and the great actions done by the other, the times when, and the places where, they were done, will easily perceive that this notion cannot subsist.

(B) It is a point of some importance to have a right notion of the beginnings of Don *Pelayo's* kingdom, which, though we can no otherwise describe than by mentioning the provinces under their present names, yet we must at the same time remember that they were not circumscribed exactly then by the same bounds that they are now. We are told in all the *Spanish* histories, and very truly, that Don *Pelayo* was first

acknowledged for a sovereign in the *Asturias* (5). Yet we cannot imagine that he became at first master of that whole country, nor ought we to believe that in process of time, and after he had gained many victories over the *Moors*, his territories extended no farther; neither of which are facts. But the place where he laid the foundation of his government was the little province of *Lisbana*, which is about nine leagues in length, and four in breadth, the most inland part of the country, full of mountains of most enormous height, and, in a word, a place so fortified by nature, that its inhabitants are at all times capable of resisting almost any number of invaders (6). It was from hence that, in process of time, under the special protection of God, and by the valour of his generous subjects, for he reigned over none but those who, despising both property and ease, preferred their own freedom, and the liberty of their posterity, like wise and good men, to all other considerations. By their assistance, then, he descended into the lower and better part of the country, where he made himself master of the strong town of *Gijon*, seated in a peninsula,

(3) Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar en la Prefacion de las Obras Chronologicas del Marquis de Mendejar.

(4) *Revolutions d'Espagne.*

(5) *Ciron.*

Adeph. Moga. Luc. Tudesf. Rod. Tolotan.

(6) *Ladovici Nonii Hispania, cap. xliii. Las Delicias de l'Espagne, par Don Juan de Alvarez de Colmenar, tom. i. p. 115.*

which

Alchaman, at the head of a vast army of Moors, invades that country.

THE news of this election was no sooner carried to *Alahor*, the *Moorish* governor-general of *Spain*, who, at this juncture, had taken up his winter-quarters in *Gaul*, than, foreseeing at once the consequences that must necessarily follow, if this new power had any time allowed for its establishment, he directed an army to be drawn out of the garrisons in *Spain*, and, as soon as the season would permit, caused a great part of his own to repass the mountains, giving the command of all these forces, which were very numerous, to *Alchaman*, a *Moorish* officer of great experience, and who had served in *Spain* from the beginning of the war ⁱ. On the other hand, *Don Pelayo*, perceiving clearly that the loss of a battle must be attended with the loss of all, exhorted his subjects first to address themselves to God for protection, and next to apply themselves with all imaginable precaution to defend their country against these implacable enemies to their faith and their freedom ^k. In order to do this more effectually, he distributed his troops, which were sufficiently numerous, every subject at man's estate being a soldier, along the sides of the precipices, with strict injunctions to conceal themselves with

ⁱ Rob. Toletan. Historia Arabum. Luc. Tudens. Chronicon.

^k Chron. Var. Antiq.

which was his first capital, and from which he borrowed his original title of king of *Gijon* (7). Afterwards he became master of all the *Asturias*, which word is a plural in the *Spanish* language, because it is divided into two parts, *Santillane* and *Oviedo*; but the name common to both *Asturias* is taken from the river *Astura*, which runs by the walls, and bestows an appellation likewise on the city of *Astorga* (8). The inhabitants of this principality, which is always the title of the heir apparent to the crown of *Spain*, value themselves at this day on the purity of their blood; and some of the best fami-

lies in that extensive monarchy acknowledge, or rather boast, themselves to have proceeded originally from that country (9); but the dominions of *Pelayo* stretched themselves east as well as west, and comprehended the best part of *Biscay*, or the ancient *Cantabria*, from whence came his son-in-law *Alonso* the Catholic, and, as the reader will perceive in the text, comprehended gradually other countries likewise, in proportion as the success of his arms made room for multitudes of distressed Christians to come and settle under his protection (1).

(7) *Abbe de Vayrac, Etat present de l'Espagne, tom. ii.*

Alvarez de Colmenar, ubi supra.

(8) *Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, ubi supra.*

la gran Calidad y Servicios del Linage antiguo de Asturias, por Rodrigo Orden Alvarez de las Asturias.

(9) *Memorial al Rey D. Felipe IV. de la gran Calidad y Servicios del Linage antiguo de Asturias, por Rodrigo Orden Alvarez de las Asturias.*

(1) *Chronicon Adelfens. Magus. Luc. Tudens. Ludovici Nonii Hispania, cap. xliiv.*

the greatest care, and not to give the enemy the least annoyance in their passage, but to reserve themselves for one great general effort, when he should be attacked by the *Moors* in his head-quarters. These he placed in the cavern of *Santa Maria de Cavadonga*, on the side of a mountain prodigiously high, and overlooking a long valley edged with precipices on both sides, and into which there was no other passage than over the mountain *Auseba* ¹. *Alchaman* having provided his army with all necessaries, passed the *Rio Bueña*, and began to advance slowly through the vallies, taking with him the famous false prelate Don *Oppas*, at the head of a body of *Gothic* cavalry in the service of the *Moors*. At first they moved with great caution; but meeting with no resistance, they marched more briskly, till having traversed the mountain *Auseba* with some difficulty, they poured their numerous forces into the valley, where they had very soon intelligence that they were not far from Don *Pelayo* ^m. Upon this, archbishop *Oppas* was sent to offer him terms. We will not trouble the reader with the speeches on both sides, tho' nothing can be more elegant than those inserted in his history by *Mariana*. For our purpose it is sufficient to say, that they were rejected with contempt; and that Don *Pelayo* declared plainly that he and his subjects would live or die free ⁿ.

THE preparations for a general attack were quickly made, *The glorious vic-* and the *Moors* began the onset with great fury; but by a *miracle*, as all the *Spanish* historians say, perhaps through *tory obtained by the Christians at St. Maria de Cavadonga.* the special providence of God in bringing this important point to be decided in such a place, the darts and javelins of the *Moors* rebounding from the rocks fell back upon themselves, which threw them into some confusion, out of which Don *Pelayo* did not suffer them to recover; but persuading his troops that God fought for them, issued from his post with such impetuous valour, that the *Mohammedans*, unable to sustain the charge, began to recoil; upon which the troops placed in ambuscade on each side of the valley rolled down the fragments of the rocks upon their heads; and the slaughter ensuing upon this victory strewed the valley, where it was gained, with the dead bodies of 124,000 infidels ^o. *Alchaman* himself fell amongst the first, and Don *Oppas*, taken prisoner, met with a death which would have been cruel, if he who suffered it had not been a traitor to his country. The poor remains of this army repassed the mountain *Auseba* as

719.

¹ VAS. Hispaniæ Chronicon.^m Chron. Var. Antiq.ⁿ Luc. Tudenf. Chron.^o Chron. ALFONS. Magn.

fast as they were able, and descending likewise the narrow passages of *Amosa*, entered the territory of *Liebana*, and, beginning to coast the river *Deva*, thought themselves safe from the arms of the Christians; but here they met with a new misfortune, which might be justly stiled miraculous; for part of the mountain overlooking that river fell down upon them, and partly overwhelming, partly stopping the chanel, raised the waters so high that the rest were drowned ^P.

Don Pelayo's second victory over the Moors in the valley of Olalles,

THE news of this dreadful defeat being carried to *Mumuza*, who commanded the next *Moorisb* garrison established at *Gijon*, he judged that the wisest step he could take was to march out with his forces, and endeavour to recover some post of greater strength; but before he was able to do this, *Don Pelayo*, with his victorious army, fell upon him in the valley of *Olalles*, three leagues below the place where the city of *Oviedo* now stands, and cut the greatest part of these troops to pieces ^q. By this victory, and the right use he made of it, *Don Pelayo* cleared the *Asturias* effectually from all *Moors*, whom he did not reduce into a state of slavery, and established such a reputation as, during the remainder of his reign, served him instead of an army. He did not, however, as too many conquerors do, become either insolent or indolent in consequence of his victories; on the contrary, he employed the leisure they procured him to great and glorious purposes: he built some towns in convenient places; he restored others that were almost ruined; he repaired many that were but inclining to decay, and founded and rebuilt churches in them all ^r. But if these are instances of his being a good prince, we shall produce an omission that will demonstrate his refined skill in policy: he walled none of his towns, he fortified no passes, he did not erect a castle throughout his dominions; for he knew that while his people were brave, their country would be safe, and he was unwilling to pave the way for the loss of virtue, by providing for their security ^s.

The manner in which that great prince settled and improved his dominions.

THERE was indeed another circumstance that contributed not a little to the tranquillity of his territories. The *Moorisb* governors perceived the great risk they ran in leading numerous armies into so rough a country; and being also satisfied that there was nothing to be got if it was conquered but rocks and mountains, a few homely hamlets and paultry villages, they thought it better to employ their arms against *Gaul*; which humour continued, or rather was augmented, by the

^P Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^q Chron. Var. Antiq. ^r Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv. Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Hispan. Chron. ^s Chron. Var. Antiq.

repeated checks they received in those attempts; the providing for which obliged them to levy such heavy taxes in *Spain* as proved the cause of frequent insurrections[†], and at length of civil wars amongst themselves. All these contributed to leave Don *Pelayo* in quiet; and he improved this season so well in the restitution of the antient government in all its branches, that great numbers of Christians retired privately out of the *Moorish* provinces, in order to put themselves under his protection; by which his new towns were quickly peopled, and this too by persons of the better sort, because they were most exposed to hardships and ill usage from the vices, caprices, and misunderstandings, of the *Moorish* governors, who, as they knew they were not to remain long, were always in great haste to be rich^u.

Don *Pelayo* also discovered great prudence in the settle- *His fami-*
ment of his family. He had by his queen *Gaudiofa* two chil- *ly, death,*
dren, the prince *Favila* and the princess *Ormizinda* w. *and place*
He procured the former to be associated with him in the govern- *of inter-*
ment by the consent of the nobility, and gave the latter in
marriage to Don *Alonso*, the son of *Pedro* duke of *Cantabria*,
descended, as the *Spanish* writers affirm, from king *Re-*
cared^x. However that matter may be (for indeed there
ought to be no great weight laid upon their genealogies in
these times), he is universally allowed to have been a person
of great accomplishments, and to have merited the honour
done him by Don *Pelayo* by his services both in peace and
in war. That monarch having attained to a good old age,
and having governed the remains of the Christians in *Spain*,
with uninterrupted prosperity, for nineteen years, deceased,
as the *Spanish* writers say, *September* the 18th, 737, and was
buried in the church of *Santa Olalla de Velana*^y, in the ter-
ritory of *Cangas*, which was of his own foundation, and had
the satisfaction of leaving his people in as happy and flourish-
ing a condition as, the state considered in which he found
them, he had any reason to expect or desire, leaving behind
him a reputation that will last at least as long as that vast
monarchy, the basis of which was laid by his valour and
virtues^z (C).

Don

* Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

* Luc. Tudens. Chron.

† Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv.

* Luc. Tudens.

Chron. † Chron. Var. Antiq.

* VAS. 21 Chron.

(C) This restorer of the Christian monarchy in *Spain* was so eminent for his virtue, wisdom, and piety, that we find him still

Don Favila succeeds his father, and, after a short reign, is killed by a bear.

DON Favila, who had for some time shared the administration with his father, succeeded him without the least opposition, and held the reins of government but a very little time. He has a very different character given him by the *Spanish* historians, particularly *Mariana* and *Ferreras* *. The former says he was a light, indolent, and luxurious prince, having no resemblance to Don Pelayo, and who kept his dominions through the ill management and inactivity of the *Moors*, rather than through any prudence or other great qualities of his own. The latter assures us, that his courage was great, and his conduct equal to it; that he was the worthy successor of his noble father; that he defended his dominions gallantly against the *Moors*, and governed his subjects with mildness and discretion. The plain truth of the matter is, that we have no just foundation either for these or for any other character of this prince; all we know of him is, that he lies bu-

* *Histoire Gen. de Espana*, l. vii. *Histoire de Espana*, p. iv. *MAYERNE TURQUET Hist. Gen. d'Espagne*, l. vii.

filed a saint by some very ancient writers. *Mariana* speaks of his will, by which the succession was limited to his son-in-law Don *Alonso*, and his daughter *Ormisinda*, in case his son Don *Favila* died without issue; but for this he cites no ancient author: and as it is directly contrary to the ancient constitution of the *Goths*, which, as it appears clearly from the current of the history, still prevailed, we ought to regard it as a fiction. The *French* translator of *Mariana* censures him, however unjustly, for asserting positively, that Don *Alonso* was the son of Don *Pedro* duke of *Cantabria*, as if he had advanced this of himself, and a little inconsiderately; yet, whatever becomes of the fact, our historian deserves no blame in that respect, because we find it in the chronicle of *Alonso, the Great*, from whom it is derived to other historians. We may, however,

collect from the manner of his coming into the service of Don *Pelayo*, and the respect paid him, that he had been before at the head of a body of independent *Spaniards* in the mountains of *Biscay*, and united his territory and people to those under his father-in-law, who seems also much strengthened by this accession, since we find him from that time descending into the plain, and making excursions on one side into what was afterwards called the kingdom of *Leon*, and into the fruitful country of *Galicie* on the other. It may be these excursions were chiefly made under the command of Don *Favila* and Don *Alonso*; and that Don *Pelayo*, being old and infirm, reserved to himself chiefly the civil administration, and the care of reviving the ancient form of government; for which reason he resided chiefly in the *Asturias*.

ried in the church of *Santa Cruz*, in the territory of *Cangas*, of which he was founder, and where there is an old inscription remaining that tells posterity thus much; and farther, that his wife's name was *Froleva*, by whom he had several children ^b; but either they died before him, or *Mariana* was mistaken in saying that he left no issue. His end was very unfortunate; for while he was hunting, a bear rushed upon him, and gave him a mortal wound, before any of his attendants could come up to his assistance. This melancholy event happened in the year of our Lord 739 ^c. His corpse was interred in the church before-mentioned; and the peasants have put up a cross on, or at least near, the place where he received his wound.

THE nobility, upon his demise, made choice of Don *Alonso*, Don the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, and the son-in-law of Don *Pelayo*, a prince of an heroic spirit, and born to repair the losses of his country ^d. In the third year of his reign, perceiving that the *Moors* were extremely weakened by their civil wars, which had continued long, and were not like to cease in haste, he assembled an army, and, with his brother *Froila*, passed the mountains, and fell into the northern part of *Galicia*, where finding no considerable resistance, he carried all before him till he came to *Lugo*, where the infidels made some defence; notwithstanding which he soon made himself master of the place, and, in this single campaign, recovered the best part of *Galicia* ^e. The next year he fell with his army into the plains of *Leon* and *Castile*; and, before the *Moors* could assemble a force capable of looking him in the face, he reduced *Astorgas*, *Leon*, *Saldagna*, *Montes de Oca*, *Amaya*, *Alava*, and all the country at the foot of the mountains; in which expedition his army amassed a prodigious booty. The year following he was in the field again, and pushed his conquests as far as the frontiers of the country now stiled *Portugal*; and, in his next campaign, he ravaged all the country as far as the mountains that separate the two *Castiles* ^f. If his activity and success in war procured him justly the title of a great captain, he had an equal claim to that of a consummate politician, from the manner in which he improved his victories.

Alonso the Catholic assumes the crown with the consent of the nobility.

742.

^b Chron. Var. Antiq. Hispaniæ Chronicon.

^c LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI

^d MARIANA Historia General de Espana, l. vii. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire Generale d'Espagne, l. vi.

^e LUC. Tudenf. Chron. ROD. Tolet. de Rebus Hisp. l. iv.

^f Chron.

Var. Antiq.

*He greatly
extends,
and won-
derfully
improves,
his domi-
nions.*

HE was sensible that he wanted strength sufficient to preserve the flat country, and therefore he ruined and destroyed it, obliging all the Christians that were settled there to retire into his dominions, into which he carried many thousands of *Moors*, whom he made slaves, and leaving behind him a country unpeopled and destroyed, the harvest failed, and the infidels found enough to do to defend themselves against famine at home, without attempting to follow him into his dominions ^e. But when he had availed himself sufficiently of these maxims, and found his country thoroughly peopled, and his subjects in a condition to occupy and defend part of the flat country, which he had reduced, he suffered them to extend themselves pretty far into *Galicia*, and also to rebuild *Leon*, *Astorga*, and some other places; so that, at the time of his demise, he left his territories much extended, and his subjects in a far better state than at his accession to the throne ^h. He deceased in the year 757, and was buried near his queen *Ormisinda*, in the monastery of *Santa Maria de Cangas*, leaving behind him two sons by that princess, *Don Froila* and *Don Bimarano*, and a natural son by a *Moorish* woman, who, for that reason, was called *Mauregato*. This monarch, for his great zeal expressed in building Christian churches and destroying mosques, obtained the surname of *Catholic*, which, from the time of *Reccared*, had not been used by any of his predecessors ⁱ.

*His son
Don Froi-
la succeeds,
and obliges
the clergy
to relin-
quish their
wives.*

THE nobility held themselves so much obliged to their late king, that they made no difficulty of raising his son *Don Froila* to the throne, who, at the beginning of his reign, is said to have distinguished himself by his zeal for religion, tho' his future conduct shewed that he had less of that than any of the three princes who had reigned before him. It seems he was scandalized at the thoughts of having any to serve in his churches but married clergymen; and therefore, whether with or without the consent of his bishops does not clearly appear, he compelled those who were married to separate from their wives, and forbid their entering into the state of matrimony for the future under severe penalties. This edict, *Ferreras* assures us, procured him the blessings of all honest people, and the hatred of the far greater part of the clergy ^k. But while he was thus employed, and perhaps because he was thus employed, the inhabitants of *Alava* and part of *Na-*

^e LUC. TUDENS. Chron. ROD. TOLETAN. de Rebus Hisp. l. iv.

^h Chron. Var. Antiq.

ⁱ VAS. ANNAL.

^k MARIANA. Hist.

General de España, l. vii. FERRERAS Hist. de España, p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET Hist. Gen. d'Espagne, l. vi.

varre, which his father had subdued, took up arms; but he quickly reduced them, and punished the ringleaders. Among the prisoners he found a young lady exquisitely beautiful, whom *Mariana* calls *Monina*, and makes her the daughter of the duke of *Aquitaine*, which is not very agreeable to history; but other writers content themselves with commending her person, without acquainting us of her family or name¹ (D). This lady, whoever she was, the king married, and had by her Don *Alonso*, of whom we shall have much to say. About this time the disputes that had so long disturbed the *Moors* were composed, or rather removed, by *Abderrahman's* establishing himself as an independent monarch, and fixing the seat of his government at *Cordova*; which event could not but prove very prejudicial to the Christians.

THIS prince assumed the title of *Almir Amuminim*, which *Gains* & the *Spaniards* commonly, tho' corruptly, call *Miramamolin*, ^{complete} the sense of which is *commander of the faithful*; a title implying his claim to the khalifat, or *Mohammed's* lieutenant, ^{victory over the} by which he pretended not only to the sole and absolute dominion over all the *Mohammedans* in *Spain*, but expected a like submission from the Christians, whom he considered only as rebels, that had hitherto maintained themselves in a state of independency through the divisions that reigned amongst their masters^m. He caused therefore a great army to assemble in that part of *Portugal* which was under his obedience; and having given the command of it to *Haumar*, directed him to reduce Don *Froila*; with which view he invaded his territories that lay nearest to himⁿ. The Christian monarch had not been a supine spectator of the great military preparations amongst the infidels; on the contrary, he had drawn together

¹ Chron. Var. Antiq.^m Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.ⁿ Luc. Tadenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

(D) When we find so accurate and cautious a writer as *Ferreras* telling us that we ought to presume the king Don *Froila* took the advice of the few prelates then in his dominions, before he published his edict against married priests, we may be sure that, notwithstanding his general knowledge in the antiquities and history of this country, he could find no positive authority to support it. We

have therefore a right to say, that the clergy of old in *Spain* had the legal authority of a king and general council in favour of their marriages; whereas they were deprived of that liberty by the arbitrary act of a tyrannical prince, who, in this instance, set up his will against the common voice of his subjects, as we shall presently prove.

the force of his dominions, and having suffered the enemy to advance into *Galicia* as far as a place called *Pontumo*, he there attacked them with such vigour and judgment, that he gained a complete victory, killed 54,000 men upon the spot, and, having taken their general prisoner, caused him to be put to death °.

Found the city of Oviedo, and obtained farther advantages over the rebels.

THIS victory was as wisely improved as it was courageously obtained; for the king employed the greatest part of that wealth which was found in the enemy's camp, and raised in contributions after the defeat, in building the city of *Oviedo*, which he resolved to make the capital of his dominions, in order to be in a better condition to defend the flat country, which he now determined to people ^p (E). He there erected also a bishop's see, and covered the place till it was in a state of defence with such a force as prevented the *Moors* from giving him any disturbance. *Abderrahman*, in the mean time, turned his arms against those *Moorish* provinces that had revolted upon the defeat which his forces had received from the Christians, and in the course of several years, not without a great effusion of blood on both sides, reduced them at length under his obedience ^q. After this, having a numerous and victorious army under his command, he made an irruption in person, on the side of *Castile*, into the territories of *Don Froila*, who suffered him to advance till he began to enter the rough country, and then gave him so severe a check, that *Abderrahman* was inclined to conclude a truce with him, being thoroughly convinced that it was to no purpose to attempt the conquest of a country fortified by nature, and defended by a numerous and martial people. Upon the first appearance of this invasion, *Don Froila* had summoned the *Galicians*, amongst the rest of his subjects, to march to his assistance, which they neglected; and having now leisure to make them feel the weight of his resentment, he directed his march into that country, defeated and dispersed the rebels, and afterwards made so many and so severe examples, as not only frightened the inhabitants of that province, but

° Chron. Var. Antiq. ^p Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Tolletan. de Rebus Hisp. lib. iv. ^q Luc. Tudens. Chron.

(E) It is generally believed that this city was raised upon the ruins of places known in the time of the *Romans* by the names of *Aturum*, *Lucus* and *Brigacium*. It stands very plea-

santly, five leagues to the south of *Gijon*, between the rivers *Ove* and *Devra*; from whence its modern *Latin* name *Ovetum*, as well as its *Spanish*, *Oviedo*.

raised an universal discontent amongst his subjects; so that nothing was more visible than that they obeyed him not thro' reverence or affection, but merely from fear¹.

AT his return to *Oviedo*, Don *Froila* could not help perceiving to how great a degree he had lost the hearts of his people; and as this increased the natural fierceness of his temper, so he could not help seeing with regret the different conduct of his brother Don *Bimarano*, and the universal spirit of affection which it produced. This by degrees raised such a tempest in his bosom, that, forgetting his own dignity, the ties of nature, and the dictates of religion, he went to the palace of that young prince, and, under pretence of conferring with him upon matters of importance, stabbed him to the heart with his dagger, and left him dead upon the place². This unnatural and brutal act alarmed the nobility to such a degree, that, believing none could be safe under a prince of such a suspicious and sanguinary temper, they resolved, for their own security, to remove him out of the way; and, having concerted this design with the utmost secrecy, it was not long before they found an opportunity of executing it. As he had stabbed his brother, so some bold assassin stabbed him at a private audience, and the people, instead of avenging their sovereign, congratulated each other upon their being delivered from a blood-thirsty tyrant. Thus fell Don *Froila* in the prime of his life, when he had held the reins of government somewhat more than eleven years, and was buried in the church of *Oviedo*, which he founded in the year of our Lord 768³. All the *Spanish* historians agree that he was a prince of invincible courage, very zealous against the *Mohammedans*, and endowed with many excellent qualities; but *Mariana* goes beyond them much in extolling his piety; in proof of which he insists chiefly upon his inflexibility with regard to the married clergy, his severity in exterminating the *Moors*⁴, as far as it lay in his power, and his many religious foundations, which, with him, sufficiently excuses all his other failings, and even that spirit of cruelty and resentment, which certainly could not be pleasing in the sight of God; for it rendered him universally odious amongst men, and, as we shall see hereafter, excited such an apprehension of a like disposition in his son, as hindered that prince, tho', in reality, one of the best and most amiable of any that flourished in his time, from ascending the throne so

Becomes tyrannically cruel, murders his brother, and is himself stabbed.

¹ Chron. Var. Antiq. ² Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv. ³ Chron. Var. Ant. ⁴ Hist. General de Espana, lib. vii.

soon as otherwise he might have done. It exposed the whole nation to those losses and inconveniencies which are commonly the lot of people divided into factions, and who, in reality, pursue private interest under the plausible pretence of a zealous regard for the public good. This can never be so effectually secured as by a reciprocal affection between a legal sovereign and his subjects, the one jealous only of his people's happiness, and the other regarding from thence the glory and prosperity of the crown as an advantage accruing to themselves, from a persuasion that the extension of the royal authority must contribute to augment their felicity.

Don Aurelio, his cousin, succeeds him in the kingdom.

THE nobility, upon this vacancy of the throne, placed thereon *Don Aurelio*, whom some historians make the brother of the deceased prince, but who, with greater probability, is held to be no nearer related to him than being the son of his father's brother *Frcila* ^w. Some likewise say that he was at the head of the conspiracy, as to which others are silent. He appears to have been a prince either naturally of a mild and sweet temper, or prudent enough to take warning from his predecessor's misfortune. His first care was to renew the peace with the *Miramamolin*, in which he found no great difficulty, for this measure was as necessary to that monarch's affairs as to his own; and this once done, he addressed himself with great application to regulate the interior of his dominions ^x. But while he was thus employed, himself and his subjects fell suddenly into the most imminent danger, from a cause that had never provoked so much as a suspicion. The *Moorish* slaves, with which their victories had furnished them in great numbers, and who had been hitherto very kindly treated, revolted all at once, and assembled together in arms. This rebellion had certainly been attended with fatal consequences, if it had been delayed till the martial temper of the Christians had been a little softened through prosperity and peace; but falling out at this time, when there was a perfect understanding between the sovereign and his subjects, they were quickly defeated and subdued; so that it proved most fatal to themselves, as they were deprived by law of those indulgencies which hitherto they had enjoyed, and which they had so ungratefully abused ^y. This was the only remarkable event of the reign; for *Don Aurelio* having no children of his own, and his brother *Don Bermudo* having taken

^w MARIAN. Hist. Hispana, lib. vii. FERRERAS Hist. de Espan. p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET Hist. Generale d'Espagne, lib. vi. ^x Chron. Var. Antiq. ^y Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

deacon's orders, the chief object he had in view was to pass his days quietly; in order to which he cast his eyes upon *Silo*, the wealthiest and most potent of the *Gothic* nobility, to whom he gave his cousin *Adofinda* in marriage, and admitted him to a large share in the administration, which had, tho' that seldom happens, the desired effect, and kept him free from disturbance during the remaining part of his reign. He breathed his last in the year of our Lord 774, in the seventh year of his reign, and was buried in the church of *St. Martin's*, about fifteen miles from *Oviedo*, which was of his own foundation ².

ACCORDING to his own plan, the late king was succeeded *Don Silo* in the throne by *Don Silo*, who had married his relation. ^{mounts the} This prince is thought to have descended from the *Moors*, ^{throne, and} because of a remark in an old chronicle, that, on the score of ^{reigns pa-} his mother, the peace with the king of *Cordova* was without ^{cifically.} difficulty renewed ². He prosecuted the same scheme of government that had been introduced by *Don Aurelio*; while queen *Adofinda*, with a laudable vigilance, superintended the education of *Don Alonso*, her cousin, whom she regarded as a prince that ought one day to wear the crown, and whom she therefore endeavoured to render worthy of it, by appointing him proper masters, and by giving him very good instructions herself ^b. But while all was quiet at court, the *Galicians*, for what cause is not recorded, took up arms; upon which *Don Silo* marched against them with a numerous army, and tho' they had taken care to entrench themselves strongly on the top of a high mountain, yet he attacked and forced their camp, dissipated their army, made them put a few of their chiefs to death, and returned in triumph to *Pravia*, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He passed the remainder of his days in quiet, if we except some heresies that sprung up in the church, with which, notwithstanding the bad example of some bishops, the court remained uninfected. He founded the church of *St. John de Pravia*, in which, after having worn the crown for nine years, he was, at his decease, interred in the beginning of the year 783, without leaving any issue ^c (F).

779-

ON

² LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron. ^a MARIANA Hist. Gen. de Espan. FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
^b Chron. Var. Antiq. ^c ROD. Toletan. VASÆI Chron.

(F) What we have said in dence and interment, is supported by good authorities, and the text of his place of rest. yet

Don Maurogato, the bastard of Alonso the first, usurps the crown from his grandson.

ON the decease of her husband, queen *Adosinda*, with the consent of some of the principal nobility, caused her nephew *Don Alonso*, now in the 18th or 19th year of his age, to be declared king. But, notwithstanding the personal good qualities of that young prince, it very soon appeared that the people in general had an aversion to him from the dread they were under that he might one day prove of the same disposition with his father; which was so artfully heightened by his uncle *Mauregato*, that, with very little difficulty, he supplanted him in the throne, *Don Alonso* himself declaring that he would never reign over an unwilling people; and retiring to his own estate in *Biscay*, the populace, who had rejected him for their king, insisted that he should be left there in safety and in peace; neither does it appear that his uncle, tho' he was not either a good man or a good king, ever attempted any thing to his prejudice, but rather wished he might prove his successor^d. The new king, in support of his title, had brought an army of *Moors* into his country, and lived always in such intelligence with the *Miramamolín*, as rendered him suspected and despised by his subjects. Some historians assert, that he became tributary to him, and yielded the *Miramamolín* annually one hundred beautiful virgins for his seraglio, which, as it has very much the air of a fable, so the most judicious critics are of opinion that it was really such, and had no other foundation than his encouraging marriages between *Moors* and Christians, of which, if we consider his own birth, we may easily discern the spring^e. How much soever they disliked, his subjects were afraid to disobey him, because of his close alliance with the *Miramamolín*; and therefore he remained in quiet possession of the

^d ROB. TOLETAN. de Rebus Hisp. lib. iv.
Hist. Gen. de Espana, lib. vii.

^e MARIANA

yet the current of historians agree, that he built the splendid church of *San Salvador* in *Oviedo*; and that his tomb stands at the entrance near the great gate, with these three words inscribed thereupon, viz. *Silo Princeps fecit*, in so whimsical a manner that it may be read two hundred and seventy ways. At the bottom of this tomb stand the following epitaphs, *H. S. E. S. S. S. T. L.* which

implies, *Hic situs est Silo. Sit sibi Terra levis*; that is, *Here Silo lies; let earth lie upon him light*. It seems, as he made no figure in his life-time, he was desirous of distinguishing himself at his death by this tomb and inscription; and yet it is probable he changed his mind, and directed his corpse to be buried in the church of *St. John at Pravia*, which was likewise of his foundation.

throne to the time of his decease, which was in the month of *July*, in the year of our Lord seven hundred eighty-eight, in the sixth year of his reign, much less regretted than any of his predecessors ^f.

UPON this vacancy of the throne, the nobility, who doubted *Don Bermudo* what the consequence might have been of restoring *Alonso*, made choice of *Don Bermudo*, who, though he had received *cepts the* deacon's orders, was married, and had children 8. It is how-*sovereignty, which* ever highly probable, that this step was taken with the ap-*heresigusto* probation, it may be at the desire, of *Don Alonso*; for, as soon as *Don Bermudo* was seated on the throne, he sent for that prince, brought him into his councils, and, when he saw the distaste of the people gradually subside, intrusted him with the command of the troops. It was not long before an occasion offered to shew the virtues of that young prince in a proper point of light. *Iffem*, king of *Cordova*, either prompted by ambition, or displeased at finding in the new king much less complaisance than in his predecessor, invaded his territories with a numerous army of *Moors*, against whom the king *Don Bermudo* marched in person, accompanied by his cousin *Don Alonso*. The armies met at a town called *Bureba*, in the neighbourhood of *Burges*; and an obstinate engagement ensued, in which at length the Christians were victorious, and the *Moors* defeated with great slaughter ^h. As the prince *Don Alonso* distinguished himself ex-*A.D. 791.* tremely upon this occasion, he was not only complimented at his return by the nobility, who were ever well inclined to him, but received with universal acclamations by the people; which the king no sooner perceived, than he declared his resolution to abdicate in his favour; and, the nobility having approved this measure, he publicly resigned the crown; but his successor would never permit him to leave the palace, where he lived as a private man, but in the strictest friendship with the king *Don Alonso*, to the time of his death ⁱ.

Don Alonso, the second of that name, who, from the *Alonso II.* great purity of his life and manners, was surnamed *El-casto*, *surnamed* or the *Chaste*, was declared king by election, on the volun-*El-casto,* tary abdication of his predecessor, *September* the fourteenth, *or the* *Chaste,*

^f *LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASZI Annal.*

⁸ *MARIANA,*

Hist. general de Espana, l. vii. FERREAS, Hist. de Hispana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire general d'Espagne, l. vi.

^h *LUC. Tudenfis Chron. RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. l. iv.*

ⁱ *Chron. var. antiq.*

referred to
the regal
dignity.

Anno Domini seven hundred ninety-one^k, and in a short time after transferred the court to *Oviedo*, where he repaired and beautified the church which his father had founded, applying himself with great diligence to correct the errors that had in process of time crept into the government, and labouring to the utmost of his power to make his subjects of all ranks and conditions live quietly and happily, in a manner agreeable to their station. In the third year of his reign, *Iffem*, king of *Cordova*, thinking his friendship neglected, and hoping that his veteran and victorious army might enable him to recover part at least of the flat country from the Christians, ordered a numerous army to assemble in *Portugal*, with instructions to march at a proper season of the year into the territories of *Don Alonso*^l. Accordingly, under the command of *Macheit*, an experienced general, they entered *Galicia*, as they thought by surprise, because they met with no Christian troops to oppose them. But when they had reached *Lados*, and found themselves entangled in a morass, they were quickly attacked by king *Alonso* and his troops, who, by their perfect knowledge of the ground, as well as by their superior valour, gained a complete victory, in which there were sixty thousand either killed upon the field of battle, or drowned or choked in the bogs^m, which gave such a damp to the spirit of the infidels, as prevented them from giving *Don Alonso* any trouble for several years afterwards, which enabled him to finish intirely those regulations which he had so happily begun, and which contributed not a little to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects.

A.D. 794.

His victory
over the
Moors,
and magnificent
embassy to
the emperor
Charlemagne.

UPON the demise of *Iffem*, king of *Cordova*, a new civil war breaking out among the *Moors*, the succession of his son *Albacan* being contested by his two uncles, *Don Alonso* did not let slip so favourable an opportunity, but employed it in repeopling the city of *Braga*. While those he brought to inhabit it were occupied in rebuilding it, he made an incursion with his forces into the territory of the *Moors*, and, having beat their forces, advanced as far as *Lisbon*, which he took by storm, and then returned to *Braga* with a very rich booty, and a great multitude of slavesⁿ. The very same year he sent a most splendid embassy to the emperor

^k MARIANA, *Historia general de Espana*, l. vii. FERRERAS, *Hist. de Hispania*, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQ. *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, l. vi. ^l LUC. Tudens. Chron. RODERIC Tolet. *Hist. Arabum*. ^m Chron. var. antiqu. ⁿ LUC. Tudens. Chron. RODER. Tolet. *Hist. Arabum*.

Charlemagne with very rich presents, amongst the rest a magnificent tent, eight mules very richly harnessed and adorned, and eight slaves, who were appointed to conduct them. The ambassadors were most honourably entertained, and the presents they brought very kindly received, the emperor promising to give their master upon all occasions marks of his esteem and confidence; which assurances were so much the more welcome, as this monarch had made great conquests upon the *Moors*, and was at that time master of several very important fortresses in *Spain*°. As a farther mark of his piety and generosity, *Don Alonso* erected, in the great church of *Oviedo*, a noble cross of gold, and thereupon inscribed the date of the year, which, as it is still remaining, is considered as a venerable monument of antiquity by such learned *Spaniards* as are addicted to that study^p. *Ferreras*, amongst others, assures us, that he went thither on purpose to see it, and that he found the date of the *Spanish* æra to be D.CCC.XXXVI. though it had been otherwise reported by *Morales* 1.

AN obstinate and bloody war breaking out between *Lewis*, *Alonso* king of *Aquitain*, son to the emperor *Charlemagne*, and the *Moors*, in which the former attacked *Barcelona*, which was not only gallantly defended, but a powerful army sent to its relief by *Albacan*, though without effect; to repair which disgrace, those forces, passing up the *Ebro* by *Saragossa*, fell suddenly into the dominions of *Don Alonso*, and committed great ravages in *Biscay*, and in the mountains of *Burgos*; upon this the king marched against them with a considerable army, and, having forced the *Moors* to a general engagement, obtained a complete victory; but as human prosperity is ever deceitful, so this gleam of good fortune proved but the prelude to an unexpected calamity^r. There still remained in his dominions a large number of malecontents, who, upon this occasion, had taken arms, and made the greater part of the king's forces: these, immediately after the victory, turned upon their sovereign, and endeavoured to seize his person, in which, by their superiority to those who were well affected, they succeeded, and, having deposed the king, carried him to the monastery of *Abelia*, into which they thrust him as a prisoner. This account is indeed dark and perplexed, which must be excused, since

° *VASÆI Hispaniæ Chronicon.* ^p *Historia de España*,
P. iv. 1 *AMBROSIA MORALES, Chronica general de España*,
p. 355. ^r *LUC. Tudens. Chronicon. RODERIC Tolet.*
de rebus Hispan. l. iv.

there is no better to be had, because the *Spanish* historians are, of all others, the least inclined to perpetuate the memory of rebellions¹.

Referred to his dominions, he becomes twice victorious over the Moors.

THIS defection, however great, was not general; and though the rebels, by managing their design with great secrecy, and being first in arms, appeared very formidable; yet when those, who were loyal to their prince, came to recollect themselves, and saw plainly, that, tho' the people submitted to, they took no pleasure in, this revolution, it induced them to contrive in their own minds a new change of affairs. Amongst those who were in these honest and honourable sentiments², was one *Theudis*, a man of great quality, whose numerous alliances created him a general influence over his relations and neighbours. He made use of this to persuade them, that it would be no difficult thing to take the king out of the monastery where the rebels had placed him, and to set him again upon the throne. As they concurred upon the first motion, the thing was executed almost as soon as concerted; and the people rising in multitudes, as soon as they appeared in arms, they brought the king³ out of the monastery, and carried him in triumph to *Oviedo*, where he resumed the regal dignity, and, by his clemency towards the conspirators, extinguished at once a faction that might have proved very troublesome, if he had treated them

A.D.802. with severity. The war continuing between the *French* and the infidels, by sea as well as land, *Don Alonso* took occasion from thence to execute all the designs he had before formed in their utmost extent, by which his dominions were very much improved, and the force of the monarchy rendered much greater than at the time of his accession. But a peace being at length made between the two nations before-mentioned⁴, *Albacan* took that opportunity of raising a great army, which, under the command of *Almacan*, passed the *Duero*, and fell into the territories of *Don Alonso*, whose policy now suffered some alteration; for he no longer permitted the *Moors* to ravage a country which he had been at so much pains to people, but gave them battle as soon as possible, in which he gained a glorious and most important victory⁵. The very next year another army, under the command of *Omar*, again entered his dominions, and were again

¹ Chron. var. antiq. ² RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. l. iv. ³ LUC. Tudensis Chronicon. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron. ⁴ RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ⁵ LUC. Tudensis Chronicon. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. ⁶ LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron.

beaten;

beaten; upon which a truce ensued, which gave Don *Alonso* leisure to pursue his wise and pious designs for the securing his dominions, and gaining new advantages to his subjects.

THE true design of this cessation, on the part of the infidels, was only to gain an opportunity of surprising the Christians, as appeared plainly by an irruption of theirs under the command of *Abdalcarin*, in the year ensuing. After wasting the adjacent country, he formed the siege of *Calborra*, a place of great consequence, and of which he was in hopes of becoming master before Don *Alonso* was in a condition to give him any disturbance; but in this he found himself mistaken; for the place made a vigorous defence, which gave the king sufficient time to march to its relief; and, upon this, *Abdalcarin*, not caring to trust the issue of a battle, raised the siege and retired. All these repeated disappointments discouraged *Alhacan*, king of *Cordova*, so much, that he remained quiet for several years. At length he resumed his design of recovering at least some part of the countries which had been taken from him. To facilitate this design, he divided his forces into two considerable armies, one under the command of *Alabez*, the other under that of *Melic*, both his near relations^a. They entered *Galicie* by different routes, destroying the country without mercy. These disorders, however, did not last long, for the king, at the head of one army, and his cousin Don *Ramiro*, at the head of another, quickly gave a check to the infidels, and gained two signal victories^b on the same day, which soon delivered that province from the fury of the infidels, and left the king at liberty to proceed in his care of civil and ecclesiastical concerns, and to provide for the cultivation and settlement of those districts which he had so gallantly and successfully defended.

A.D. 816.

A NEW civil war broke out amongst the *Moors* upon the death of *Alhacan*, king of *Cordova*, and, amongst others who revolted from his son *Abderrahman* the Second, was *Mahamut*, governor of *Merida*, an officer of great valour and experience, who, having a numerous garrison, believed it possible for him to render himself independent. *Abderrahman*, either moved by the importance of the place, or desirous of making a particular example of *Mahamut*, marched against him immediately with a very formidable army, and, though he defended himself with great skill and courage, and some-

A.D. 821.

Don Alonso so relieves *Mahamut* the Moorish governor of *Merida*, who betrays him.

^a ROVERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab.^b Chron. var. antiq.^c ROB. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

times also with considerable advantage, yet, perceiving his troops gradually diminish, and knowing that he had no resource if the place was once invested, he threw himself with all his adherents into the dominions of Don *Alonso*, and demanded his protection^d; which that monarch, knowing him to be a brave man and an able officer, readily granted him, and appointed him and his troops to defend the frontiers of *Portugal*^e, without taking any umbrage at their remaining *Mohammedans*. After he had acquitted himself with great honour for near seven years in the discharge of this trust, *Mahamut* set on foot some intrigues for reconciling himself to *Abderrahman*; suggesting, that, if he would furnish him with a sufficient number of troops, he would infallibly put into his hands the whole province of *Galicia*^f. This proposal was too advantageous to be rejected; and the troops being furnished that he desired, *Mahamut* put himself at the head of them as well as his own, and marched directly to the castle of *St. Christina*, which is within a very small distance of *Lugo*, by which all the adjacent country was put under contribution.

Vanquishes the Moors, resigns the crown, and soon after dies. ON the first news of so extraordinary an event, the king dispatched his orders to the prince Don *Ramiro* to throw himself immediately into *Lugo* with all the troops under his command, which he accordingly performed. The king soon after joined him with a much more considerable body of men; and, immediately after this junction was made, they marched with their whole army against the infidels^h. *Mahamut* was much superior in number, made a fine disposition of his troops, and received the Christians with great firmness and intrepidity; but being slainⁱ in the very beginning of the action, and his head presented on the point of a lance to the king, the infidels soon fell into confusion, so that in the battle, and in the pursuit, they lost fifty thousand men. The castle also was immediately surrendered, in which they found spoils to an immense value. The king was also victorious in some other engagements, which effectually quelled the spirit

A.D. 829. of the infidels. But Don *Alonso*, finding himself weak and infirm through age, and the great fatigues he had endured, summoned an assembly of the states^k, to whom he recommended his cousin Don *Ramiro* for his successor, and, upon

^d Luc. Tudenfis Chron. ^e VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron. ^f ROD. SANTIÏ Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^g Chron. var. antiq.

^h RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. l. iv. ⁱ Luc. Tudenf. Chron. ^j VASÆI Chron. ^k RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab.

^l Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

his election, resigned to him the administration, when he had reigned, after his last accession to the throne, near forty-four years. He survived, after this, to the year of our Lord eight hundred forty-two, and then expired¹, at the age of seventy-seven, universally regretted by his subjects, and with the highest reputation of any monarch of his time.

At the time of the old monarch's decease, Don Ramiro Don Ramiro was in the country of *Alava*, which afforded an opportunity ^{miro succeeds, in spite of an insurrection in favour of Nepotian.} to count *Nepotian*, an artful and ambitious nobleman^m, to persuade several persons of high distinction, to whom he made large promises, that, with their assistance, he could maintain himself upon the throne, and thereby defeat the former election of Don Ramiro, and the late disposition in his favour by king *Alonso*. They, being seduced by his fair speeches, gave him the title of king, and raised an army with an intention to support his title; but Don Ramiro, as soon as he had intelligence of this defection, hastened into *Galicia*, and assembled a good body of forces at *Lugo*, and from thence marched towards the frontiers of the *Asturias*ⁿ. Count *Nepotian*, having, partly by money, partly by violence, drawn together a great number of troops in the neighbourhood of *Oviedo*, began to move very readily, in order to give the king battle, at as great a distance as might be from the capital. When the two armies were in sight, he quickly discerned how much he had deceived himself with respect to his interest in the army; for the troops deserted to Don Ramiro^o in such numbers, that, seeing himself on the point of being abandoned, he placed all his hopes of safety in his flight; on which two of the great lords, who had been deepest in his treason, pursued, made him prisoner^p, and brought him in that condition to the king, who ordered that, his eyes being first put out, he should be confined for life in a monastery; and thus, the rebellion being intirely crushed, Don Ramiro entered in triumph into *Oviedo*. A.D. 843.

Don Ramiro found himself obliged to begin his reign with some necessary acts of severity; for, on the one hand, the roads were disturbed by robbers, and on the other, many in the villages, through an excessive superstition, abandoned themselves to sorcery. As to the former, as fast as they could

The Normans make a descent in the neighbourhood of

¹ VASÆI Chron. ^m RODER. SANTII Hist. Hispaniæ, P. iii. ⁿ LUC. Tudenf. Chron. ^o Chron. var. antiq. ^p LUC. Tudenfis Chronicon. ^q MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. vii. FERRERAS, Hist. de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, lib. vi.

Corunna,
and are
repulsed.

be taken, he condemned them to lose their eyes; and the latter, as they fell into the hands of justice, were committed to the flames. These intestine troubles were succeeded by an unexpected foreign invasion. The Normans, who at that time infested all the maritime provinces of Europe, made a descent at Corunna, and began, according to their usual custom, to waste all the adjacent country with fire and sword. But Don Ramiro^r, marching against them with a potent army, took his measures with so much prudence, that he routed these barbarous invaders with a prodigious slaughter, took great numbers of them prisoners, and burnt the best part of their fleet; which reception so frightened these barbarians, that, though they long troubled those parts of Spain that were under the dominion of the Moors, they never ventured to make any descent on the territories of Don Ramiro, which gained him great reputation and respect amongst his neighbours: yet this could not secure him quiet at home, where two great lords^s, honoured with employments of high importance, and who had daily access to the king's person, formed a conspiracy against him, and, upon its being discovered, broke out into an open revolt. However, through the courage and conduct of the king, they were quickly reduced, the former being punished with the loss of his sight, and the latter, with his seven sons, all suffered death, not by the sole will and pleasure of the king, but by the solemn judgment of the states^t.

A glorious
victory ob-
tained over
the Moors,
concerning
which
there are
many fa-
bles.

ABDERRAHMAN the second, king of Cordova, believing, or pretending to believe, that Don Ramiro had excited the Normans to those frequent descents on his dominions, having intelligence of the troubles that had broke out in the Asturias, invaded the dominions of Don Ramiro with his whole force^u. The king, who had just vanquished his rebels, and had a numerous body of forces in the field, not allow the enemy much time to make conquests, but, marching directly towards them, engaged and defeated them with prodigious effusion of blood. In this glorious action his brother Don Garcias, and his son Don Ordono, were present, and distinguished themselves exceedingly, which gave the king an opportunity of recommending the latter^w to the favour of the nobility, who, to reward his courage, and to give the king the highest proof of their affection and

^r Chron. var. antiq.
Tolet. de rebus Hispan. l. iv.
Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^s Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

^t Rod. Vasæi Chron.

^u Rod.

^w Roderic

^x Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vasæi

Chron.

esteem, elected that young prince his coadjutor and successor. *Ferreras* * places the conspiracy of count *Piniolo* after this election, which he supposes to have been his chief motive; and, if this be admitted, it will account for that difference in punishment which this unhappy man and his family sustained, inasmuch as the king's clemency was now quite worn out. It was not long after this that *Abderrahman* † made another irruption into the territories of *Don Ramiro*, in which war that illustrious monarch gained the most signal victory in his whole reign, and this, as some modern historians ‡ assert, in the plains of *Clavijo*, with the assistance of St. *James*, the great patron of *Spain*, who not only encouraged the king in a dream before the fight, but was likewise present in person on a white horse; and they likewise pretend, that the king made a vow upon this occasion, by which he charged all the lands in *Spain* with an annual tribute to the church of that apostle at *Compostella*; but wiser writers § of that nation have not scrupled to acknowledge, that all this is mere romance, and that it may be proved so from those very charters and records to which the patrons of this tale refer us for the most authentic proofs of its veracity. The reader will excuse our omitting passages of this sort sometimes; but this was so remarkable, and has occasioned so many and so high disputes, that it would not have been pardonable to have passed it over in silence.

THE king, now far advanced in years, was attentive chiefly to his domestic concerns, establishing ecclesiastical and charitable foundations, conciliating thereby the affections of the clergy, nobility, and people, in order to pave the way for *Don Ordogho's* quiet possession of the kingdom, when, in the midst of these labours, death relieved him from his fatigues †, on the first of *February*, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and fifty. His body was interred in the church of *Santa Maria* in *Oviedo*, together with those of his queens *Paterna* and *Urraca*, and his brother *Don Garcias*, after having governed with great glory to himself, and no less advantage to his subjects, seven years complete, leaving them in a state of perfect tranquillity, as well as in a condition that left them little or nothing to fear from any of their neighbours. He had therefore just reason to expect, that, in gratitude for these services, as well as out of respect to his son's merit and their own late act, they would admit him

* *Historia de Espana*, P. iv.† *RODERIC Tolet. Hist.*

Arabum.

‡ *LUC. Tudensis Chronicon.*§ *VASÆI**Hispaniz Chronicon.*‡ *Chron. var. antiq.*

to the peaceable enjoyment of the kingdom, though, from what had passed in his own reign, he was fully sensible that there was a very strong party who disliked hereditary succession, though it took place in consequence of an election, and who waited only for a favourable opportunity to set it aside, by placing one of their own faction upon the throne, in hopes such an example might bring in a new regulation.

*His son
Don Or-
dogno
succeeds,
and quashes
an insur-
rection in
Alava.*

DON *Ordogno* continued the administration of the regal dignity^d after his father's death, in his own right, and the nobility seemed to be very well satisfied with his accession; some of them, however, excited the *Gascons* in the province of *Alava* to take up arms, and, which was still worse, to call in the *Moors* to their assistance. The king was no sooner informed that they were in motion, than he marched against them^e with a small body of choice troops, and, arriving sooner than they expected, easily defeated them. But when he was upon his march back to his capital, he had intelligence that the *Moors*, who had promised them their assistance, had entered the province, and were about to take possession of it; upon which he marched back with so much swiftness and secrecy, that, surprising them in their camp, he cut off great numbers, and forced the remainder to make

A.D.850. a precipitate retreat^f. At his return to *Oviedo*, he found that a new civil war was broke out in the kingdom of *Cordova*; and that *Muza*, an officer of great courage and experience, but of still greater ambition, had revolted, and was endeavouring to make himself an independent prince^g. As this war was favourable to his interests, he, as a politician, took care to keep it alive, and sent also a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the people of *Toledo*, who had likewise taken up arms against *Mahamut*, king of *Cordova*, who, by a stratagem, drew them out of their city, and not only beat their forces, but also those sent by Don *Ordogno*, of whom there were eight thousand killed, and twelve thousand of the people of *Toledo*, which enabled the conqueror to raise several pillars of heads, as a triumphant though barbarous manner of celebrating his victory^h; a cruel and indecent custom practised long before amongst these people, and which in *Africa* is still in use.

A.D.854.

^d MARIANA, *Historia general de España*, l. vii. FERRERAS, *Historia de España*, p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, l. vi.

^e LUC. TUDENSIS Chron. VA-

SÆI Chron. ^f Chron. var. antiq. ^g LUC. TU-

DENSIS Chron. ^h RODERIC Toletan. *Hist. Arabum*.

THIS misfortune did not hinder Don *Ordogno* from continuing his assistance to the people of *Toledo*, who still persisted in their revolt; and while, by this method, he provided full employment for the *Moors*, he fortified the chief cities in his own dominions. He particularly walled those of *Leon*ⁱ and *Astorga*, and established an episcopal see in each. But, while he was thus occupied in these cares, he received information that *Athaulfo*, bishop of *Compostella*, was guilty of a most heinous sin, equally contrary to his nature as a man, and to his duty as a Christian; and, without considering that this was charged on him only by slaves, he suffered his passion to rise so high on that prelate's appearing in his presence, that he turned loose upon him a bull which happened to be then baiting; but the beast, instead of destroying *Athaulfo*, approached him gently, and without doing him any hurt, which the king and the nobility about him looked upon as a certain proof of his innocence^k. The bishop, however, took this imputation so heavily, that he quitted his charge, and spent the remaining part of a long life in a hermitage, as if, after such an escape, he thought it safer to pass his days amongst beasts than men. Soon after the king received intelligence, that *Muza*, whom we have before mentioned, who, though descended from the *Goths*, professed the *Mohammedan* religion, and had chosen *Saragossa* for his capital, had begun to fortify the town of *Albayda*^l, upon the frontiers of king *Ordogno*'s territories, with a view to cover himself from any incursions on that side; but the king, who had given him no occasion for this precaution, took it in another light, believing that he meant thereby to have a door open to make inroads at his pleasure into the adjacent country. Don *Ordogno*, therefore, resolved to demolish this new fortress, and marched with a numerous army for that purpose; of which as soon as *Muza* had intelligence, he put himself in motion with all his forces, in order to cover the place^m. This brought on a battle, which was obstinately fought; but in the end the king gained a complete victory, *Garcia*, the son-in-law of *Muza*, with ten thousand men, being killed upon the place, and *Muza* himself, being much wounded, narrowly escaped being made prisoner, to die of those wounds a few days after in *Saragossa*ⁿ. As for the fortress of *Albayda*, it submitted to the king, who

*He is de-
ceived,
thro' a
false accu-
sation, into
a rash
action
against a
bishop.
A.D. 857.*

ⁱ Luc. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Annal. antiq.

^l VASÆI Chron. Roder. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^k Chron. var.

^m Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

ⁿ Chron. var. antiq.

Roder. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

dismantled it as he intended ; but, for all these advantages, he saw, when it was too late, that the king of *Cordova*, without sharing at all in the danger, had gained more by the defeat of *Muza* than himself, most of the places which that rebel held having submitted to that king upon his death.

Gains several great advantages over the Moors, and acquires various conquests.

MAHAMUT, king of *Cordova*, being thus delivered by one enemy from another, raised a formidable army, in order to reduce *Toledo* ; and, notwithstanding they received some succours from Don *Ordigno*, yet, in consequence of a long blockade, they were forced to submit upon the best terms they could obtain, after *Abenlope*, who was at the head of the revolt, had deserted the place, with such as followed his fortunes *. In all probability Don *Ordigno* was hindered from supporting him as he intended, by the appearance of the *Normans* upon the coasts of his dominions, which obliged him to send most of his forces to Don *Pedro*, who commanded in *Galicia*, and who was thereby enabled to defeat those plunderers, and to burn a part of their fleet †. Yet such was the resentment of the king of *Cordova* for the share his neighbour had taken in the defence of *Toledo*, that he sent one of his sons with a numerous army to invade his dominions, which however turned more to his prejudice than to that of the Christians, since Don *Ordigno* obliged them to retire with great loss ‡. The inhabitants of *Toledo* were no sooner informed of this, than they recalled *Abenlope*, and revolted again with a settled resolution to shake off the yoke of the *Moors* ; and, on the the other side, Don *Ordigno* gave them repeated assurances of affording them better assistance than he had done heretofore †. He likewise intended to have succoured *Merida*, which, after the example of *Toledo*, had revolted against *Mohammed* ; but that monarch was too quick for them, and, having reduced the place, built a citadel to restrain the inhabitants within the bounds of their duty in time to come. However, Don *Ordigno* took *Salamanca* and *Coria*, the former by storm, which he demolished, the latter by composition, and then returned into his own dominions with a prodigious booty, and a large number of slaves, which procured him a joyful reception by his subjects of all ranks ‡.

A.D. 862. Takes this opportunity THE king took advantage of this disposition in his people, and proposed the association of his son Don *Alonso* †, who

* LUC. Tudens. Chron.

Hispan. P. iii.

Tudens. Chron.

SANTII, Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

† RODERIC SANTII Hist.

Chron. var. antiq.

‡ VASÆI Chron.

* LUC.

† RODERIC

had distinguished himself highly in these wars, and they of *pro-*
came into it with a very good grace. It was not long be- *curing his*
fore he had a farther opportunity of raising the prince's *son's elec-*
credit and his own; for the king of *Cordova* making an ef- *tion, and*
fort with the whole force of his dominions for the reduction *soon after*
of *Toledo*, Don *Ordogno* disappointed that design; and when, *dies.*
in revenge of this opposition, he invaded his dominions on
the side of *Portugal*, he also defeated the forces of *Maha-*
mut in several actions, so that this war ended highly to his
advantage^u; and though some writers tell us, that a great
fleet, equipped by the *Moors*, in order to make a descent
upon *Galicia*, was dissipated and destroyed by tempests, yet
an ancient chronicle^w, written in those times, asserts, that
they were beaten by the Christians; and therefore we have
reason to believe that Don *Ordogno* not only extended his do-
minions upon the continent, but raised a maritime^x power
likewise, which never had been attempted by his predecessors. A.D. 865;
Thus, covered with glory, and somewhat advanced in years,
Don *Ordogno*, to the universal regret of his subjects, died of
the gout^y, with which he was much afflicted, *May* the se-
venteenth, in the year of our Lord eight hundred sixty-six,
and was buried in the royal sepulchre of the kings of *Oviedo*.
With his reign ends the chronicle of his son Don *Alonso*, or,
as he is commonly called, Don *Alphonso* the Great, a work,
which, in point of facts and of dates, we have hitherto
chiefly followed, as that which in all respects deserved the
greatest credit.

THE nobility, who had sworn allegiance to the prince *Don Alon-*
Don *Alonso* at the age of fourteen, received him now in his *so III.*
eighteenth year for their sovereign^z with great alacrity; and *surnamed*
the young monarch, who had not the least doubt of their *the Great,*
fidelity, gave most of them personal marks of esteem and *succeeds,*
affection, so that all things seemed to wear the face of the *and is de-*
most perfect harmony; yet on a sudden they had intelligence *throned by*
at *Oviedo* of the march of Don *Froila*, who was at the head *Don Froi-*
of the army in *Galicia*, towards that capital, with an intent *la.*
to dethrone the king. Some of the lords^a, who were nearest
his person, advised him to retire into *Castile*, as he had no
troops about him to oppose the usurper, and offered, as an

^u Chron. var. antiq. ^w Chronic. Sanct. MILAN. ^x RO-
DERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^y LUC. Tudens. Chron.
VASÆI Chron. ^z MARIANA, Historia general de España,
l. vii. FERRERAS, Historia de España, P. iv. MAYERNE TUR-
QUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, l. vii. ^a RODERIC SAN-
TII, Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

indubitable proof of their loyalty, to share in his disgrace. The young prince yielded to this, and it had a good effect; for the usurper, irritated at the cold reception he met with, began to act the tyrant, and behaved so ill towards those with whom he had been formerly familiar, that, by a conspiracy suddenly formed against him, he was assassinated in

A.D.866. his palace almost as soon as he had seated himself on the throne^b.

*Recovers
his domi-
nions, and
soon after
suppresses
two rebel-
lions.*

DON *Alonso*, as soon as he received the news of this event, returned with his friends to *Oviedo*, and was received with the general acclamations even of the usurper's army^c. His first care was to put his dominions into a proper state of defence, and, with this view, he built, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Leon*, the castle of *Sublancia*, which is the place now called *Sollanco*, in order to cover the *Asturias* from the irruption of any enemies; at the same time he peopled the town of *Gea*, and built there a very strong citadel with the very same view^d. While he was thus employed, he was informed of the revolt of count *Eylon*, in the province of *Alava*; upon which he marched thither with a numerous army; but, upon his approach, the rebels laid down their arms, threw the fault upon their chief, whom they brought prisoner to the king, who, granting them a general pardon, returned with his forces to *Oviedo*^e; yet he was scarce arrived in his capital, before he received intelligence that they were in arms again; which obliged him to march into that province a second time, where, having easily reduced these mutinous people, he was, notwithstanding the natural clemency of his nature, in a manner compelled to make some examples^f, to prevent future disturbances, and that he might have leisure to pursue those important designs he had formed for the benefit of his subjects. He also, at his return to *Oviedo*, made a present of a noble shrine of silver to the cathedral church, for the more convenient holding of their relics, which is still preserved, and, by an inscription thereon, the time of his accession to the throne is clearly asserted^g.

A.D.868.

*Gains two
signal vic-
tories over
Maha-*

As soon as *Mahamut*, king of *Cordova*, had intelligence of the great assiduity with which Don *Alonso* fortified the chief places on his frontier, and the methods he employed for keeping up a regular militia in every part of his territories,

^b Chron. var. antiq.

^c LUC. Tudensis Chronicon. VA-

SAE Chron.

^d RODERIC Toletan. de reb. Hispan. l. iv.

^e LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASAEI Chron.

^f Chron. var.

antiq.

^g LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASAEI Chron.

even in time of peace, he concluded, that, as soon as these ^{mut, king} designs were atchieved, he might be in danger from so active ^{of Cordo-} and so potent a neighbour, and therefore he held it policy to ^{va.} begin first, and to endeavour, while part of the country was still open, to make some impresson upon the Christians. He had at that time a very numerous army on foot, to which notwithstanding he added some new levies; and, having divided the whole into two bodies ^h; gave the command of one to his brother *Abulmundar*, and the other to an officer of great reputation, whose name was *Alcanatel*, with instructions to penetrate into the dominions of Don *Alonso* at the same time, one on the side of *Leon*, and the other thro' *Galicia*^l. The news of this double invasion reached the king's ears while he lay at no great distance from *Leon*, with a small army, but composed chiefly of troops that had served long under his father. He took his measures directly, and, marching with the utmost expedition to *Leon*, he attacked *Abulmundar* unexpectedly, and, after a short though very bloody dispute, defeated his forces ^k with great slaughter. He marched next against *Alcanatel*, over whom he obtained ^{A.D. 869.} a more complete victory, the far greater part of his troops being killed on the field of battle, or in the pursuit, his camp taken and plundered, and the poor remains of his army so thoroughly dissipated, that Don *Alonso* ravaged the provinces of *Tierra de Campos*, and the districts of *Simencas*, *Toro*, and *Zamora*, in all which he left not a *Mohammedan*, but carried into slavery all that he found there^l.

THE very same year he espoused the celebrated *Ximene*, *Conquers Ximena*, or *Chimene*^m, descended from the illustrious house of *Navarre*, and, in consequence of that marriage, entered ^{several places from the Moors, and forms a design of keeping those conquests.} into a league offensive and defensive against the *Moors*, which, as soon as the rejoicings for the marriage were over, was followed by another campaign, in which he wasted the territories of the infidels through a vast extent, brought away an incredible multitude of slaves, and a booty of immense valueⁿ. The winter he spent in his own territories, and in examining how far the designs which he had proposed for the benefit of his subjects were carried into execution. At the return of the spring he was again in motion; and, having passed the *Duero*, he advanced as far as *Lamego* and *Viseo*, and, finding them still in the same situation they had

^h RODERIC Toletan. Hist. Arab.^l Chron. var. ant.^k RODERIC SANT. Hist. Hispan. P. iii.^l LUC. Tudens.

VASÆI Chron.

^m RODER. Toletan. de reb. Hispan.

l. iv.

ⁿ Chron. var. antiq.

been left in by his predecessor *Alonso the Catholic*, continued his progress to *Coimbra*, which he took and dismantled. His victorious army having as much plunder as they were able to transport, and as many slaves as it was possible for them to bring away with safety, he returned to *Oviedo*, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of the king of *Cordova*, A.D. 871. and granted them a truce^o upon very advantageous terms. His next care was to restore and repeople the cities of *Aurense* in *Galicia*, and of *Bruga* and *Porto* between the *Duera* and the *Minho*, dividing all the adjacent lands amongst those whom he sent thither. The following year he repaired *Lamego* and *Viseo* in the same manner; and upon this occasion it was that the tomb, in which lay the remains of *Don Roderic*, the last king of the *Goths*, was discovered. He caused likewise *Coimbra*, or *Conimbra*, to be re-edified in the same manner, directing it to be strongly fortified, as intending to make it his frontier on that side P. By this prudent method he secured the interior of his territory from the ravages of the infidels.

*Defeats
the Moor-
ish armies
employed to
prevent his
executing
this design.*

THE king of *Cordova*, as soon as the term for which he had concluded the truce was expired, renewed his hostilities, with an intent to disturb *Don Alonso* in his project of re-peopleing the flat country which he had subdued. But this was attended with no better success than in his former war, *Don Alonso* being constantly victorious in every action, and carrying his arms in this campaign as far as the city of *Merida*^q. The king of *Cordova*, having recruited his forces, and having obtained some supplies from the most distant parts of his dominions, assembled a much better army than he had the year before, under the command of *Abuhalet*, a very gallant officer, and of established reputation; but tho' it was in the power of this monarch to change his captains, it was not within the reach either of him or them to change the fortune of the war; for, coming to an engagement, on the frontiers, with some of *Don Alonso's* generals, who commanded his army in his absence, the *Moors* were defeated; and *Abuhalet*, being taken prisoner, was sent to the king at *Oviedo*, who agreed with him for his ransom, and consented to take one of his sons, two brothers, and a nephew, as hostages for the payment of it^r. This last defeat served only to enrage the king of *Cordova*, who, withdrawing most of the forces he had in *Andalusia*, and having promised

^o *RODERIC Toletan. Historia Arabum.*
denf. Chron. ^q *Chron. var. antiq.*
Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^r *LUC. Tu-*
RODERIC To-

great privileges to those districts who had furnished him with men, assembled early in the spring a greater army than he had the year before, which he put under the command of his son *Almundar*, joining with him one of his oldest generals, whose name was *Ybengamin*, promising them great supplies which should join them on their march^o. These forces, having advanced into the neighbourhood of *Leon*, began to think it necessary to wait there for the reinforcements that were promised; but *Don Alonso*, having likewise intelligence of the march of those succours by the river *Orbigo*, marched with a strong detachment from his own army, and took possession of an eminence which overlooked the narrow country between the rivers *Orbigo* and *Ezla*, and, as soon as the succours, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men, had passed *Polvoroso*, he attacked them in front and on the flank with such success, that the greatest part of them were killed upon the spot, or drowned in the rivers, and the rest took the best measures they could to reach home in safety^t. The victorious monarch, desiring A.D. 878. to add one conquest to another, marched with all possible expedition to attack *Almundar*; but the young prince, having intelligence of his friend's defeat, decamped in the night, and with much speed and silence recovered his father's dominions, from whence he sent a polite message to *Don Alonso*, to desire a truce, which, at his request, the king granted for three years^u. At his return from this campaign, he set up a cross of gold, as the monument of his victory, in the cathedral church of *Oviedo*, as, the year before, he had sent a cross of the same metal to the church at *Compostella*, that his piety might not seem inferior to his courage^w.

WHILE the truce subsisted, *Abenlope Abdalla*, the son of *Muza*, revolted from the king of *Cordova*, and found means to make himself master of *Saragossa*, in which his father had given that monarch so much trouble before, not without the participation of *Don Alonso*, who, as soon as the truce was expired, made an irruption into the territories of *Ma-hamut*, passed the *Tagus*, and afterwards the river *Ana*, not far from which he defeated the *Moorish* army, and killed some say five, some say ten, others fifteen thousand men^x. While he was thus employed abroad, the city of *Oviedo*, by his order, was walled and fortified, and a palace built for his

Supports the revolt of Aben-lope Abdalla against the king of Cordova.

A.D. 882.

^o Luc. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^t Chron.

var. antiq. ^u RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^w Luc.

Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^x RODERIC Tolet.

Hist. Arabum.

reception at home, to which, after his glorious campaign, he returned in triumph. The next year the war continued hot between *Mahamut* and *Abdalla*. The latter had once broke his faith to *Don Alonso*, and attempted to reconcile himself to his old master; from whom he revolted again, and laboured to conclude a new treaty with *Don Alonso*, who was unwilling to trust him any more, and who, notwithstanding the *Moorish* prince *Almundar* had made an incursion into his country, sent *Dulcidius*, a priest, at the request of king *Mahamut*, to *Cordova*, where he negotiated a truce for six years⁷, upon terms equally honourable and advantageous for his master.

Makes
many salu-
tary alter-
ations in
the frame
of civil go-
vernment.

A.D. 884.

THE king, now grown in years, was inclined to repose, and to spend the remainder of his days in embellishing and improving his dominions. With this view he sent instructions to *Don Diego*, count of *Castile*, to repair and fortify *Burgos*, which he performed so effectually, that it afterwards became the capital of that country². The next object of *Don Alonso's* attention was to restore the sees of *Braga*, *Porto*, *Lamego*, *Viseo*, and *Coimbra*, in *Portugal*, and those of *Orense* and *Mundogredo* in *Galicia*. He was not less provident with respect to the civil government, which he reduced into so good order, and gave the common people such marks of his attention and affection, as highly disobligeed some of the nobility, who could by no means digest the limitation of that authority which hitherto they had executed without controul; and this seems to be the most probable cause of those seditions which disturbed and distressed the remaining part of this great monarch's reign, notwithstanding all that he had done, and all that he was willing to do, for the common benefit of his subjects³.

Suppresses
and punishes
several in-
surrec-
tions in
Galicia.

A.D. 885.

THE first that broke out were in *Galicia*, where a great lord, whose name was *Ano*, had entered into some dark designs; which being discovered, he was punished by the confiscation of his estate^b. Another nobleman, whose name was *Hermegild*, by the assistance of his wife *Iberia*, a woman of an active and intriguing temper, raised great disturbances in the neighbourhood of *Corunna*; but the king, sending a formidable army into those parts, quickly dispersed them and their adherents; and the chiefs, being soon after taken, were put to death, and part of their estates given to the church of *St. James*^c. The king, having now some respite from

⁷ Chron. var. antiq.
pan. P. iii.

² RODER. SANTII. Hist. Hisp.
³ I. v. c. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.
RODER. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^c Chron. var. antiq.

foreign wars and domestic disorders, completed his pious and charitable foundations, and particularly the pompous church of *Saint James*, which he caused to be consecrated with great solemnity^d. Soon after a new rebellion broke out in *Galicia*, under one *Witiza*, more formidable than any of the former; which however was quickly suppressed, and that traitor sent prisoner to the king. This was followed by another, to which an end was put in the same manner; but of these there is no notice to be found in any history of those times; and they would have been totally unknown to posterity, but for the records of the convictions and confiscations that attended them, which records, however, ascertain the facts, and the times in which they happened, and may be of very great use, in case any more of the chronicles in cathedrals or convents should be made public.

ALL the seditions and revolts that had hitherto happened in *Galicia* were but trivial in comparison of that raised by *Froila* and his brethren *Nugnez*, *Veremond*, and *Odoair*, whom *Mariana*^e will have to be brothers also to the king; which is directly contrary to what is asserted by a contemporary historian^f, who assures us, that *Don Alphonso* was the only son of *Don Ordogno*. However, it was quickly suppressed, and *Froila* and his brother fled towards *Castile*, but were overtaken by some of the king's troops, and brought back prisoners to *Oviedo*, where they were condemned to have their eyes put out, and to remain in a dungeon for life &c. *Veremond*, however, soon after made his escape, took shelter in *Astorga*, and not only raised all that part of the country in his favour, but obtained also a body of troops from *Abdalla*, the grandson of *Mahamut*, king of *Cordova*. *Don Alphonso* pursued him in person, and invested the city of *Astorga*, which he defended obstinately, in hopes of being succoured by an army that king *Abdalla* sent to his relief; upon the approach of which he boldly marched out to join them, and, in conjunction with the infidels, offered his master battle^h. *Don Alphonso*, grown old in arms, and followed by troops that had been ever victorious under his command, attacked the rebels and their infidel allies with such vigour in the plain of *Graja de Ribera*, which is watered by the river *Ezla*, that they were quickly routed, and the greatest

^d Luc. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

general de Espana, lib. vii.

^e Historia ge-

neral de Espana, P. iv. sect. 9.

^f EL MONGE DE SILOS, FER-

RERAS, Hist. de Espana, P. iii.

^g RODERIC SAN-

TII Hist. Hispan.

^h RODERIC Toletan. Hist.

Arab.

part of them slain or drowned, the few that remained fled with blind *Veremond* into the dominions of the king of *Cor-dova*, who soon after sent an embassy to Don *Alonso*, to persuade him to renew the truce, which with some difficulty was granted ¹.

*Holds a
general
council at
Oviedo,
concerning
which
there are
some mis-
takes.*

THE public tranquillity thus restored, the king returned, as usual, to the cares of domestic government, and more especially to works of piety, and such as might contribute to the glory of his kingdom, and the honour and happiness of his subjects. It was with this view that he summoned a general council of his clergy, and a great assembly of the states at *Oviedo*, with the consent, as the generality of the *Spanish* writers say, of the pope ^k; but however, their best critics ^l allow, that the acts of this assembly, as they are published in the general assembly of the *Spanish* councils by cardinal *Aguirre*, are forgeries; and, if we take our notions of what passed here from the historians nearest the time, we shall find it not to have differed much from the like assemblies in the times of the *Gothic* kings ^m. In a word, the monarch opened to the members of this venerable assembly the motives upon which they had been called together, in consequence of which they elected the bishop of *Oviedo* ⁿ, as the court bishop, metropolitan, ordered the ancient canons to be strictly observed, and, for the greater ease of holding regular synods at *Oviedo*, each of the bishops had certain rents or revenues assigned him there, sufficient to defray his expences while he attended, to discharge the duties of his sacred function ^o. This (though many others have been assigned) seems to be true reason why this was called the city of bishops.

*Defeats
the Moors,
who sup-
ported by
assistance
from the
Moham-
medans in
Afric.*

As the king saw with pleasure the good effects that had already followed from rebuilding and fortifying such places of consequence as he had recovered from the *Moors*, and was determined to adhere steadily to that salutary maxim, he undertook to preside in person at the reparation of *Zamora*, anciently called *Scientica*, while the care of rebuilding *Toro* was committed to his son Don *Garcias*, and that of restoring *Simencas* and *Duenas* to two great lords of the court, with a view that the river *Duero* might, by the help of these strong places, be rendered an impenetrable barrier against

¹ Chron. var. antiqu.

^k MARIANA, *Historia general*

de Espana, l. vii.

^l FERRER, *Historia de Espana*, P. iv.

^m LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

ⁿ RODERIC

SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^o LUC. Tudens. Chron.

the infidels P. *Abdalla*, king of *Cordova*, was so much disturbed at the news of these proceedings, foreseeing that these new cities would be all soon peopled at his cost, that he sent over several ministers to solicit the princes of his religion in *Africa* for succours, representing the interest of the *Mohammedans* in *Spain* to be in danger from the designs of *Don Alonso*; by which he obtained such large supplies, as enabled him to march a numerous army directly towards *Zamora*, and, with the general who commanded it, he sent *Alcaman*, a plausible enthusiast, who endeavoured to raise the courage of the soldiers by his vehement harangues. But *Don Alonso*, who covered the works he was about, with a considerable army, did not suffer them to approach near enough to disturb him; but, having made a proper choice of the ground, advanced, attacked, and defeated them, with prodigious loss, and amongst the slain was their preacher, who had promised them such mighty things in the name of his prophet. A.D. 904. This blow kept the infidels quiet for two years. Then *Don Alonso*, having intelligence that they began to be in motion, marched with a numerous army into the kingdom of *Toledo*, and, fetching a compass under the mountains that divide the two kingdoms of *Castile*, burnt and demolished some of the best towns, and, having taken and dismantled a fortress which the *Moors* had built to cover their territories, he returned in triumph to his own with immense riches. It was at the end of this campaign that a new conspiracy was detected, into which one *Adalpin* and his sons had entered, for which they were justly punished with death.

THE next year, after gaining so much fame abroad, and *Oppressed* being delivered from such danger at home, the good old by *disturb-* monarch found himself in a situation so much the more un-*ancus in his* fortunate, as it was both unnatural and unexpected. His *own fami-* son *Don Garcias*, who had married the daughter of *Nugnez* ly, he re-
Fernandez, one of the greatest noblemen in his dominions, *signs the* formed the cruel design of deposing his father's, and seating *crown to* himself upon the throne; which however could not be car- *his son Don*
ried so secretly, but that it came to the old king's ears, who, *Garcias.* marching with a strong detachment of forces to *Zamora*, seized upon his son's person, and sent him prisoner to the castle of *Gecuzon*. How just, how necessary soever this step might be, *Don Alonso* found that it gave great offence to

P RODERIC. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. l. iv.

var. antiq. RODER. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

Chron. * RODER. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

† Chron.

† VASÆI

† LUC.

those to whom it ought only to have given sorrow. In short, the queen *Chimene*, who was excessively fond of her son, forgetting the cause of his confinement, spoke of it as an act of excessive severity, and solicited the king for his release, which he in plain terms refused; then the father-in-law of the young prince became first importunate, and then undutiful^u. However, *Don Alonso* was not to be moved either by A.D.908. persuasions or threats; at length, in the third year of the prince's confinement, his brother *Don Ordogno*, governor of *Galicia*, joining with the queen and *Nugnez Fernandez*, began to dispose the minds of people every-where to revolt, alleging, that while the king gave them fair words, and promised to consider their petitions, the prince was growing old in a prison. The wise and brave old king, perceiving that a civil war was on the point of breaking out, summoned an assembly of the states, which was held in the year of our Lord nine hundred and ten, in which the majority endeavoured to engage the king to set his son at liberty, as a step necessary to his own safety, and which would be highly obliging to his subjects^v. The king thereupon summoned all the grandees to his country palace at *Bordes*, now called *Bedes*, in *Asturias*, and, having produced both his sons before them, he made a short speech, in which he observed, that having studied through a long life, and a long reign, to do always what might be best for his people, he would not alter his conduct at the end of it; and was therefore content to gratify their wishes, by resigning the crown to *Don Garcias*^z, and the province of *Galicia* to *Don Ordogno*. The two princes, who were far from expecting such a resolution, threw themselves on their knees at their father's feet, and intreated his pardon for what was passed, which he readily granted; and immediately after, by the consent of the states, *Don Garcias* was declared king^y (G). This transaction,

^u RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan., lib. iv. var. antiq.

^v Chron.

^z LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASARI Chron. ^y MARIANA, Historia general de España, lib. vii. FERRERAS, Historia de España, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, lib. vi.

(G) We have some circumstances, relating to the abdication of *Don Alonso the Great*, from *Mariana*, that deserve the reader's notice. He assures us, that, in order to execute his

projected scheme of adorning the chief places in his dominions with public structures, rebuilding decayed towns, and fortifying his frontiers, he found himself under a necessity of im-

tion, as far as can be collected from the best historians, happened in the month of *December*, in the year before-mentioned.

THE new king was solicitous to begin his administration with certain actions that might appear both popular and praiseworthy; and accordingly he first founded and endowed a monastery, and then assembled a numerous army, in order to march against the *Moors*, who had been free from incursions during the last three years. The king of *Cordeva*, having intelligence of his motions, made the best provision he could for his reception, and put at the head of his forces *Ayola*, an officer of great repute for conduct as well as courage. He seems, however, to have acted this campaign upon the defensive, and to have aimed only at preventing Don

Don Garcias opens his reign with an expedition against the Moors.

posing new taxes upon his subjects, which, as he observes, is always to be avoided as much as possible, because it never fails, unless the necessity be very glaring, to make those who are to pay them uneasy. In the present case, it seems, it had that effect to a great degree, notwithstanding the many glorious actions this monarch had performed, and though it was evident, that what he took from his subjects was expended for their service, and not in the gratification of any passion of his, unless his zeal for their welfare could be so called. The same historian adds farther, that queen *Ximena* began to grow weary of a husband old and infirm, and therefore suggested to the prince *Don Garcias*, that it was time for him to reign, and that he ought to take advantage of the popular discontent. But, as great a mistress as she thought herself in politics, it seems she had not considered the affection of the army, which interposed, and prevented the revolution which would otherwise have happened. But, after her son's imprison-

ment, she consulted with the count of *Castile* the means of repairing this mistake, and encouraged him to raise a civil war, which lasted two years: it was this circumstance that determined the old king to a resignation. He abhorred, or rather he disdained, reigning by force; he could not bear to see the effusion of Christian blood in such a quarrel; and above all, he was unwilling to have that great scheme of government he had formed, defeated and subverted by this unlucky dispute. He chose, therefore, to place the crown upon his son's head; and having, by that means, regained his affections, he soon made him comprehend so clearly the nature and importance of his plan, that *Don Garcias* heartily embraced it; and, if Providence had spared him a longer life, would in all probability have shewn, that, except the short interval in which he was misled by feminine and factious counsels, he was not the unworthy son of one of the best and wisest of princes.

the

Garcias from penetrating into *Castile*; but the king, who was eager and active, as well as personally brave, forced the *Moors* to a battle, in which he not only gained a complete victory ^a, but also took their general *Ayala* prisoner, who, in the return of the army into *Asturias*, had the good fortune A.D. 911. to make his escape. This victory, and the vast riches which the soldiers obtained, raised the character of *Don Garcias* extremely with his subjects.

The old king, with the consent of his son, makes the next campaign with much reputation. AT his return from this expedition, his father ^a met him at *Astorga*, where they conferred together on the operations of the next year; and *Don Alonso* took a great deal of pains of his son, to shew him, that incursions and conquests signified little, if they were made with no other view than to enrich the soldiers, and to gain applause. He therefore advised him to assemble a numerous army the next year, of which he would himself take the command ^b, at least of the vanguard; and that in the mean time due care should be taken to repair and repopulate the places that yet lay open and in ruins along the river *Duero*, particularly *Rueda*, *Osina*, *Corunna*, and *Cocca*. *Don Garcias* thanked his father for his advice, and promised to follow it exactly. Accordingly, having charged two of his principal nobility with the care of restoring the places before-mentioned, he assembled his army in the spring, of which *Don Alonso* taking the command, swept all the country beyond the *Duero*; and, having made a glorious campaign, with very little resistance on the part of the *Moors*, he returned with his army laden with spoils, in the winter, to *Zamora* ^c.

Death of Don Alonso, his legacy to the church of Compostella, some account of his character. IN a short time after he came to that city, he found himself much indisposed, and, perceiving that his end drew on, he sent for his old friend the bishop of *Astorga* to assist him in his last moments. Having bestowed all the money he had, which *Ferreras* ^d says amounted to about five hundred pistoles, on the church of *St. James*, he breathed his last *December* the twentieth, in the year of our Lord nine hundred and twelve, two years after his abdication, forty-nine years from the time of his being associated in the government with his father, and when he was about the age of sixty-three ^e. In recording the principal events of his reign, we have sufficiently drawn the character of this excellent prince, than whom none of those who bore it better

^a *RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.*

Chron. VASÆI Chron.

Hisp. P. iii.

de España, P. iv.

^b *LUC. Tudens.*

^c *RODERIC SANTII. Historia*

Chron. var. antiq.

^d *Historia*

^e *LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.*

deserved the title of Great. He was not only unaffectedly pious, and a great patron of learning, but, for the times in which he lived, a prince of great learning himself; for, having been intreated by *Sebastian*, bishop of *Orensa*, who had been either his chaplain or his preceptor, to consider of some means for preserving the memorials of times past, of which, from the reign of king *Wamba*, there were scarce any records worth reading, he undertook and composed that chronicle^f which has been mentioned more than once, beginning at the death of king *Recefuintho*, and ending with that of *Don Ordogno*, his own father, which, after having been long covered with dust and oblivion, was published to the world under the name of the bishop at whose request it was composed; but the most learned and judicious of the *Spanish* critics^g have long ago declared themselves satisfied that it belonged to the king himself; and indeed this is evident from the performance, though very incorrectly published by *Sandoval*, and not so perfect as could be wished in later editions.

THE same year, but some months before *Don Alenfo*, died *His son* another *Spanish* monarch, viz. *Abdallah*^h, king of *Cordova*, *survives* and was succeeded by *Abderrahman* the third, the son of king *him but* *Mohammed*, against whom *Don Garcias* prepared to act vi- *for a small* gorously; but this expedition was retarded by some sinister *time, and* designs that he formed against his brother *Don Ordogno*, *dies, very* being not at all well pleased that he should hold in his own *little re-* right so considerable a province as that of *Galicia*, of which *gretted.* therefore he was inclined to deprive himⁱ; but as his brother was a very brave prince, much beloved by his soldiers, and who prepared to meet him with a gallant army, *Don Garcias* was content to admit of the interposition of the queen his mother, and some of the nobility, by whose endeavours their quarrel was composed, and they acted jointly, and with great cordiality, in their expedition against the *Moors*, which was begun and ended with all the success they could desire^k. While they were in the field, *Donna Ximena*, or *Chimene*^l, ended her days, and, according to her desire, was interred *A.D. 913.* at *Astorga* by her husband. At the close of the campaign, *Don Garcias* repaired to *Leon*, in order to enjoy some repose after his fatigue, and to confer with his nobility; and, be-

^f Marques de MONDEJAR Advertencias, p. 9. ^g FER-
RERAS, Historia de España, P. iv. Marq. de MONDEJAR. DON
GREGORIO MAYANS Y SCISCAR. ^h RODER. Toletan.
Hist. Arabum. ⁱ Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^k RODER. To-
let. de reb. Hispan. lib. v. ^l VASÆI Chron.

fore the winter was ended, he fell into a disease that proved fatal to him, when he had worn the crown, which he took from his father's head, somewhat less than three years ^m, the less regretted by his subjects, upon account of a certain sternness in his disposition, so much the more remarkable, as it was the very reverse of the affability of Don *Alonso*, and of the open and chearful temper of his brother, who was generally beloved and esteemed.

*D. Ordog-
no II. his
brother,
succeeds,
and gains
the battle
of Tala-
vera
against the
Moors.*

Don *Ordogno* was in his own province at the time of his brother's decease; of which however he was no sooner informed, than he repaired with all the expedition possible to *Leon*, from whence the body of his brother had been transported to *Oviedo*, where it was interred in the tomb with his predecessors. The bishops and nobles made no scruple of admitting him to the throne, and, in consequence of their election, he was declared king in the month of *February* nine hundred and fourteen ⁿ. His first care was to imitate his predecessors, in making an expedition against the infidels. Having accordingly made an incursion into the territories of the king of *Cordova*, he found his progress stopped by the town of *Talavera de la Reyna*, the governor of which, contrary to his expectations, absolutely refused to surrender, upon which he invested the place ^o, and made several vigorous attacks; but it was so well fortified, and the *Moor* who commanded therein defended himself with such spirit and resolution, that, notwithstanding the bravery of his troops, and his own presence, he made but a slow progress in the siege. While he was thus employed, *Abderrahman*, who was very desirous of giving a check to this martial monarch at the beginning of his reign, sent a good corps of troops, under the command of one of his most renowned officers, to the relief of the place ^p. Don *Ordogno* was no sooner informed of this, than, leaving a small corps before *Talavera*, he marched with the rest of his army, and gave battle to the enemy, who defended themselves gallantly till their general was killed, and then fled ^q. After this victory, he took *Talavera* by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and, having dismantled the place, returned in triumph to *A.D. 914. Leon* ^r. There he found the bishop of *Astorga*, who had

^m Chron. var. antiq.

ⁿ MARIANA, *Historia general de Espana*, l. vii. FERRERAS, *Historia de Espana*, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, l. vi.

^o Roder. Tolet. *Hist. Arabum*.

^p Chron. var. antiq.

^q Roderic SANTI *Hist. Hispan.* P. iii.

^r Luc. Tudens.

Chron. VASÆI Chron.

been prevented by the late king from paying Don *Alonso's* legacy, who informed him, that he was then going with it to *Compostella*. It seems that at these times was so considerable a sum as to be worthy even of a monarch's notice, and therefore Don *Ordogno* proposed to the bishop of *Astorga*, and to the bishop of *Compostella*, that they should give him the money; instead of which, he offered to grant to the church of *St. James* the town of *Cornelina*, on the river *Lima*; which was accepted, and it is from this concession, which is still preserved, that the date of this monarch's accession is put out of all doubt^a.

THE very next spring we find Don *Ordogno* again in the field, and again victorious over the infidels, whom he routed with great slaughter near the castle of *Alhanges*, which place he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword; which induced many of the neighbouring towns to surrender, and others to ransom themselves at the expence of very large sums, so that this campaign was equally glorious and gainful to the Christians^c. But these losses sunk so deep into the breast of the king of *Cordova*, that he had again recourse to the princes in *Africa* of his own religion. He represented the distress he was in, and the ambitious views of Don *Ordogno*, in so strong a light, that they cheerfully contributed, according to the respective force of their dominions, to send him a great supply; and *Mohammed Almotaraf*, then lord of *Ceuta*, went in person to his assistance^d. *Abderrahman* assembled also as good an army as he was able, and received succours likewise from the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*, under the command of *Ablapaz*. This united army of the infidels amounted in the whole to eighty thousand men, and, marching directly towards the frontier of Don *Ordogno's* territories, began to make dispositions for passing the river *Duero*, being already arrived within sight of *St. Stephen de Gormaz*. There Don *Ordogno* stopped their career, and, though his army was inferior in number, he made no scruple of engaging the enemy, and, after a most obstinate and bloody action, defeated them, their generals *Ablapaz* and *Mohammed* being both killed upon the spot^e. After this glorious victory, he returned with prodigious spoils to *Leon*, where he built a noble cathedral, as a monument of his piety and gratitude for the divine favour; and, hav-
A.D. 917.
 ing thus made it a bishop's see, he next, in regard to the

^a Chron. var. antiqu. ^c ROBERTIC Toletan. de reb. Hisp. l. iv. ^d Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^e ROB. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

beauty and convenient situation of the place, made choice of it for the capital of his dominions, and, as his predecessors had been stiled first kings of *Asturias*, then of *Oviedo*, so himself and his successors took from this time the title of kings of *Leon* ^z.

Marches to the relief of the king of Navarre, and loses the battle of Junquera.

THE war was still carried on between the *Moors* and Christians with equal eagerness and obstinacy on both sides, but with less inequality than before; for, in the next engagement, Don *Ordogno* was glad to continue the battle till it was dark, and then to make a retreat without boasting of victory ^y; soon after which he concluded a truce with the king of *Cordova*, who still meditated revenge against the Christians. In order to effect this, he, not without great difficulty, assembled a more numerous army than he had hitherto brought into the field, composed in a great measure of new supplies from *Africa*, which he sent under the command of one of his generals, into the territories of the king of *Navarre* ^z. Don *Sanchez*, who then governed that country, demanded the assistance of his nephew Don *Ordogno*, who, with a body of choice troops, marched to his relief. Having joined his army under the command of prince *Garcias*, the allied army engaged the *Moors* in the valley of *Junquera*, where, after a long and bloody dispute, they were beaten ^a, and Don *Ordogno* returned with the remainder of his forces, not without some difficulty, to *Leon*. The *Moors*, elevated with this victory, and the conquest that attended it, committed an unaccountable act of indiscretion, and, instead of prosecuting their advantages as they might have done, made an irruption into *France*, where they were able to do nothing. In the mean time Don *Ordogno*, having recovered his spirits, and recruited his army, made several successful incursions into the dominions of the king of *Cordova* ^b.

Unhappy in his domestic affairs, and very severe in his public administration.

AT his return from this campaign, the king received the news of the death of his queen Donna *Elvira*, whose body he caused to be interred in the royal sepulchre at *Oviedo* ^c, and the year following espoused *Argonta*, who was descended from one of the principal families in *Galicia*; but soon after, moved by some wicked calumny, or ill-grounded suspicion, he repudiated his new queen, who retired to a monastery,

^z LUC. TUDENS. CHRON. VAS. CHRON. ^y RODERIC SANT. HIST. HISPAN. P. iii.

^a VASÆI CHRON.

RIC. TOLET. HIST. ARABUM.

^b LUC. TUDENS. CHRONICON.

VASÆI HISPANIÆ CHRONICON.

^c RODERIC SANTII HIST. HISPAN. P. iii.

and there spent the remainder of her days in devotion^d; and the king too, being convinced of his fault, is said to have become sincerely penitent. At this juncture, having some suspicion of the fidelity of the counts of *Castile*, he went thither slenderly attended, and summoned them to meet him; which they neglecting, he returned without seeming to take any offence, and, having raised a very powerful army, went once more into *Castile*, and summoned them a second time, when, through fear of his destroying their country, they appeared; upon which the king seized and carried them to *Leon*, where some time after he caused them to be strangled in prison^e. We find this act represented by most historians A.D. 922. as a piece of injustice and cruelty; whereas others affirm, that these lords had been in rebellion, and suffered no more than they deserved; but this is an event which we shall be obliged to mention more than once in the course of the history (H).

THE

^d Luc. Tudenf. Chron.^e Chron. var. antiq.

(H) We have no distinct account of the reasons, or rather of the calumnies, which induced the king Don *Ordago* to part with his second wife, who survived him many years. *Mariana* observes, that till this time there was nothing in his reign that deserved censure; but he condemns with great vehemence his behaviour towards the counts of *Castile*, which he styles a perfidious cruelty. We have hinted in the text, that *Sampiro*, bishop of *Astorga*, who must have been very well acquainted with these transactions, is far from thinking in the same manner; for this prelate, not in the least complaisant to the errors of Don *Ordago*, blames the repudiation of his wife as an act of scandalous injustice; and yet, with respect to the counts of *Castile*, he vindicates him clearly, and says, they were punished as rebels. We shall have occasion in another

place to mention this matter again; but it may not be amiss to observe here, that though *Mariana* takes this opportunity of entering into the history of *Castile*, that he may the better apprise the reader of the true nature of this transaction, yet his deduction does not by any means agree with his conclusion; for he makes it plainly appear, that the counts of *Castile* were feudatories to the kings of *Leon*, and certainly owed their power and greatness to the protection of those princes; and therefore, till such time as they were released from this homage, they were bound to fulfil the obligations they were under from it. It is not consequently a thing so evident as he would make it, that these noblemen were unjustly put to death; and the only circumstance favourable to his censure is, that no mention is made of their being condemned by the

His death, which did not much afflict his subjects, who set aside his children.
A.D. 923.

THE king of *Navarre* and his son *Don Garcias* having demanded the assistance of *Don Ordogne*, in order to recover some places that were yet in the hands of the *Moors*, he marched accordingly into their dominions with his forces, did for them what they desired, and, at the close of the expedition, married *Donna Santiva*, the daughter of *Don Garcias*, and the grand-daughter of the king, with whom he returned into his own territories, where he died ^f very soon after, and was buried in the cathedral of *Leon*, leaving by his first queen, two sons, *Don Alonso* and *Don Ramiro*, after he had reigned seventeen years and some months, and was not exceedingly regretted by his subjects. As for his new-married queen, she returned again into *Navarre*. The princes his sons, being too young to form any pretensions to the crown in an elective monarchy, his brother *Don Froila* repaired immediately to *Leon*, and, by the consent of the bishops and great lords, was without difficulty received as his successor in the throne ^g.

Don Froila II. his brother, raised to the throne, and dies after a short uneasy reign.

Don Froila the second, king of *Oviedo* and *Leon*, is represented as a prince of great fierceness and cruelty. He understood that the sons of one *Olmund*, a great lord, had endeavoured to hinder his election; and the crown was hardly placed upon his head before he put them to death ^h: his brother *Fronimo*, bishop of *Leon*, having intimated, that, notwithstanding his youth, *Don Alphonso*, the eldest son of the deceased king, might be enabled to govern with the assistance of a regency, he caused him to be banished ⁱ; which alarmed his subjects to the highest degree; and in all probability his reign would have been attended with continual troubles, as it opened so unhappily, if, in the judgment of the writers of those times, Providence had not interposed; a thing indeed not rashly to be credited. However, in this they all agree, that, being struck with a leprosy, he in the

^f LUC. TUDENS. CHRON. VASÆI CHRON. ^g MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, l. vii. FERRERAS, Hist. de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, l. vii.
^h LUC. TUDENS. CHRON. VASÆI CHRON. ⁱ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

states; which however they might be, for any thing we know to the contrary, since no good account can be otherwise given why the king brought them to *Leon*, and kept them prisoners there for some time, since, if he had been such a tyrant as *Mariana* makes him, and had put them to death only from reasons of state, he might have done that with a better grace when he first seized them.

space of a few months was brought with much sorrow and pain to his grave, when he had borne the title of king ^k only a year and one month. His body was interred in the cathedral church of *Leon*, near that of his brother *Don Ordogno* the second¹. It has been generally believed, that the people of *Castile*, provoked by *Don Ordogno's* cutting off their A.D. 924, counts, and being apprehensive of still worse usage from a prince of *Don Froila* the second's temper, revolted in his time from their obedience to the crown of *Leon*; and appointed two judges, one of whom they intrusted with the administration of the civil government, and the other was to have the command of their forces. But this, as will be shewn in another place, seems to be very uncertain at least, and improbable, if not altogether groundless. However, it must be acknowledged, that in so short a space as twenty years, from the resignation of *Don Alonso the Great*, his dominions had very much altered their aspect, and his subjects had just reason to regret their impatience and ingratitude to that wise and prudent monarch, who, they now plainly saw, was much better acquainted with the disposition of his children than those who were so desirous to raise them to the throne in his life-time; the nobility also, remembering the proposition that had been made by the bishop of *Leon*, upon the last vacancy of the throne, resolved to embrace his scheme, and rather trust the public affairs in the hands of a young prince, of a mild temper and virtuous disposition, than run the hazard of placing upon the throne a prince of the same disposition with him they had lately lost, or rather from whom they were so happily delivered.

Don Alonso, or *Don Alphonso*, the son of *Don Ordogno* the *Don Alonso* second^m, succeeded his uncle upon the principles before- so IV. mentioned, and, immediately after his accession, recalled *succeeds* *Fronimo*, bishop of *Leon*, by whose advice he was chiefly di- *his uncle,* rected during the short time he sat upon the throne. He *and finds* was, as we observed before, a prince of a sweet and mode- *himself in-* rate temper, which, it must however be acknowledged, did *capable of* not so well qualify him for a throne; and, therefore, on the *governing.* demise of his queen *Donna Urraca*, he formed a resolution of abdicating in favour of his brother *Don Ramiro*, who at that time commanded on the frontiers of *Portugal*, and was a young prince of great spirit and capacity; which resolu-

^k Chron. var. antiq.¹ Luc. Tudenf. Chron. . VAS-

SÆI Hispaniæ Chron.

^m MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. vii. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, lib. vii.

tion has been thought the more extraordinary in Don *Alonso*, as he had a son living by his beloved queen, whose name was *Ordogno*^a. However, he was either so much inclined to a private life, or so sensible of his want of talents for the right administration of civil and military affairs, that, persisting in his resolution, he sent for his brother from *Viseo* to *Zamora*, where he then was, and, in the presence of the principal nobility, having made a full and sensible oration on the qualities requisite in a great and good king, and freely acknowledging that some of these were wanting to him from nature, he voluntarily resigned his crown^c, and advised them to place it on the head of his brother. This happened, according to the chronology of *Ferreras*^p, in the year of our Lord nine hundred twenty-seven, though some historians place it four years later.

Upon his
brother's
resignation, Don
Ramiro II.
is declared
king.

A.D. 928.

DON *Ramiro* the second was no sooner placed upon the throne^q, than he resolved to signalize his courage by an expedition against the *Moors*^r, which was what his brother seemed last to have intended, and to have appointed with that view the nobility to have met him at *Zamora*, upon the frontiers. But while he was busy in his military preparations, he was strangely alarmed with the news that his brother Don *Alphonso* had quitted his monastery, returned to the city of *Leon*, and resumed the state and functions of a king^s, to which it seems he was excited by those who were better pleased with a king who left the government to them, than with him by whom they saw plainly they must be governed. The nobility, however, that were about Don *Ramiro*, having given him positive assurances of their fidelity, he marched immediately with the army that should have been employed against the *Moors* to invest the city of *Leon*, and, being unwilling to have recourse to extremities, laboured to engage his brother, and those who adhered to him, in a negotiation; but Don *Alphonso* refused to listen to any terms, and shewed, now he was in the wrong, and when it was to no purpose, a degree of spirit and prudence, that, if it had been exerted in time, might have prevented those calamities which his unsteady and fluctuating temper had brought upon his people as well as himself^t.

^a ROGER. SANTI Hist. Hispaniæ, P. iii. antiq.

^p Historia de España, P. iv.

^q Chron. var.

Historia general de España, lib. vii. FERR. Historia de España, P. iv.

MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, l.vii.

^r ROD. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^s Luc. Tudens. Chron.

VASÆI Chron.

^t Chron. var. antiq.

BUT while Don Ramiro was engaged in the siege of Don Alon-
 Leon, and in reduction of some places that had declared for so endea-
 his brother, he had intelligence that Don Alphonso, Don Ra-
 miro, and Don Ordogno, the sons of king Froila, had taken ^{recovers}
 up arms in Asturias, and that the eldest had assumed the title ^{the crown,}
 of king^u. This put it out of his power to proceed in the ^{and ano-}
 slow manner he had hitherto done; and yet, being unwilling ^{to claims}
 to reduce the capital of his dominions by storm, he turned ^{it likewise;}
 the siege into a close blockade; and the inhabitants of Leon;
 soon finding themselves pressed by famine, signified to Don
 Alphonso, that they were unable to support him any longer,
 and that therefore he must endeavour to accommodate mat-
 ters with his brother as well as he could. In this situation
 he resolved, having indeed no other measure to take, to throw
 himself^w on the clemency of Don Ramiro; and, upon his
 going out and submitting himself, that monarch entered the
 city of Leon, and granted a general pardon to all who had
 hitherto taken part with his brother; by which this political
 schism was extinguished, and Don Ramiro left at liberty to A.D. 930,
 pursue the measures necessary for the reduction of the Astu-
 rias. But the people of this country, as soon as they were
 acquainted with the issue of the siege of Leon, sent to inform
 Don Ramiro, that, if he would come thither with a small
 train, they would deliver up the sons^x of the late king
 Froila, and acknowledge him for their sovereign, to prevent
 the continuance of a civil war, and the effusion of Christian
 blood; a proposition plausible in itself, but not acceptable
 to the king, who suspected their sincerity.

He chose therefore to march towards the Asturias with his ^{Both in-}
 victorious army, as the best argument of his right to subjects ^{surrenders}
 that were in arms; and yet, halting on the frontiers, he sent ^{are sup-}
 them a message, that he expected they should perform their ^{pressed by}
 promise. This had the desired effect; and, whatever their ^{the pru-}
 first intention might be, they found themselves obliged to ^{dence and}
 act as if it had been sincere; and accordingly, having seized ^{courage of}
 the three princes before-mentioned, they delivered them up ^{Don Ra-}
 to the king, who sent them and his brother to a place of ^{miro.}
 strength, where they were kept close prisoners, and deprived
 of their eyesight^y; but the king being some time after in-
 formed, that those who were about these unhappy princes

* RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

Tudenf. Chronicon.

Hispan. lib. iv. VASÆI Chron.

Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

* LUC.

* RODERIC Toletan. de rebus

* RODERIC SANTII

A.B.931.

treated them with great indignity, he caused them to be removed to the monastery of *St. Julian de Ruiforca*, which he had lately built, where, by his express direction, they were used with all possible lenity, as well as with all the respect due to their high birth². About this time died queen *Urraca*, the consort of *Don Ramiro*, and by whom he had a son *Don Ordogno*, which it becomes necessary to mark, that the reader may not confound them with the queen and son of his brother, who were both of the same names; and because the epitaph of this princess, remaining on her tomb in the royal chapel of *Oviedo*, fixes that chronology which we have followed, and indeed puts it beyond all dispute² (I).

² Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vas. et Chron. antiqu.

² Chron. var.

(I) There are several circumstances, relating to this prince and his family, that, as far as our authorities will permit, ought to be explained. *Mariana* informs us, that the learned bishop of *Tuy* makes this king to be the son of his predecessor *Froila*; yet whoever consults that author will find that *Mariana* was mistaken. Several *Spanish* historians, however, have been of that opinion; but what clearly refutes it is, that, amongst the children of that prince whose eyes were put out by *Don Ramiro*, one of them was named *Alonso* or *Alphonso*, so that the mistake arose partly from *Don Froila*'s having a son of the same name, and partly from his children taking the sive of *Don Alonso* the fourth. In the next place, many writers call the consort of *Don Alonso* the fourth *Ximena*; but *Ferreras* assures us, that her name was *Urraca*, and that it was grief for her death which induced *Don Alonso* to think of abdicating. It was by her that

he had his son *Don Ordogno*, surnamed *the Wicked*. As for the queen of *Don Ramiro*, her name was likewise *Donna Urraca*; and she died, as appears by her epitaph, printed at large by *Morales*, June the twenty-fourth, *Anno Domini* nine hundred thirty-one, and was buried at *Oviedo*, in the chapel of *Don Alonso the Caste*, by whom he had his son and successor *Don Ordogno* the third, and the princess *Donna Elvira*, who became a nun. It may not be amiss to add here, that both these *Ordognos* married a princess named *Urraca*, indeed the same woman; for, as the reader will see in the text, she was the daughter of the count of *Castile*, married *Don Ordogno*, the son of *Don Ramiro*, in the lifetime of his father, by whom, after his accession to the throne, she was repudiated, and, after his decease, espoused *Don Ordogno the Wicked*, when he usurped the kingdom of *Leon* from her first husband's brother, *Don Sanchez the Gross*.

As

As soon as Don *Ramiro* found himself in peaceable possession of his dominions, he executed with great spirit and vigour that expedition which he had so long meditated against the *Moors*, penetrated as far as *Madrid*, which was then fortified, and, after taking it by storm, proceeded to insult *Toledo*, one of the strongest and greatest cities in the hands of the *Moors*; after which he returned in triumph with his army loaded with spoils, and bringing with them a multitude of slaves^b. At his return, he found his brother Don *Alphonso* the fourth, surnamed, from his misfortunes, *the Monk and the Blind*, dead in the monastery of *St. Julian*, to whose remains he caused all those honours to be paid that were due to his dignity^c. The king, however, had very little leisure to repose; for *Abderrahman*, king of *Cordova*, incensed at the incursion he had made into his dominions, raised forces in every province of his kingdom, and sent to *Aben Abaya*, who governed in *Saragossa*, but was his vassal, to march with all the forces that he could raise, and to take the command. These preparations being known to Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, count of *Castile*, he gave immediate notice of them to the king, who kept his army together in the neighbourhood of *Leon*, and, as the season of the year advanced, caused them to be reinforced with several corps of fresh troops, and, as soon as he had intelligence that the enemy were in motion, marched directly towards his frontiers. He found the *Moors* encamped in good order within sight of *Osma*, on a spacious plain, which gave them an opportunity of ranging themselves to the best advantage. Don *Ramiro*, though inferior in numbers, charged them with great vigour and resolution, and, notwithstanding they behaved with great courage, and rallied several times, yet in the end they were totally defeated with a prodigious slaughter^d. At his return from this victory, the king was welcomed by the universal acclamations of all his subjects, and, as a mark of his piety, confirmed the privileges and donations granted by his predecessors to the church of *St. James of Compostella*^e (K).

IN

^b Roder. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^c Luc. Tudens. Chron.
^d VASÆI Chron. ^e Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab. ^f Chron.
 var. antiq.

(K) It is very strange that *Mariana* should conceive, that upon the score of the assistance given him by the king of *Leon*, Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, count of *Castile*, paid him extraordinary submissions, who but a little before had triumphed over and killed in battle Don *Sanchez Abarta*, king of *Navarre*; and

it

*Reduces
Aben
Ahaya,
prince of
Arragon,
to become
his vassal.*

934-

IN the beginning of the next year, the king held an assembly of his estates at *Astorga*, at which time the bishop of that see demanded that certain places should be annexed to his diocese, that had been conquered from the *Moors*, because they made a part of it before they came into *Spain*; of which due proof being made, the bishop's demand was complied with; which we mention as a proof that the king retained in part the ecclesiastical supremacy that had been in his predecessors^f. At the rising of this assembly, the king formed a considerable army, with which he made an irruption into *Arragon*, in order to punish *Aben Ahaya* for the share he had in the last campaign, and, by the rapid progress he made in the conquest of that country, alarmed him to such a degree, that he offered to become his feudatory also, and to pay him the same tribute that he did to *Abderrahman*, which he readily accepted; and some strong places having revolted, in resentment of this submission, he reduced them, and, together with those he had before conquered, restored to his new vassal^g. Before his return from this expedition, he concluded a marriage with *Donna Theresa*, sister to *Don*

^f *Reb. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.*
Antiq.

^g *Chron. Var.*

it is still more strange that *Father Charenton*, who translated his book into *French*, should think of correcting his author, by saying, that very probably the counts of *Castile*, from this time, became feudatories to the kings of *Leon*; all which is apparently false, and irreconcilable to true history. As for *Mariana's* tale of the grandeur of *Don Ferdinand* at this time, it is a mere dream, as we shall shew in its proper place. With respect to his translator's remarks, *Don Ferdinand Gonzalez* was indeed feudatory to the king of *Leon* in virtue of the lands he held in *Castile*; but he was so far from being the first of those counts who became so, that he was in reality the last who continued so. He projected and attempted a revolt in

the reign of this very monarch, who humbled and made him prisoner. He took up arms against king *Ordono*, the son of this king, though he had married his own daughter; but was reduced to a state of penitence and humility, which lasted only till he had an opportunity of breaking out again, and completing his project, under the reign of *Don Sanchez*, tho' not without incurring much danger and disgrace before it could be effected. It was after this glorious victory at *Osma* that *Don Ramiro* confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors to the church of *Saint James* at *Compostella*; and, from this time, it is said that he manifested a particular respect and devotion to this holy apostle.

Garcia

Garcia king of *Navarre*, and, returning into his own dominions, passed the next year with his new queen in quiet ^h. The year following, *Aben Ahaya* sent deputies to *Abderrahman*, king of *Cordova*, to inform him that he had submitted to the Christians only through fear; and that if he would assemble a new army, sufficient to deliver him from any future apprehensions of *Don Ramiro*, he would join it with all his forces; to which the king of *Cordova* readily assented; and having drawn together a sufficient body of troops, made an irruption on the territories of *Leon*, and reduced the town of *Sotocuvias*, supposed to be that now called *Covarrubias*, where he made a great slaughter of the Christians; but whether this was in consequence of any victory gained does not appear, tho', from what follows, it may seem more than probable, since we hear nothing of *Don Ramiro's* being in the field; and yet we can hardly suppose that he was a tame spectator of his subjects sufferings.

THE king of *Cordova* was very far from being satisfied with this small advantage; but, having made use of all the reputation it gave him, increased the number of his forces, and having procured considerable supplies from *Africa*, and giving *Aben Ahaya* notice to join him likewise with all that he could raise, he drew together an army of 150,000 men ^k. *Don Ramiro*, perceiving that his enemy had no less in view than the conquest of the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, and driving him back to the *Asturias*, assembled all the forces that he could collect in his own dominions, or procure from his allies; but as this required time, and the *Moors* were in the field in the month of *May*, they had time to reduce all the country beyond the *Duero*, since it was the beginning of *August* before the Christian army was in a condition to look them in the face. At length the king, having first made a vow at the altar of *St. James of Compostella* ^l, put himself at the head of his forces, and marched directly against the enemy, whom he found encamped in the plains of *Simancas*, at the confluence of the *Puísferga* and the *Duero*. In this situation he attacked them on the 6th of *August*, notwithstanding they received him with great courage, and made a most obstinate resistance, yet they were defeated early in the afternoon, and the king continued the pursuit with vast slaughter till it was quite dark; and, as all the historians agree, the infidels lost in this defeat no fewer than fourscore

Obtains two glorious victories against the whole force of the Moors.

938.

^h Luc. Tudenf. Chron. V as. Chron. ^l Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum. ^k Chron. Var. Antiq. Rod. Toletan. ubi supra. ^l Luc. Tudenf. Chron. V as. Chron.

thousand

thousand men ^m. After this glorious victory, by which his army was prodigiously enriched, the king was on the point of returning to his own dominions, when he was informed that *Abderrahman* had begun to collect the remains of his broken army, and had established his head-quarters a little beyond *Salamanca*; upon which he marched with great celerity, and attacked the *Moors* so unexpectedly, that he gained another victory as complete as the former, and at a much cheaper rate ⁿ. At his return to *Leon*, he caused the traitor *Aben Ahaya*, who had been taken in the first battle, to be shut up in a tower, and threatened to punish him as a rebel; and, as soon as he had refreshed his troops, disposed them into quarters in the country beyond the *Duero*, having taken a resolution to extend his dominions as far as that chain of mountains which divides the two *Castiles*, intending to form a double frontier, one along the territories still possessed by the *Moors*, and the other of the great towns situated upon the *Duero* ^o.

*Causes two
very po-
tent lords
of Castile
to be sent
prisoners to
Gordon
and Luna.*

939

THE principal source of that constant prosperity which hitherto had attended these monarchs was, in a great measure, derived from their great abilities, as well in the cabinet as in the field, and their steady pursuit of the true interests of their subjects. But notwithstanding this was rewarded with repeated victories, and in a manner attended with perpetual success, yet the indefatigable disposition of these princes, and that vigilance and activity with which they acted in times of peace as well as war, as the motives of their conduct were not explained, proved by no means agreeable to many of their subjects. Thus when the king, in order to form the interior barrier before-mentioned, sent his orders ^p to some of the principal nobility, such as count *Nuno Nunez*, to repair *Osma*, count *Ferdinand Gonzales* to restore *Sepulveda*, Don *Gonzalez Fernandez* to put *Clunia*, now *Corognaim*, in a state of defence, as also *St. Stephen de Gormaz* and *Riaza*, all of which seem to have been ruined by *Abderrahman*, perhaps in the beginning of the last campaign; they performed these orders indeed, but they did it with regret. When, therefore, fresh orders came from that monarch to these lords to raise their respective forces, and to be ready to take the field with him against the *Moors*, they declined that service ^q; by which, for the present, the king's intentions

^m Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum. ⁿ Chron. Var. Antiq.
^o Pop. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^p Luc. Tudenf.
Chron. Vas. Hispania Chron. ^q Rod. Tolet. ubi supra.

were defeated; which he took so ill, that, with the army he had assembled to act against the common enemy, he fell upon them, and, having easily subdued, brought count *Ferdinand Gonçalves* and count *Diego Nunez* prisoners to *Leon*, and from thence sent the former to the castle of *Gordon*, and the other to that of *Luna* ^r.

It appears very evidently from hence, that however potent these counts might be, yet they were not hitherto independent of the crown of *Leon*, and served with Don *Ramiro* in his expedition as allies, and not as subjects ^{*}, as *Mariana*, and most of the *Spanish* historians, would persuade us; but, at the same time, it must be confessed, that from hence it is no less apparent they were inclined so to be. We cannot omit observing in this place, in order to the reader's forming a true notion of the policy of Don *Ramiro*, and of other princes of his spirit, that, exclusive of their notions of piety in making war upon the infidels, or of their ambition to extend their dominions, they had very just motives to act as they did; which is the reason that we commend their behaviour, and condemn the conduct of those who opposed them. For if we consider attentively the situation they were in, and the great power of the *Moors*, we cannot help perceiving, that, notwithstanding all their victories, and in spite of all their success, the possession of their dominions remained still precarious, and it was simply impossible for them to render their subjects secure by any other methods than those they employed. As they were now masters of a flat and fruitful country, those maxims that were highly reasonable, and very conducive to their interests, while their subjects were confined to a mountainous and inaccessible country, were intirely superseded, and walling and fortifying the great towns they had recovered was become as necessary, and to the full as requisite, as, in respect to the hamlets and villages in the *Asturias*, it would have been needless. On the other hand, there was no trusting to a peace with the *Moors*, which was what the king of *Cordova* sought, and to which those counts of *Castile* before-mentioned were inclined; for that, as experience shewed, was only giving them time to compose their differences, to form alliances, to procure succours from *Africa*, and to put the very being of the Christian principalities, that were now established, to the risque of a single battle, whenever they were in a condition to break, as they never failed to do when they were in a condition, these insidious truces,

The true motives of this monarch's conduct in peace and in war.

^r Chron. Var. Antiq.
lib. vii.

^{*} Historia General de Espana,

and to march with such prodigious armies, as, by these methods, they had time given them to collect, in order, by one decisive blow, to bring the Christians in *Spain* into the same wretched state in which they found themselves after the defeat of *Don Roderic*. Whereas, by employing part of their subjects in fortifying their frontiers, while the king was at the head of an army in the enemy's country, these mischiefs were evidently avoided; and however tiresome and fatiguing this plan of power might be, it was sensible, it was prudent, because it was the only method practicable for their preservation against the common enemy.

*He sets the
two counts
at liberty,
and mar-
ries his
son to one
of their
daughters.*

941.

*Inva-
des the ter-
ritories of
the Moors,
gains a*

THE reader, it is very likely, will consider this as a long digression from the proper business of this history; and yet it is highly probable that it is, in fact, the prosecution of it; for tho' the succinct chronicles of these times leave no traces of such discourses, yet nothing can have more the appearance of truth than supposing that, during their confinement, the king caused remonstrances of this sort to be made to these noblemen; and, upon their acquiescing in his reasons, and promising obedience for the future to his commands, set them at liberty, and which is more, restored them to his favour. That he did this, is very certain, from a general concurrence of great authorities ^t, and very soon after married his son *Don Ordogno* to *Donna Urraca* ^u, the daughter of count *Ferdinand Gonzalez* by *Donna Sancha* infanta of *Navarre*; than which there could not be a more convincing testimony that all former disputes were absolutely buried in oblivion. It is also probable that the king consented to a truce ^v with the *Moors* for seven years, during which time he caused several monasteries to be erected, repaired the fortifications of most of the great towns in his dominions, and held a general council ^x of the clergy at *Astorga*, for reforming disorders that were crept into the discipline of the church, which was opened on the first of *September* in the year of our Lord 946; at which he assisted in person; but the acts of which are long since lost.

As soon as the truce was expired, the king, with the concurrence, in all probability, of his nobility, immediately entered the dominions of the *Moors* ^y, and, having passed the mountains of *Avila*, advanced as far as *Talavera*, near which he met with a numerous army sent against him by the king of

^t Chron. Var. Antiq. ^u ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^v VAS. Chron. ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arab. ^x LUC. Tudens. VAS. Chron.

Cordova; upon which a very warm action ensued, and the great victory, tho' not without some difficulty, at length obtained a *total*, and complete victory, 12,000 *Moors* being killed upon the spot, *then dies*, and 7000 taken prisoners, with whom, and a vast booty, he returned with his army to *Leon* ². There he reposed himself for some days, and then went to *Oviedo*, where, finding himself indisposed, he returned presently to *Leon*, and there, perceiving that his end approached, he resigned his crown ³, and soon after expired ⁴, universally regretted, *January* the 5th, in the year of our Lord 950, after he had reigned 19 years and very near three months, leaving by his first queen the prince Don *Ordogno*, and the princess *Donna Elvira*, and, by his second, the prince Don *Sanchez*. His body was interred in a monastery of his own foundation, and where the princess *Elvira* was a nun.

DON *Ordogno* III. succeeded his father ⁵ by the unanimous consent of the nobility, and appears to have been, in every respect, a prince of great fortitude of mind, and of consummate prudence, which as they displayed themselves in the first acts of his reign, so they were equally conspicuous in the last actions of his life. He was no sooner seated on the throne than his brother Don *Sanchez* made a very unreasonable request ⁶. He pretended that they were joint heirs of their father; and that therefore he ought to have some part of his dominions assigned him; to which Don *Ordogno* would not agree, concluding, that, as the consent of the nobility was necessary to his election, he could have no right to divide dominions that were confided to him entire for the common benefit of his subjects. Don *Sanchez*, however, was supported by the king of *Navarre*, his uncle, who had a desire to set a crown upon his head; and, which was very extraordinary, by count *Ferdinand Gonzales*, whose daughter the king had married, and who, notwithstanding, desired to see his power lessened, that he might be more on a level with him, and in less danger upon a revolt. Don *Ordogno* having no regard either to plausible arguments or to menaces, Don *Sanchez* retired to his uncle; and his protectors, having levied a great army ⁷, resolved to execute the scheme they had formed by force; but, upon approaching the territories of Don *Ordogno*, they found his frontiers so well secured, and his forces

² Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

³ Chron. Var. Antiq.

⁴ Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

⁵ MARIANA;

Hist. Gen. d'Espagne, lib. vii.

⁶ Rod. SANTIL Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

⁷ Chronicon.

⁸ Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vas. Hispan.

951.

so judiciously disposed, that, being unwilling to risk their own countries by an unsuccessful attempt, they very wisely thought proper to retire ^f, without committing any hostilities at all; and thus the excellence of his father's maxims, and the rectitude of his own conduct in pursuing them, appeared to his new subjects in their true light. Yet, as the very best kings are still but men, this success was followed by an action that spoke more resentment than one could have expected should reside in the breast of so wise and so magnanimous a prince.

*Sends back
the count
of Ca-
stile's
daughter,
and sup-
presses an
insurrec-
tion in
Galicia.*

953.

THE confederates had no sooner withdrawn their troops from the frontiers of his dominions, and, as some writers ^z say, in consequence of their inglorious campaign, fallen out amongst themselves, than king *Ordogno* ^b repudiated his wife *Donna Urraca*, the daughter of count *Ferdinand Gonçalez*, and sent her back to him; adding another circumstance to this affront, still more provoking, which was, that he immediately married ¹ *Donna Elvira*, the daughter of some man of great quality in *Galicia*, by whom, the year following, he became the father of a prince whom he called *Don Bermudo* ^k. As his divorce was the sequel of a foreign, so his new marriage was the cause of a civil war; the relations of the new queen presuming so much upon that honour, as to behave in such a manner to their neighbours, that it produced an insurrection. *Don Ordogno* laboured all he could to pacify his revolted subjects by fair means; but finding these endeavours unsuccessful, he ¹ advanced to the frontiers of *Galicia* with a considerable body of troops; but, before he proceeded to action, proclaimed a free pardon, and promised to redress all their grievances: upon which those who were in arms immediately marched towards him in order of battle, and their chiefs having first waited upon the king, who received them very graciously, ranged themselves under the royal standard, and, entering the territories of the *Moors*, penetrated as far as *Lisbon*, which they took and demolished, and then returned with immense riches and a prodigious multitude of slaves ^m.

*Invades
the Moors,
and obliges
the count*

AT the very time that *Don Ordogno* threw himself into the enemy's country, count *Ferdinand Gonçales*, with the forces of *Castile*, made a like irruption into the kingdom of *Cordeva* on the other side, which, with respect to the event of

^f Chron. Var. Antiq.

FERR. Hist. de Hispāna, P. iv.

Hispān. L. iv.

ubi sup.

Hist. Arabum.

¹ VAS. Chron.

¹ Chron. Var. Antiq.

^z ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan.

^b ROD. Tolet. de Rebus

^k ROD. SANTII,

^m ROD. Tolet.

the war, had the same effect as if he had done it by the ^{of} Castile king's command ^a. However, on his return into his own ^{to submit} dominions, Don *Ordogno*, at the head of his victorious forces, ^{as formerly} marched towards the frontiers of *Castile*; but count *Ferdinand Gonzales* prevented things from coming to extremities, by presenting himself before the king, intreating his pardon ^o for what was past, insisting upon his late service, and assuring Don *Ordogno* that the *Moors* were preparing to invade *Castile*. The king was so well satisfied with this submission, that he not only laid aside all his rancour against that nobleman, but likewise promised him supplies, in case the king of *Cordova* persisted in his intentions; and it was with their assistance that count *Ferdinand Gonzales* acquired soon after a glorious victory ^p over the common enemy. About the middle ^{Died} of the summer, the king making a journey from *Leon* to *Zamora*, found himself very much indisposed, and shortly after died ^q, about the middle of the year 955, when he had discharged the regal function with universal applause for five years and near a half. Upon his demise, the queen ^r and her young son retired to some of her relations in *Galicia*, being sensible that she had no interest amongst the nobility capable of raising her infant to the throne.

DON *Sanchez*, quitting his retreat at the court of Na- ^{Don San-} *varre*, hastened immediately to *Leon*, on the news of his bro- ^{chez suc-} ther's death; and notwithstanding his long absence, and the ^{ceeds his} circumstances that attended it, the nobility, foreseeing less in- ^{brother,} convenience from that than from any other step they could ^{and, by the} take, proclaimed him king ^s. He is commonly called *Sanchez* ^{intrigues} *the Gros* by some, and by others, though very improperly, ^{of the} *Sanchez the Fat*; this surname being given him on the ^{count of} score of a dropfy. He was a prince of no great parts, and ^{is expelled,} of less activity; however, he might probably have ruled quietly enough, if some sinister methods had not been taken to disturb the peace of his government, which was intirely owing to the artifices of count *Ferdinand Gonzales*, who, still aiming at independency, took his measures so secretly and so effectually for inflaming the disputes between the king and his subjects, that at length he raised them so high as frightened Don *Sanchez* into a second retreat to the court of his uncle

956.

^a LUC. TUDENS. CHRON. VAS. CHRON.
ubi supra. CHRON. VAR. ANTIQ.

^o ROD. SANTII,
^p ROD. TOLETAN. HIST.

ARABUM.
^q CHRON. VAR. ANTIQ.

^r LUC. TUDENS.

CHRON.
^s MAR. HIST. GENERAL DE ESPANA, lib. viii. FERR.
HISTORIA DE ESPANA, P. IV. MAYERNE TURQ. HISTOIRE GENERAL
d'Espagne, lib. vii.

the king of *Navarre*, by which the kingdom of *Leon* was left in a kind of anarchy, and consequently count *Ferdinand Gonzales* without a master, which, in some measure, answered his purpose. But, however, this did not satisfy his ambition; for, not content with being released from vassalage, he now aimed at nothing less than becoming protector of the kingdom of *Leon*, by substituting a new king in the room of *Don Sanchez*.

The count
of Castile
sets up Don
Ordogno,
and makes
his daughter
queen
of Leon.

957.

THE prince upon whom he fixed his eyes was *Don Ordogno* ^x, the son of *Don Alphonso IV.* surnamed the *Monk*, or the *Blind*; and, as the price of promoting his election, he obliged him to marry *Donna Urraca* his daughter, who, by this means, had a second time the title of queen of *Leon* ^y. The nobility were by no means willing to venture upon a measure, the ill consequences of which were so apparent; and tho' by his interest it was at last accomplished, yet it was not with a good grace; and the new king began in a little time to act in a manner so inconsistent with his dignity, that they fixed upon him the surname of *Don Ordogno the Wicked* ^z. As for *Don Sanchez*, finding himself grow worse and worse with the dropsy, he resolved, by the advice of his uncle the king of *Navarre*, to go to *Cordova*, in hopes of receiving that relief from the *Moorish* physicians, which the most skilful in the court of *Navarre* were unable to afford. Thither accordingly he went. *Abderrahman*, proud as he might well be of seeing a king of *Leon* take shelter under his protection, received him with great kindness, and the *Mohammedan* doctors, whether by skill or by lucky chance, freed him from his malady intirely ^a. As instances of good or ill fortune seldom come alone, so he was scarce recovered from his disease, before it was insinuated to him by some emissaries from *Leon*, that his subjects were heartily tired of the tyranny of *Don Ordogno*; and that if he could appear with but a small force on the frontier, he might be assured he would meet with no resistance. *Don Sanchez*, relying on the generosity of his protector, communicated this news to *Abderrahman* ^b, who very kindly offered him his assistance, but at the same time advised him to demand that likewise of his uncle the king of *Navarre*; and this he no sooner did than it was promised him whenever he should have occasion for it ^c.

^x MAR. FERRER. MAYERNE TURQ. ubi supra. ^y LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VAS. Chron. ^z ROD. SANCTII Hist. Hisp. ^a LUC. Tudenf. VAS. Chron. ^b ROD. TOLET. Hist. Arabum. ^c LUC. Tudenf. Chron.

THE proper measures being concerted between the two *Don Sanchez* courts, the *Moorish* army, under the command of *Don Sanchez*, marched towards the frontiers of *Leon*, at the same time that the king of *Navarre*, with the whole force of his dominions, approached those of *Castile*. As for *Don Ordogno*, finding himself forsaken by all his subjects, who reviled him for his cruelties, he fled into the remotest parts of the *Asturias*^d; so that *Don Sanchez* was restored^e without any difficulty; and, having gratified the chief officers of the *Moorish* army, dismissed them perfectly satisfied. On the other hand, *Don Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, having defeated count *Ferdinand Gonzales*, and made him prisoner, carried him with him into his own dominions. *Ordogno*, understanding that the people of *Asturias* intended to seize and deliver him up, fled from thence to *Burgos* with his queen, where that princess was received with all imaginable respect, but they would have nothing to do with *Ordogno*; who thereupon retired to the *Moors* in *Arragon*, where, despised by the infidels, and hated by the Christians, he soon after died in a miserable manner^f. *Don Sanchez*, thus delivered from apprehensions, as well as enemies, thought proper to marry, and very wisely made choice of *Donna Teresa*^g, the daughter of one of the most considerable of his own nobility, which gave his subjects in general great satisfaction. The rejoicings for this marriage were hardly over, when the king received some mortifying intelligence from *Galicia*, where the *Normans* had landed unexpectedly, ravaged the country, and carried many of the inhabitants into slavery (L). This gave a pretence to *Sisenand*, bishop

Don Sanchez restored by the assistance of the kings of Navarre and Cordova.

Descent of the Normans.
961.

^d Chron. Var. Antiq.^e MAR. FERRER. MAYERNE

TURQ. ubi supra.

^f LUC. Tudens. VAS. Hisp. Chron.^g ROD. Toletan. de Rebus Hisp.

(L) The whole of this reign of *Don Sanchez* is related but very confusedly in *Mariana*. It is true he complains of want of lights; but it is also true that he has not made the best use he might have done of those that were in his power. *Don Ferdinand Gonzales* was his hero, and he finds nothing but what is commendable in his behaviour towards *Don Sanchez*. It falls out in consequence of this,

that he ascribes to him the taking away of *Donna Urraca* from *Don Ordogno the Wicked*, and obliging him to take shelter among the *Moors*, at the same time that he says not a single word of the king of *Navarre's* assisting his nephew in the recovery of their dominions, of his defeating the count of *Castile*, or of his carrying him prisoner to *Pampeluna*, which was the true reason that the *Castilians* would

bishop of *Compostella*, to desire leave to wall and fortify that city, for the security of the cathedral, which, for those times, was already become exceedingly rich; and this permission, which was readily granted, he quickly abused, by levying large sums upon the people for the expence of these works, and various other acts of oppression and extortion, of which complaint was made to the king ^h.

ALL things being now in a tolerable state of quiet, the king of *Navarre* released count *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, at the intreaty of his wife, who was that monarch's sister ⁱ. About this time also died *Abderrahman* king of *Cordova*, and was succeeded by his son *Alhacan*, to whom *Don Sanchez* immediately sent ambassadors, to congratulate him upon his succession, and to renew the treaties of peace subsisting between the two kingdoms ^k. He then made a tour into *Galicia*, to inquire into the conduct of bishop *Sisenand*, which came in very good time; for that prelate, offended with a message that the king had sent him, was meditating a rebellion; but, upon the approach of *Don Sanchez*, the people every-where rose to execute the royal commands; so that the bishop being made prisoner, the king deposed him, and placed one *Rosenindo* at the head of that church, who, when the *Normans* made another descent in that neighbourhood, put himself at the head of his people, and, falling upon these pirates sword in hand, made such a slaughter that they visited the coasts of *Galicia* no more in his time. This prelate, for his virtue and his valour, has been since his death revered as a saint ^l. Count *Gonzalez*, who was nearly related to bishop *Sisenand*, being intrusted with the government of the frontiers, basely betrayed his trust, and revolted against his sovereign; upon

*The king
subdues
and par-*

^h LUC. Tudens. Chron. VAS. Chron. ubi supra.

^k Chron. Var. Antiq. ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

ⁱ Chron. Var. Antiq.

^l ROD. SANTII,

not receive the tyrant of *Leon*, but obliged him to seek a retreat among the infidels. He gives us the strange story of the horse and the hawk, by which *Don Ferdinand* bought off the homage of *Castile* from *Don Sanchez*; which is indeed to be found in some antient writers, and is steadily adhered to by most of the moderns, tho' there can be nothing more imperti-

nent, more incredible, or more absurd. It is, however, a proof that the count of *Castile*, after a long and hard struggle, carried the great point of his independency in this reign, which was the only reason we mentioned it here. As to the manner in which it was obtained, we shall have occasion to give the reader some farther account of it in another place.

which Don *Sanchez* marched towards him with an army, and the rebel, finding himself abandoned, came and threw himself at his feet; upon which the king pardoned him, and the traitor soon after took an opportunity to poison him, of which he died the third day after^m, extremely regretted by the better part of his subjects for his mildness, moderation, and clemency (M).

THE nobility were no sooner informed of the king's death than they assembled in order to a new election, and, after mature deliberation, they declared his son Don *Ramiro* III.ⁿ king, tho' but five years old, and appointed his mother the queen dowager, and his aunt Donna *Elvira*, regents^o, who immediately dispatched instructions to the ambassador then resident at the court of *Cordova*, to renew the treaty of peace with

^m LUC. Tudensis Chron. ROD. SANCTII Hist. Hisp. ⁿ MAR. Hist. General de Espana, lib. viii. FERRER. Hist. de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQ. Histoire General d'Espagne, lib. viii. ^o ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

(M) In these early ages very great regard was paid to the appearance and behaviour, as well as to the temper and administration of princes. As Don *Sanchez* had the misfortune to be dropsical, it made him, in the former part of his reign, indolent and inactive, which induced his subjects in general to conceive a mean opinion of him; infomuch that they derided his person, and despised his understanding. But finding the prince who supplanted him active only in mischief, and making no other use of his power than to torment those who were subject to it, they rejoiced at Don *Sanchez's* return, who, tho' now free from the dropsy, and in a condition to take the field whenever occasion required, was still the same humane, affable, debonnaire prince, which rendered him infinitely beloved. Yet, from a foible incident to all men of that character, he was too easy

to be reconciled, and wanted that degree of suspicion, which is useful to every man, and which is necessary to princes. *Gonzalez* had been his favourite, and, out of a personal esteem, he raised him to the government of *Portugal*. Provoked at this rebellion, he marched with an army to reduce him; but he no sooner saw him at his feet than he forgave him, which was great, but he restored him likewise to his former familiarity, which was not becoming a wise prince. It was this that gave that perfidious man an opportunity of presenting him some fine fruit, amongst which was a poisoned apple, which the king, who thought gratitude must be the effects of mercy, ate without fear, and paid for it with his life; having probably never heard that wise observation, that, though religion enjoins us to forgive our enemies, it does not require us to trust them.

Albacan; in which he met with no difficulty ^p. *Sisenand*, the deposed bishop of *Compostella*, finding means to make his escape out of the tower in which he was confined, returned to that city, and, by force of arms, reinstated himself in the bishoprick; *Rosenindo*, who had fought so bravely against the *Normans*, declining any resistance in his own cause. But not long after, those barbarous invaders, having intelligence on the coast of what had happened, landed in great numbers, and marched directly to *Compostella*. *Sisenand*, confiding in the numbers that he had about him, and desirous of equaling his predecessor in reputation, drew out the inhabitants to give them battle ^q; but, being killed in the beginning of the action, his people were so dispirited, that they were quickly routed, and cut to pieces. The *Normans*, elated by their victory, ravaged all the country as far as the mountains of *Castile*; and, having by this means amassed immense wealth, began to retire towards their fleet; but, in their passage, were met by Don *Gonçalez Sanchez*, whom the regents had sent with a considerable body of troops to repel these bold invaders. The dispute was very obstinate and bloody, but at length Don *Gonçalez* gained a complete victory ^r; upon which the people rose every-where in the neighbourhood, and killed or made slaves of all that were left, while Don *Gonçalez*, by a stratagem, burnt their fleet.

Upon his
marriage
becomes
odious to
his sub-
jects.

WHEN Don *Ramiro* entered his 17th year, he married ^s, with the consent of the regents, a lady of a great family, whose name was Donna *Urraca*, and soon after assumed the reins of government. This young prince, in a short time, became so uxorious, that, slighting the advice of his mother and his aunt, he confided intirely in the relations of his new queen, which highly disoblged the nobility, and particularly those of *Galicia*; who, lying farthest from the seat of government, were, in all probability, the worst treated. The consequence was, that, on conferring amongst themselves, and observing that the prince Don *Bermudo*, son to king *Ordono* III. who had been bred up amongst them, had all the qualities requisite to form a great and a good prince, they unanimously declared him king ^t. This was so well received by the people in general, that they found no difficulty in raising an army numerous enough to support their choice; nei-

^p Chron. Var. Antiq. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arab. ^q Luc. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Hist. Chron. ^r Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. Vas. Chron. ^s Chron. Var. Antiq. ^t MAR. Hist. General de España, lib. viii. FERRER. Hist. de España, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQ. Hist. Gen. d'Espagne, lib. vii.

ther did they shew themselves dispirited at all upon the approach of *Don Ramiro*, who came with a great army to reduce them. Their forces met upon the frontiers, and the dispute was so obstinate and bloody, that more were lost in this battle ^a than in any against the *Moors*; and yet they were parted by the night; so that neither side claimed the victory. However, *Don Ramiro* thought it best to return to *Leon*, in order to recruit his forces; and, while he was thus employed, he died ^v suddenly in the latter end of the year 982, in the 15th year of his reign, and when he was about twenty years of age. He was buried near his grandfather *Don Ramiro II.* From whence, by the command of *Don Ferdinand II.* it was removed to *Astorga*.

Don Bermudo II. was immediately acknowledged ^x upon the decease of his competitor, and began his reign with very favourable circumstances. He observed that all ranks and degrees of his subjects were exceedingly degenerated; that the nobility were luxurious, haughty, and oppressive; that the common people copied their betters; and that the clergy, instead of reproving the vices of the laity, were become equally vicious themselves. He began his reformation with them, because he found that several of the bishops were men of strict morals, and wanted only to be supported by authority in correcting their inferiors, and because he saw that this was acceptable to the people, as the laity, however vicious, have an abhorrence for all excesses among the clergy; and besides he made no doubt that a thorough reformation in the church would have a great effect upon the morals of the people in general. But while he was thus occupied, the *Moors*, who considered themselves as disengaged from all treaties by the death of *Don Ramiro*, under the command of *Mohammed Almanzor*, *Albagib*, or prime minister, to *Hissam* king of *Cordova*, made an irruption into his dominions, and formed the siege of *Simencas*, a place well fortified; the inhabitants of which made a gallant defence, which might have preserved it, if the king had been in any condition to relieve them; but so many had fallen in the fatal battle at his accession, that he found it absolutely impossible to bring an army into the field; so that, after a long siege, the *Moors* became masters of *Simencas*, and carried all the people who were left therein into slavery, and acquired also a prodigious booty.

Don Bermudo II. on his victory, is acknowledged king of Oviedo and Leon.

984.

^a *ROD. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. Chron. Var. Antiq.*
^v *LUC. Tudens. Chron. VAS. Chron.* ^x *MAR. FERRER.*
MAYERNE TURQ. ubi supra. ^y *ROD. Toletan. Hist. Arab.*

Finds his kingdom so exhausted as not to be able to make head against the Moors.

THERE is no doubt but the king must have been grievously afflicted with the consideration of a disgrace beyond any that had happened to his predecessors; but as the *Moors* turned their arms against other Christian principalities, without prosecuting the war against him, he contented himself with the pursuit of his former measures, labouring as much as in him lay to make his subjects comprehend the necessity of resuming the frugal and industrious manner of life for which their ancestors had been distinguished. He took care likewise to second his exhortations by his example, and was always more indulgent to the meaner than the better sort of people. Don *Pelayo*, who was of the same faction with Don *Sifenand*, and who succeeded him in the bishoprick of *Compostella*, having slighted the king's admonitions to relinquish his vices, and to behave with more moderation to the people, Don *Bermudo* went thither in person, and deposed ^a him; upon which that false prelate, with many of his adherents, retired to the *Moors*, who had a little before taken the city of *Zamora* ^a, and treated the inhabitants with as little mercy as they had done those of *Simencas*. If the king had not been a prince of true piety, and of the most steady resolution, these misfortunes must have induced an alteration in his conduct; for the *Moors* were continually victorious, himself in no condition to oppose them, and the numbers of his subjects, who preferred ease and a dissolute life to all considerations of honour and religion, daily deserted him, and sought protection from the infidels.

At length ventures a battle against Almanzor, and is totally defeated.

MOHAMMED ALMANZOR, perceiving that the frontiers of *Leon* lay now open, assembled a very numerous army, took the field early with a settled intention to penetrate into the heart of the country. Don *Bermudo* foresaw this, and had prepared in the best manner he was able for his reception. His army, however, was much inferior to that of the infidels; but the king confiding in providence and the courage of his troops, ventured to give them battle on the banks of the river *Ezla*, and, after a brisk dispute, put them to flight ^b. But *Mohammed Almanzor*, when he saw his army in confusion, dismounted from his horse, sat himself down in the field, threw his turban upon the ground, and, laying his arms across his breast, declared he would remain there, since he was abandoned by his troops. This had the effect he expected; his forces returned to the charge, and the Christians, being disordered in their pursuit, were in their

^a Chron. Var. Antiq.

^a Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^b Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vas. Chron.

turn beat ^c. But the victory, if it was one, cost the *Moors* so dear, that it put it out of their power to do any thing more than campaign; so that *Mohammed Almanzor* satisfied himself with swearing, that, the next year, he would not fail to come and plunder *Leon*. The king, knowing the temper of the man, and the superiority of his forces, ordered whatever was valuable either in the city or in the churches to be removed. He likewise caused the bodies of the kings to be transported into the *Asturias*; and having repaired the fortifications, and placed a strong garrison in *Leon*, he retired with his family, and most of the prelates and nobility, into the same country ^d.

MOHAMMED ALMANZOR, in the beginning of the spring, invested *Leon* with a more numerous army than the *Moors* had ever brought into the field; and, having carried on the siege in form till a large breach was made, he caused it to be attacked, and carried by assault; after which, he demolished it so effectually, that, except a tower which he left to mark the place where it stood, there did not remain one stone upon another ^e. He proceeded next to *Astorga*, which immediately capitulated. Supposing he should have the same good fortune where-ever he came, he entered the *Asturias*, and attacked the castles of *Gordon* and *Luna*; but as they were well fortified, and had good garrisons, he was repulsed with loss; upon which he returned to *Cordova* ^f. The next year he entered *Portugal*, made himself master of *Coimbra*, *Viseo*, and *Lamego*; into which he put good garrisons, and from thence proceeded to *Braga*, which making some resistance he demolished after it fell into his hands, and sent the people into slavery. He pushed this torrent of success so far as to ravage *Galicia* also; and, by the assistance of that perfidious prelate *Don Pelayo*, and his father count *Roderiguez Velasquez*, he entered into *Compostella* ^g, which he likewise destroyed; and would have proceeded still farther, if the flux had not prevailed among his troops, which obliged him to retreat. The king *Don Bermudo* ordered his generals to follow him, who made a dreadful slaughter amongst his people, which provoked him to such a degree ^h, that, with dreadful blasphemies and imprecations, he threatened to come the next year, and complete the ruin of *Galicia* (N). In order to this,

The Moors become masters of Leon, destroy it, and waste Galicia.

997.

^c Chron. Var. Antiq.

^d ROD. SANTI Hist. Hisp. P. iii.

^e ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^f LUC. Tudens. Chron. V. as.

Chron. ^g ROD. Tolet. ubi supra.

^h Chron. Var. Antiq.

(N) According to *Marianna's* the several irreptions into the manner of relating this history, territories of the Christians by *Mohammed*

he not only drew together the whole forces of his master's kingdom, but procured likewise great supplies from *Africa* ;

Mohammed Almanzor happened in the life of *Don Ramiro*, and while *Don Bermudo* was possessed only of the kingdom of *Galicia* ; and which is still more extraordinary, he places also within this period the devastation of *Compostella* ; and, to complete all, not only ascribes to the apostle *St. James* the fluxes and other distempers with which the *Moorish* army was afflicted after the spoiling of the church dedicated to his memory, but likewise the death of that famous infidel the general himself. He therefore believes, or at least would make his readers believe, that *Mohammed*, who afterwards commanded the army of *Cordova*, and who took his defeat so heavily, that he died of hunger, rage, and despair, at *Medina Celi*, was not *Mohammed Almanzor*, but another *Mohammed*, who succeeded him in the post of *Albagib* at *Cordova*. Where or how he collected this, is difficult to know ; for here he plainly deserts his old guide, archbishop *Roderic*, who states these matters briefly, but pretty much in the same manner that we do ; and this variation is made for no other reason that we can discern, than purely to ascribe the death of that fatal and implacable enemy of the Christian name in a special manner to the indignation of *St. James* ; which, how consistent it is with common sense, with the principles of the Christian religion, or the rest and peace ascribed to the saints who have departed this life, is left to the decision of the

reader. But certainly the clearness and consistency of the whole current of events, as they are stated in the text from the authority of several antient writers, and the concurring judgment of *Ferreras*, makes it probable that they are digested in their right order, since it is the nature of truth to be easy, perspicuous, and uniform, as, upon a close inspection, our dates will be found ; whereas they lie in such a manner in the history of *Mariana*, that the year in which any particular fact happened cannot be certainly distinguished ; which seems to imply that this great man himself was not satisfied as to the manner in which he ranged these important events ; and as he does not cite the authorities upon the credit of which he related them in the manner he has done, we are constrained, tho' unwillingly, to lay the blame wholly upon himself ; and this the rather, because he seems to have been convinced of his own mistake, and, to cover it, introduces a second destruction of *Compostella* by the *Moors*, under the command of this other *Mohammed*, of whom he gives a very high character, and, among other circumstances, mentions this, that he governed the kingdom of *Cordova* for twenty-five years. If so, how could *Mohammed Almanzor* have the supreme command in the same kingdom at the same time ; or, rather, how is it possible to doubt that this very character belongs to *Mohammed Almanzor* ?

and as all this could not be done without the knowledge of the Christians, so the very terror that he took so much pains to spread, was that which turned most to their advantage; for Don *Bermudo*, coming in person into *Galicia*, laboured all he could to revive the spirits of his subjects, at the same time that he sent some of the most venerable prelates in his kingdom to solicit Don *Garcias* king of *Navarre*, and the *Castilians*, notwithstanding they had thrown off all allegiance to the crown of *Leon*, not to desert the common cause of the Christian faith at a time when it was in such apparent danger; and these negotiations were happily conducted with as much success as he could wish, and very probably with more than he expected ⁱ.

THIS triple alliance ^k thus concluded, all the princes used Don *Bermudo*, as their utmost efforts to render their troops as complete as possible, and resolved, as the only effectual means to make any resistance against so formidable an enemy, to unite and bring but one army into the field, and this upon the frontiers of *Castile*, where the count Don *Garcias Fernandez* encamped first with his troops, and was speedily joined by the king Don *Bermudo*, tho' he was so infirm that he was carried into the field in a chair. Don *Garcias*, king of *Navarre*, brought a considerable army to the assistance of his allies ^l; and their troops were scarce united, before the *Moors*, under *Mohammed Almanzor*, advanced towards them, and took post in the neighbourhood of *Osma* ^m. The confederate princes reviewed their troops, and, after putting up solemn prayers to God, made no scruple of acquainting them with the true situation of things, and that the being of their respective governments, the freedom of the Christians in *Spain*, and, in short, all that was dear to them either in regard to honour or to their faith, depended on their valour. The reason of this declaration was to discern the temper of the troops, and from thence to determine on the measures that were to be taken. After a short silence, the army unanimously demanded to be led to battle; and the princes, who had made the necessary dispositions, instantly began their march ⁿ. They encamped within sight of the enemy, and *Mohammed Almanzor*, presenting himself next day in order of battle, the Christians gallantly received, and vigorously returned, the charge. The dispute lasted the whole day with such resolution, that both

ⁱ LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron. ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^k Chron. Var. Antiq. ^l LUC. Tud.

Chron. VASÆI Chron. ^m ROD. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

ⁿ LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

998.

armies seemed invincible ; but, as night came on, the *Moors* retired to their camp^o ; but the confederates remained upon the field in the midst of dead and dying men, their princes using their utmost endeavours to collect and dispose the remains of their troops (for they were, in comparison of what they had been, but very few), in the best order possible ; and then recommending themselves to Providence, and beseeching God either to render them his instruments in the protection of the Christian faith, or to grant them mercy for the sake of their endeavours^p. As the day began to break, they were amazed to see nothing of the *Moors* ; and, having ordered some squadrons to reconnoitre their camp, they were still more amazed that all things were as silent there. After remaining some time in suspense, they advanced in good order, and found it totally abandoned ; for, upon his retreat, *Almançor* found his loss so great, that he ordered those who were left to shift for themselves, and, retiring himself to *Mc-dina Celi*, obstinately refused food, and died for want of sustenance^q ; which, considering his implacable enmity to the Christians, was a consequence as favourable as the victory.

Soon after
this vic-
tory dies,
and leaves
his king-
dom in a
distressed
condition.

THIS victory, however, was as glorious as it was decisive. It is affirmed, how incredible soever it may appear, that the infidels lost an hundred thousand men^r upon the spot ; the plunder of their camp enriched all the Christian armies ; and, separating soon after, they returned to their respective countries^s. Don *Bermudo* being in a very precarious state of health, a great nobleman in the *Asturias*, flattering himself with vain hopes, endeavoured to murder the infant Don *Alphonso*, this monarch's only son ; for which he was punished as he deserved, and his estate given to the church of *Oviedo* ; which grant^t is the sole memorial of this extraordinary fact. A very short time after, Don *Bermudo*, who, from his being grievously afflicted with that distemper, was surnamed *the Gouty*, departed this life^u, in the year of our Lord 999, in *Galicia*, and was buried at a place called *Valbuena*. Don *Pelayo*, bishop of *Oviedo*, who flourished in the twelfth century, and wrote a history of his reign, has extremely blackened his character, with what view it is impossible to discover ; but that this is the fact, appears by the comparison of his writings with those authors who were cotemporaries with this monarch, as well as from certain circumstances he relates, and

^o Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^p Chron. Var. Antiq.

^q Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^r Luc. Tud. Chron.

VAS. Chron.

^s Chron. Var. Antiq.

^t Rod. Tol.

de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

^u Chron. Var. Antiq.

which

which cannot possibly be true; and yet from this chronicle many things have been inadvertently borrowed by other historians.

THE nobility assembled soon after the king's death, and Don Alphonso V. elected the infant Don *Alphonso* ², tho' a child, appointing his mother Donna *Elvira* regent ³, and continuing the care of his person to Don *Melendo Gonzalez*, with whom the king had hitherto intrusted him. *Abdalmelech*, who succeeded his father *Mohammed Almanzor*, as *Albagib*, or prime minister, to the king of *Cordova*, took the field with a considerable army, in order to lay waste the kingdom of *Leon*; but the queen dowager demanding the assistance of *Garcias* count of *Castile*, to whom she likewise sent a body of troops, he fell upon the *Moors* ⁴, and defeated them. The disputes and civil wars, that afterwards broke out in the kingdom of *Cordova*, proved very favourable to this minority; during which the regency not only governed wisely at home, but negotiated the restitution of the little country of *Alava*, which the count of *Castile* had taken from the family of *La Vela* ⁵, who, by sheltering themselves, with their adherents, in the territories of *Cordova*, had been the chief promoters of these wars, and had furnished *Mohammed Almanzor* with several Christian corps, from whom he had received great service. But, upon this restitution of their patrimony, they quitted the infidels, and, returning home, quickly drew after them their adherents, which proved of great advantage to the Christian cause.

THERE have been few instances of a regency better conducted than this, during the minority of Don *Alphonso V.* of *Leon*, who was educated with such care, that he became one of the wisest and best princes of his time; and, as a proof of his gratitude to Don *Melendo Gonzalez*, his governor, he married, with the consent of the queen his mother, and of the principal nobility, his daughter Donna *Elvira* ⁶, a princess whose great virtues, and more especially her humility, made her universally beloved. Upon her son's marriage, the queen dowager retired, with her two daughters, into the monastery of *St. Pelayo* at *Oviedo*; and *Ferreras* ⁷ has very clearly proved, that the strange story told by

² MARIANA Historia General de Espana, lib. viii. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, P. v. MAYERNE TURQ. Histoire General d'Espagne, lib. vii. ³ Chron. Var. Antiq. ⁴ LUC. Tudens. Chron. VAS. Chron. ⁵ ROD. SANTI Hist. Hisp. lib. iv. ⁶ Chron. Var. Antiq. ⁷ Historia de Espana, P. v.

Pelagius bishop of *Oviedo*, whom we have before mentioned, of *Don Alphonso's* forcing his sister *Donna Theresa* to espouse against her will a *Moorish* prince of *Toledo*, is an absolute falshood, notwithstanding the credit given to it by many eminent writers. From the time of his marriage the king governed his dominions without assistance, and gave such encouragement for rebuilding the towns that had been destroyed, and repeopling the country that had been abandoned, as had all the effect he could desire, at the same time that it prompted the nobility to follow his example, and procured him the esteem and affection of all his subjects. It is true, that the civil wars amongst the *Moors* afforded him the leisure to do all this; and the flight of the Christians out of their dominions, who, in such times of confusion, were plundered by all parties, furnished him with the means (Z).

*Rebuilds
the city of*

AT length his dominions having, in a great measure, changed their appearance, the king solicited his nobility to

^a ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

(Z) We find in *Mariana* the story mentioned in the text, of *Don Alphonso's* forcing his sister the infanta *Donna Teresa* to marry *Abdalla* the *Moorish* king of *Toledo*, with the pathetic speech made by that princess at the time that *Abdalla* would have consummated his marriage, in which she exhorted him to become a Christian, and threatened him with the divine vengeance, in case he persisted in his design of gratifying his passion. But whereas *Don Pelayo* asserts, that this monarch violated the princess by force, and fell soon after into a mortal disease, upon which he sent back the infanta with prodigious rich presents, who retired immediately into a monastery, where she past the remainder of her days; *Mariana* suggests that he recovered, because he found that this *Abdalla*, king of *Toledo*, was taken prisoner, and put to death,

by *Hissam* king of *Cordova*. However, a little attention to the facts mentioned in the paragraph above, will put it beyond all doubt, that this story is not true in any particular circumstance, but in the whole a groundless fiction, because *Abdalla* was taken, and killed, *Anno Domini* one thousand and thirteen; whereas *Don Alphonso* did not assume the government of his dominions till the year after. There is the more reason to correct this error, because as *Mariana* followed the bishop of *Oviedo* in this strange tale, so a celebrated *French* writer has made no scruple of following *Mariana*; so that, unless it be prevented by the timely exposition of so base and injurious a falshood, it may, out of deference to such authorities, be transcribed and propagated through other nations, as has been the case of other fabulous narrations.

assist

assist him in the rebuilding of *Leon*, which they readily promised, and as cheerfully accomplished, the king in person presiding over that important work. When it was in some measure finished, the king summoned an assembly of the states ¹, which was opened on the 1st of *August* 1020; at which time the cathedral church was consecrated, and many new regulations made for restoring the discipline of the church, and for promoting industry and frugality among the people. Four years afterwards he caused the city of *Zamora* ^k to be repaired; to which he also gave particular attention, on account of his design to render it the strongest place on his frontiers; and when he once saw it in a state of defence, he thought it time to accustom his subjects to make incursions into the territories of the infidels. The next year he passed the *Duro* with a considerable army, and marched to *Viseo*, where, the *Moors* having a good garrison, the place made some defence; so that he was constrained to besiege it in form. The weather being very hot, the king rode without his cuirass, in order to determine the place where a breach should be made, and, by this imprudence, he was mortally wounded by an arrow from the walls, and died ^l in his tent, *May* the 5th, 1027, in the 28th year of his reign, and the 34th of his life. His body being removed to *Leon*, was interred in the church of *St. John the Baptist*, sincerely regretted by his subjects, by whom, for his piety, liberality, and courage, he was universally beloved. He left by his queen two children, the prince *Don Bermudo*, and the infanta *Donna Sancha*.

THE nobility made no scruple of declaring *Don Bermudo* king ^m, in the room of his father; and the disturbances continuing, and even increasing, among the *Moors*, afforded the queen dowager, and the principal lords intrusted with the regency, time to establish the tranquility of the kingdom, not a little disturbed by the unexpected death of the late monarch. The king of *Navarre* ⁿ, who had the principal care of *Don Garcias* count of *Castile*, gave the clearest assurances to the young king of *Leon* of his esteem and respect, as well as of his resolution to perform punctually the engagements into which he had entered with the king his father; all which gave great satisfaction to the nobility, who likewise saw with

Leon, invades the territories of the Moors, and is killed at a fight.

1016.

1020.

1026.

Don Bermudo III. succeeds his father under a regency.

¹ Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Vas. Chron. ^k Rod. Toletan:

de Rebus Hispan. l. iv. ^l Chron. Var. Antiqu. ^m Mar.

Histoire Gen. de Espana, l. viii. FERRERAS Historia de Espana,

P. v. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire General d'Espagne, l. vii.

ⁿ Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

pleasure a sedateness and an activity in their young monarch, not to be expected at his years. Don Sanchez king of *Navarre*, conceiving it high time to marry his ward, applied himself to the court of *Leon*, and represented the great advantages that would result to the common cause of the Christians in *Spain*, and to the kingdom of *Leon* in particular, by the marriage of the young count Don *Garcias* of *Castile* with the infanta Donna *Sancha*; which being indeed apparent, the king, the queen mother, and the nobility, were equally ready in embracing the proposal^o. A little before the time prefixed for this marriage, some affairs of importance obliged Don *Bermudo* to repair into the *Asturias*; but he promised to return to *Leon* against the day appointed for the marriage.

1027.

In the
king's ab-
sence Don
Garcias
Sanchez,
count of
Castile,
assassinat-
ed at
Leon.

1028.

AT this juncture, *Roderic*, *Diego*, and *Inigo*, the sons of the count *de la Vela*, were meditating, from a principle of revenge, the death of the innocent Don *Garcias* count of *Castile*; and concluding that the absence of Don *Bermudo* might facilitate this, they resolved to put their wicked design in execution at *Leon*. Accordingly having conveyed themselves into that city, the very night that Don *Garcias* arrived, they took an opportunity, as he went the next day to church, to stab him in the street; and tho' they were immediately attacked by the nobility of *Castile* and *Leon*, who were about him, yet, being well attended and well provided with arms, they carried their point in making their escape^q. They found means afterwards to surprise the town of *Monzon*, in the neighbourhood of *Palencia*, where they doubted not but to be able to defend themselves till they could be relieved by the *Moors*. But in this they were mistaken; for Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, followed them with such expedition, and prosecuted the siege with such vigour, that the place was very quickly taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword, except the three assassins, who, by order of the king, were deservedly burnt alive^r.

Don Ber-
mudo de-
prives the
bishop of
Compo-
sella
without

THIS monarch was become now exceeding powerful, as having added many fair provinces to his hereditary kingdom of *Navarre*, to which he now annexed the county of *Castile*^s. Don *Bermudo* therefore applied himself to this great king, in order to obtain the daughter of count *Sanchez* of *Castile*, whose name was Donna *Urraca Theresa*. That monarch, desirous of uniting him to his interests, yielded very

^o Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chronicon.

^p Chron.

Var. Antiq.

^q Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv.

^r Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^s Rod. Tol. etan.

ubi supra.

readily to his request, and the marriage was solemnized ^{to any appli-} towards the close of the year with great splendor and magnifi- ^{cation to} cence. The next year there happened some stir in *Galicia*; ^{the pope.} and the queen was delivered of a son ^u, baptized by the name of *Alonso*, who did not live many days. The commotions in *Galicia* being again renewed, and the malecontents, under another chief, having broke out into open rebellion, Don *Bermudo*, who was a prince of great vivacity, marched thither so speedily with a body of forces, that these plunderers abandoned their country, to prevent falling into the king's hands, who confiscated their estates ^w, and gave them to the church of *St. James at Compostella*. About the same time, he deposed and imprisoned the bishop of that see for his bad behaviour and immoral life ^x; a clear proof not only of the virtue and spirit of this young prince, but likewise of his preserving that prerogative which had been exercised by his predecessors the antient kings of the *Goths* ^y; for, notwithstanding the popes before this time had begun to extend their authority over the clergy in *Spain*, yet it is plain they had not begun to question the royal power in reforming ecclesiastical as well as temporal abuses, because, in all probability, they had not hitherto a fair opportunity.

DON *Sanchez* king of *Navarre*, having given orders for repairing the cathedral and city of *Palencia*, which he considered as a place belonging to his county of *Castile*, Don *Bermudo* expressed great resentment thereat, asserting that it belonged to his kingdom of *Leon*; and, notwithstanding all the reasons that could be offered to dissuade him from it, declared war against him; upon which Don *Sanchez*, at the head of a numerous army, made an irruption into his dominions, and in a short time became master of all the countries between the rivers of *Puiferga* and *Cea*, and, before the close of the campaign, besieged and took the city of *Astorga* ^z. Don *Bermudo* saw this with grief and resentment, as not having an army sufficient to hinder it; and therefore retiring into *Galicia*, he spent the winter in recruiting his forces, and, in the spring, marched with a numerous army to recover what he had lost ^a. But Don *Sanchez*, being determined to preserve his conquest, had likewise assembled the forces of *Castile*, and prepared to give him battle, which was prevented

A dispute arises between him and the king of Navarre, which occasioned a short war.
1032.

^u Chron. Var. Antiq.

^w Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^x Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

^y Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^z Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv.

^a Chron. Var.

Antiq.

^a ALFONSI A CARTHAGENA Reg. Hisp. Anace-

phalæsis.

by the interposition of the prelates who attended them both. These represented the consequences of this dispute in so strong a light, that a peace^b was at length concluded; by which Don *Bermudo* made a cession of the country between the two rivers, as the portion of his sister Donna *Sancha*, and the king of *Navarre* gave *Castile* to his second son Don *Ferdinand*, who, it was agreed, upon espousing the infanta, should assume the title of king^c. This marriage was accordingly celebrated at the time prefixed at *Leon*, and Don *Bermudo*, to shew the sincerity of this reconciliation, or rather to dissemble the insincerity of it, put himself to such an expence, as in those days amazed all the beholders, and in that respect very probably answered his purpose^d.

The king
of Na-
varre di-
vides his
dominions,
and makes
his son
Ferdinand
king of
Castile.

THIS conjunction of interests was equally acceptable to the people of *Navarre*, *Castile*, and *Leon*, who saw themselves from thence protected against all apprehensions of the *Moors*, who were at this juncture involved in numberless quarrels among themselves, and split into so many principalities, that they were far less terrible to the Christians than in times past. One would have imagined that, having this example before his eyes, and being, as he really was, a very wise and penetrating, as well as great and good king, Don *Sanchez* would not have been guilty of the same error, or have taken, at the end of his days, a resolution of putting, as far as was in his power, the Christians on a level with the *Moors* in this respect; but his paternal affection for his four sons overcame all other considerations; so that, at his decease, which happened in the succeeding year, that is, in 1035^e, he divided his extensive dominions amongst them, and so made them all kings. Don *Garcias* had *Navarre*, *Biscay*, and the province of *Rioja*^f; Don *Ferdinand* kept the kingdom of *Castile*, which had been bestowed upon him in his father's life-time^g; Don *Gonzales* had the counties of *Sobrawa* and *Ribargorce*, with the title of king^h; and Don *Ramiro*, *Aragon*ⁱ. This power, which had been so formidable in the hands of one, became far less so by this division; and as at first sight the consequence might be apprehended by reason, so it was immediately afterwards justified from experience in many instances, of which we shall have occasion to speak in their

^b Luc. Tudenf. Chron. ^c Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^d FRAN. TARAPHÆ de Reg. Hispan. ^e Chron. Var. Antiq. ^f Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. ^g Luc. Tudenf. Chronicon. ^h Rod. SANT. ubi supra. ⁱ Rod. Toletan. Historia Arabum.

turns; but at present our business lies only with the first, the consequences of which were very considerable.

DON *Bermudo* had yielded very unwillingly a considerable district, for the sake of peace, and because he found his subjects were very unwilling to support him in a war against the king of *Navarre*; and tho' at last he seemed to come into this with a good grace, by that magnificence with which he celebrated his sister's wedding, yet he retained the resentment of this disgrace, and the desire of wiping it away, whenever a favourable opportunity offered; so that we need not at all wonder he took the advantage of DON *Sanchez's* death, and the division he had made of his territories, to recover the country he had lost. It is certain that he used but little ceremony on this occasion; for marching immediately with a considerable body of troops into the territories of his brother-in-law, he besieged and took the city of *Palencia*, which had given rise to the first dispute. As the inhabitants of the adjacent places were willing to return to their old master, and as DON *Ferdinand* did not think fit to take the field in their defence, the king of *Leon* did his business in a single campaign, and then returned in triumph to his capital^k, without attempting any thing farther; and it might be with an opinion that a negotiation might secure what by force of arms had been acquired; yet in this, as it often happens to princes of greater experience than DON *Bermudo*, he found himself absolutely mistaken, and that the measures which he had ascribed to timidity, or a sense of former injustice, were in reality the effects of policy and a superior understanding (A). DON

^k ALFONSI A CARTHAGENA Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis.

(A) We find in *Mariana* a great disposition to represent this last monarch of *Oviedo* and *Leon* as a prince of a very mild and pacific disposition; one whom the misfortunes of his father, killed at a siege, made extremely cautious, and who was therefore oppressed and ill-treated by DON *Sanchez the Great*, through the invasion of his country unexpectedly, and without cause. This, however, from a comparison of what is said by our old historians, seems a little remote from the real

temper of that young prince, and from the nature of the facts. DON *Bermudo* was very far from being either a weak or a tame prince: he knew very well when his just rights were invaded, and had spirit enough to resent such an injury. But DON *Sanchez* believed, or pretended to believe, that *Palencia* belonged to *Castile*, and consequently devolved to him with the rest of that country. He apprehended that his great interest with the clergy would be of high use to him upon this occasion;

*Is slain at
the battle
of Car-
rion, thro'
his own
rashness
and indis-
cretion.*

DON *Ferdinand* had raised a considerable force, in order to cover his country, if the king of *Leon* had attempted to push his conquests any further; but, instead of sending to intreat a peace, as was expected, he applied himself to his brother *Don Garcias*, and demanded supplies from him, upon a presumption that *Don Bermudo* meant to annex his kingdom to his own. *Don Garcias*, either out of fraternal affection, or from a just apprehension that *Don Bermudo* would become too formidable a neighbour if he should re-annex *Castile* to *Leon*, marched with a strong body of his father's veteran troops to

tion; and he judged that a district of country would be to the full as useful as the possession of the city he was now about to rebuild. *Don Bermudo* seems to have understood this perfectly well, and to have acted with all the spirit and caution that so critical a conjuncture demanded. But when he came to act, the clergy, who had also a great influence over the nobility, restrained him from going to extremities, and projected a peace upon very plausible, if not upon very equal terms. For though king *Bermudo* did not recover what he judged to be taken from him, yet his right seems to have been acknowledged by its being accepted as the portion of his sister. We may also, without difficulty, perceive that such as invented this expedient might very possibly have a good intention, and believe that they did none of these princes wrong. As for *Don Sanchez*, he was an old shrewd politician, and a very potent king; so that it might be esteemed a point of right policy rather to gratify his ambition for the present than to divert the infidels with so sad a spectacle as Christians destroying Christians in a quarrel about little or nothing, if compared with the consequences resulting from such a war. In the next

place, it restored the equality of these princes, and, in that light, might serve to take away the apprehensions that *Don Bermudo* might be under from the rapid growth of his neighbour's power; and, lastly, it was well contrived to unite the three crowns against the common enemy. Upon these principles the prelates and nobility acted a part consistent with their characters, inasmuch as they seemed to prefer the general interest to the personal quarrels of princes. We may add to all this, that, according to their constitution of government, if they were disposed to make such a cession for the sake of peace, the king had no right to oppose it; and it is very far from being improbable that he submitted to these reasons, tho' there is nothing clearer than that he submitted against his will, and with a view only to gain time; which is another mark that he was by no means of so gentle and compliant a temper as *Mariana* represents him; but whether this detracts from or raises his character, we shall not decide; all we aim at is to give the reader a thorough and complete view of a transaction, upon which it is indisputable that the fate of this king and kingdom depended.

join

join those of Don Ferdinand that were incamped in the neighbourhood of *Burgos*¹. The king of *Leon* had no sooner intelligence of the motions of the two brothers than he drew together the force of his three kingdoms, *Asturias*, *Leon*, and *Galicia*, and, with an army far superior to that of the kings of *Navarre* and *Castile*, entered into the last-mentioned kingdom, and advanced as far as the valley of *Tamara*, near *Fromista*². The two brothers, seeing that nothing was to be expected but from force, put their troops likewise in motion, which brought on a decisive battle near *Carriou*. The great impetuosity of *Bernardo's* temper engaged him to charge with the cavalry that were about his person into the very centre of the enemy's troops, where, while he looked about for either of the two kings, he was thrust into the breast by a spear, and immediately sunk down from his horse³. Such as attended him, believing he was wounded, fought desperately on all sides, that they might have room to remount and carry him off; but when they came to take him up, they perceived that he was dead; and this sunk their spirits so much that they fell an easy prey to the enemy⁴.

THE knowledge of this event was no sooner spread through the army than every thing fell into confusion, and that martial spirit, for which they had been so long famous, deserted them at once; so that, in all probability, a dreadful carnage had been made amongst people so astonished, that they wanted presence of mind to defend themselves; but Don Ferdinand, who was a prince of great penetration and magnanimity, interposed, and, with some peril to himself, put an end to the dispute⁵. He then ordered the body of the king his brother-in-law to be taken up, and sent back to *Leon*, with orders that it should be interred with all imaginable marks of esteem and deference⁶, which had a good effect upon the minds of the people, and disposed them to afford him a quiet, if not a cheerful reception. For, as soon as that melancholy solemnity was over, Don Ferdinand made his public entry into *Leon*, and representing to the nobility, that the male line of *Reccared the Catholic* by Don Pedro duke of *Cantabria*, was extinct in their late sovereign, and putting them in mind that he had married his sister, they readily acknowledged him for their king⁷, and he was accordingly crowned on the 22d day of *June* 1037, in

In him the male line of Don Reccared is extinguished.

¹ Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

² Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

³ FRAN. TARAPHÆ de Reg. Hispan.

⁴ Chron. Var. Antiq.

⁵ Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

⁶ Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

⁷ MARIANA Historia General de España, lib. viii.

FERRERAS Hist. de España, p. iv. MAYERNE TURQ. Histoire Generale d'Espagne, lib. vii.

the cathedral, by the then bishop of *Leon*. The subjects of that monarchy in general acquiesced under this revolution, the *Galicians* only excepted, who began to take up arms in maintenance of their liberty; upon which *Don Ferdinand* marched with his forces to the frontiers of that province, and partly by persuasion, partly by menaces, prevailed upon them to be quiet; only some who, from their old hatred to the *Castilians*, were determined never to submit to him, retired under *Don Sisenand*, a powerful and high-spirited nobleman, into the territories of a *Moorish* king, whose capital was *Seville*, and put themselves under his protection*.

Conclusion. THUS this monarchy, after it had subsisted almost 320 years, under twenty-three princes, from *Don Pelayo* and his race, came at length, partly by marriage, and partly by conquest, to be united to that of *Castile*; yet not so thoroughly but that it was afterwards disjoined and governed by its particular princes, but all of the house of this *Don Ferdinand*, till by degrees, and after repeated convulsions, these states were so thoroughly moulded and incorporated with each other, as not to admit of any future separation. But before we proceed to the detail of these events, it will be necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, and a steady adherence to the method which we have hitherto pursued, to give the reader a succinct account of the princes of *Castile*, from the time of its being recovered out of the hands of the *Moors* to this conjunction with the kingdom of *Oviedo* and *Leon*.

* *Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.*

END of the NINETEENTH VOLUME.







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